AN

Universal HISTORY,

FROM THE

Earlieſt Account of Time to the Preſent:

COMPILED from

ORIGINAL AUTHORS;

And ILLUSTRATED with

Maps, Cuts, Notes, *Chronological* and *Other* Tables.

VOL. III.

Ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξέρχεσθαι μὴ κατανόει· ἐν αὐταῖς γὰρ εὑρήσεις ἀκέραιον, ἅπερ ἕτεροι συνῆξαν ἐγκόπως.

Baſil. Imp. ad Leon. fil.



LONDON:

Printed for E. SYMON, in *Cornhill*; T. OSBORNE, in *Gray's-Inn*; J. WOOD, in *Pater-noſter Row*; and J. CROKATT.

M.DCC.XXXVII.

To the Right Honourable

R I C H A R D

Earl of *Burlington* and *Corke*, &c. &c.

Hereditary Lord High Treaſurer of *Ireland*, One of His Majeſty's Moſt Honourable Privy Council, and Knight of the Moſt Noble Order of the *Garter*.

My Lord,

DID not a Work of this uſeful and extenſive Nature give its Authors ſome Kind of Claim to the Protection of the Great and Learned, we could have no Pretence in prefixing Your illuſtrious Title to this Volume. For, the Glory of Your Family, and the Names of Boyle and Burlington, Your Lordship's perſonal Merit, and conſummate Skill in the Arts and Sciences, which add new Luſtre to Your high Birth, and hereditary Honours; are univerſally known, far enough beyond thoſe foreign Nations where this Hiſtory is tranſlated, or which, in all Probability, it will ever reach.

But we preſume to apply ourſelves to Your Lordship, as You are an avowed Judge and Patron of Learning, and under whoſe auſpicious Influence we can promiſe ourſelves this Part of our Labours will meet with as kind Reception from the Public as our former Volumes. The Encouragement You have given to thoſe, is a convincing Argument of Your approving

approving our Deſign; and Your generous Acceptance of this, will ſatisfy the World, that You think it of equal Uſe and Benefit to Mankind.

And tho', My Lord, we are conſcious that we have ſpared no Pains nor Coſt to make it ſuch, yet we would rather chuſe to recommend it to Your Lordship on the Account of the great Advantage Poſterity may reap from it, and of that vaſt Expence of Time and Books which it will ſave them, by being thus compiled and connected to their Hands. So that the Study of Hiſtory will now become a Pleaſure inſtead of a Task, and Men of Parts being enabled to acquire a clearer Knowledge of this neceſſary Science in a much ſhorter Time, may be the ſooner qualified to improve it to the Service of their Country. But, My Lord, this is a Subject that You are ſo well acquainted with, that we only mention it here as the Motive which determined us in this Addreſs to Your Lordſhip, rather than a vain Conceit that it is upon any other Account worthy of being offered to a Perſon of your exquiſite Taſte; unleſs You will permit us to add the ambitious Deſire of ſubſcribing ourſelves,

My Lord,

Your Lordſhip's

Moſt Obedient,

Moſt Devoted

Humble Servants,

The Authors.

CONTENTS

TO

VOLUME III.

THE *History of* Sicily Page 1
The History of Syracuſe 14
The History of Rhodes 129
The History of Crete 159
The History of Cyprus 173
The History of Samos 186
The History of the iſlands of the Propontis, *viz.* Proconneſus, Beſbicus, Tenedos, Lesbos, Chios, Icaria, Cos, Niſyra, Carpathus, *&c.* 201
The History of the iſlands in the Cretan *ſea, viz.* Thera, *the* Cyclades, Delos, Rhenæa, Cyrus, Sciathus, *&c.* 214
The History of the Macedonians 253
The antiquity, cuſtoms, laws, manners, and military diſcipline of the Macedonians 263
The History of the Macedonian *kingdom from its firſt foundation to the reign of* Philip *the father of* Alexander 271
The reign of Alexander the Great 316
The diviſion of the Macedonian *empire* 415
The History of the reign of Antigonus, *and his ſon* Demetrius, *in* Aſia 437
The History of the kingdom of Macedon *from the death of* Alexander the Great *to the conqueſt thereof by the* Romans 448
The History of the Seleucidæ *in* Syria *to the reduction of their dominions by the* Romans 509
The History of Egypt *from the foundation of that monarchy by* Ptolemy Soter *to its being made a* Roman *province* 623
The History of the Armenians 691
Deſcription, antiquity, government, laws, religion, learning, arts, and trade of Armenia ibid.
The History of the kings of Armenia Major 699
The History of the kingdom of Pontus 720
The History of the kings of Pontus 724

The

The Hiſtory of the Cappadocians Pag. 761
Deſcription, antiquity, government, laws, religion, arts and trade of Cappadocia ibid.
The Hiſtory of the kings of Cappadocia 764
The Hiſtory of the kings of Pergamus 769
The Hiſtory of Thrace 786
The Hiſtory of the ancient kingdom of Epirus 795
The Hiſtory of Bithynia 821
The Hiſtory of the kingdoms of Colchis, Iberia, Albania, Boſphorous, Media, Bactria, Edeſſa, Emeſa, Adiabene, Characene, Elymais, Comagene, *and* Chalcidene 832

TABLE to the Maps.

A Map of Sicilia P. 1
A Map of the ancient city of Syracuſe
A Map of ancient Greece, *with the iſlands adjoining to it* 24
A Map of the kingdoms of Macedon, Theſſaly *and* Epirus 253
A Map of the extent of Alexander's *conqueſts* 320
A Map of Syria *after the death of* Alexander the Great 509
A Map of Egypt 623
A Map of the kingdoms of Armenia, Pontus, Cappadocia, Media, *&c.* 692

AN




Septentrio
Meridies
Occidens
Oriens
MARE TYRRHENUM
SICILIUM MARE
SICILIA
MARE MEDITERRANEUM
Didyme
Hiera
Strongyle
Phœnicusa
Erricusa
Insulæ Æoliæ
Hieronis Vulcanus
Eurymos
Polorum Promont.
Rhegium
Cephaleædium
Himera
Thermæ
Panormus
Eryx
Aegates Insulæ
Hiera
Aegusa
Lilybæum Promont.
C. Marsalla
Phorbantia
Selinus
Agrigentum
Gela
Camarina
Pachynum Promont.
Pachyni portus
Syracusa
Ortygia inf.
Leontini
Catana sive Catina
Mylæ
Tyndaris
Messana olim Zancle
Ætna Mons
Hybla Major
Hybla Galeatis sive Megara
Leontium
Naxus
Tauromenium
Centuripa
Enna
Agyrium
Herbessus
Gela
Camarina
Pachynum Promont.
Pachyni portus

AN

UNIVERSAL HISTORY,

FROM THE

Earlieſt Account of Time to the Preſent.

CHAP. I.

Of the iſlands of Sicily, Crete, Samos, Rhodes, &c. *to their becoming ſubject to the* Romans.

SECT. I.

The Hiſtory of SICILY.

a HAVING delivered in the foregoing volume the hiſtory of the *European* and *Aſiatic Greeks* inhabiting the continent, we ſhall now proceed to their various ſettlements in the adjacent iſlands, beginning with *Sicily*, the moſt conſiderable of all the iſlands in the *Mediterranean*, and in former times the theatre of many great and memorable events.

Name. THIS great and fruitful iſland was anciently known by the names of *Sicania*, *Sicilia*, and *Trinacria* or *Triquetra*; the two former were borrowed from the *Sicani* and *Siculi*, who peopled a conſiderable part of the country, and the latter from its triangular figure formed by the three famous promontories of *Pelorum*, *Pachynum*, and *Lilybæum* (A). *Cape Pelorum* is now called by the natives *Capo di Faro*, or *Capo della torre di Faro*. It took its ancient name, if we believe *Valerius Maximus* [a] and *Pomponius Mela* [b], from the pilot *Pelorus*, who was killed by *Hannibal*. The b *Carthaginian* ſeeing his ſhip brought into the ſtraits of *Sicily*, and fancying that the pilot deſigned to deliver her up to the *Romans*, put him to death; but being afterwards convinced of his innocence, he erected a ſtatue to him on the promontory, which from that time was called *Pelorum*, *Pelorus*, and *Peloris*. This fact is related by the abovementioned hiſtorians; but their diſagreement in the circumſtances of the ſtory has made ſome writers doubt of the truth of this event. This promontory

[a] VAL. MAX. l. ix. c. 8. [b] POMP. MELA. l. ii. c. 7.

(A) *Terra tribus ſcopulis vaſtum procurrit in æquor;*
Trinacris a poſitu nomen adepta loci, ſays *Ovid.*

faces *Italy*, from which it is divided by the ſtraits of *Meſſina* reaching from the tower of the *Faro*, which is the moſt northern point of the iſland, to the *Capo dell'armi* or *Cape of arms*, the moſt ſouthern part of *Calabria*. Theſe ſtraits, called by the *Latins Fretum Siculum*, by the *Italians il Faro di Meſſina*, and by us the *Fare of Meſſina*, are, according to *Pliny* [c], *Strabo* [d], and other geographers, between twelve and fifteen miles over in the broadeſt place, and in the narroweſt about a mile and a half; inſomuch that when *Meſſina* was taken by the *Carthaginians*, many of the inhabitants are ſaid to have ſaved themſelves by ſwimming to the oppoſite coaſts of *Italy*. This narrowneſs gave riſe to an opinion, which once obtained among the ancients, *viz.* that *Sicily* was originally joined to the continent of *Italy* by an iſthmus, which was in proceſs of time wore away by the fury of the waves, and the violence of earthquakes. *Pliny* [e] with his uſual credulity ſpeaks of this ſeparation as a thing not to be queſtioned. A modern writer of no mean character [f] goes farther, and even pretends to aſcertain the time of this memorable event, telling us, that it happened in the reign of *Acaſtus*, the ſon of *Æolus*, who was raiſed to the throne by the *Siculi* about the time that the *Iſraelites* were delivered from the *Egyptian* bondage. He owns himſelf indebted for this remarkable diſcovery to *Euſtathius* in his obſervations on *Dionyſius Periegetes* [g]. But the moſt judicious among the ancients look upon this pretended ſeparation as fabulous, and ſpeak of it as a thing that is only ſaid to have happened [h] (B). The *Fare* of *Meſſina* is famous for the rapidity of its currents, and the flowing and ebbing of the ſea, which is very irregular, and ſometimes ruſhes in with ſuch violence, that the ſhips riding at anchor are in danger. The famous *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, ſo much celebrated by the poets, are at the north entrance into the ſtraits. The former is a rock on the coaſt of *Italy*, the latter a whirl-pool on the ſide of *Sicily*. The paſſage between theſe two was in ancient times reckoned very dangerous [i]. The other two promontories are *Pachynum* facing *Greece*, and *Lilybæum* over-againſt *Afric*, the former is now known by the name of *Capo Paſſaro*, and the latter by that of *Capo di Marſella*, or *Capo di Boeo* (C).

Situation. THIS iſland lies between the 35th deg. 40 min. and the 38th 30 min. of north latitude, extending in longitude from 35 to 39 degrees. Its greateſt length from *Pelorum* to *Lilybæum* is two hundred miles, its breadth from *Pachynum* to the city of *Cephalædium*, now *Cefalu*, 180, and the whole circuit of the iſland 600.

Soil and climate. WE need not inlarge on its fertility, it being well known that *Sicily* was anciently called the granary of *Rome*, and that to this day, whatever deſirable things nature has frugally beſtowed here and there on other countries, are found in this as in their original ſeminary.

Cities. THE moſt remarkable cities on the eaſtern coaſt of *Sicily*, which faces *Greece*, and extends from *Pelorum* to *Pachynum*, are, *Meſſana* on the ſtraits of *Sicily* over-againſt *Rhegium* in *Italy*. This city was formerly called *Zancle*, which appellation ſome derive from the old *Sicilian* word *Zanclos*, ſignifying a hook; the ſhore on which it was built being of that ſhape [k]; others think it was ſo called from one *Zanclus*, who reigned in that part of the iſland [l]. But however that be, this city, according to the chronologiſts, was founded five hundred and thirty years before the ſiege of *Troy*, and nine hundred ſixty-four before *Romulus* laid the foundations of *Rome*. The inhabitants of this city being greatly haraſſed by the pyrates of *Cuma*, had recourſe to the *Meſſenians*, a people of *Greece*, who haſtening to the aſſiſtance of

Meſſana *now* Meſſina.

[c] PLIN. l. iv. c. 6. [d] STRAB. l. v. p. 177. [e] PLIN. l. iii. c. 8. [f] TANAQUIL. FABER. l. i. epiſt. 14. [g] EUSTATH. in Perieget. ver. 475. [h] MELA, l. i. c. 2. STRAB. l. v. [i] FLORUS, l. i. c. 4. SENECA epiſt. 79, &c. [k] DIODOR. SICUL. l. iv. c. ultimo. [l] THUCYD. l. vi. p. 413.

(B) Some of the poets ſpeak of it with the ſame reſerve:

Zancle quoque juncta fuiſſe
Dicitur Italiæ, donec confinia pontus
Abſtulit, & media tellurem reppulit unda (1).

And *Virgil*:

Hæc loca, vi quondam & magna convulſa ruina
(Tantum ævi longinqua valet mutare vetuſtas)
Diſſiluiſſe ferunt; cum protinus utraque tellus
Una foret, venit medio vi pontus, & undis
Heſperium Siculo latus abſcidit; arvaque & urbes
Littore diductas anguſto interluit æſtu (2).

(C) *Ælian*, *Pliny*, *Solinus*, and *Valerius Maximus* tell us, that one, to whom they give the ſurname of *Strabo*, had ſuch an extraordinary ſight, that from a watch-tower on the promontory *Lilybæum* he diſcovered a fleet ſailing out of the port of *Carthage*, and acquainted the *Lilybæans* with their bigneſs and number; and yet *Carthage* is about 180 miles diſtant from the coaſt of *Sicily*.

(1) *Ovid Metam. l.* xv. *v.* 290. (2) *Virg. Æneid. l.* iii. *v.* 414.

the

a the *Zancleans*, cleared their coaſts, entered into an alliance with the citizens, and ſettled in their city, which was from them called by the *Greeks Meſſene*, and by the *Latins Meſſana* [m]. *Pauſanias* [n] tells us, that *Anaxilas*, tyrant of *Rhegium*, having entered into an alliance with the *Meſſenians* of *Greece* againſt the *Zancleans*, overthrew their forces, and with the aſſiſtance of his allies poſſeſſed himſelf of their city, which in compliment to the *Meſſenians*, who had aſſiſted him in this expedition, he called *Meſſene*. This event is mentioned alſo by *Herodotus* [o], who aſcribes all the glory of it to the *Samians*, the allies of *Anaxilas*, or, as he calls him, *Anaxilaus*. This city was afterwards ſeized by the *Mamertini*, as we ſhall relate anon, and made their capital, by which means it became one of the moſt wealthy and powerful cities

b of *Sicily*. It was the firſt town, which the *Romans* poſſeſſed in the iſland, being put into their hands by the *Mamertini*. *Taurominium*, built on the ruins of the ancient city of *Naxos*, which was deſtroyed by *Dionyſius* the tyrant, ſtood on the declivity of mount *Taurus*. The river *Tauromininius* watered the territory of this city [p]; and its hills were famous for the excellent grapes they produced. It is now called *Taormina*, and is ſtill a place of ſome conſideration. The coaſt on which it ſtood was anciently called *Copria*, that is dunghill, becauſe the ſea was ſuppoſed to diſcharge there the wrecks of ſuch ſhips as had been ſwallowed up by the *Charybdis* [q]. The river *Tauromininius*, which gave its name to the city, is now called *Cantara*. *Catana* ſtood on a gulf of the *Ionian* ſea called the gulf of *Catana*, and is commended by the ancients

c as one of the richeſt and moſt powerful cities of *Sicily*. It was built and peopled by the inhabitants of *Chalcis*, and continued in great ſplendor for many ages [r]; but at laſt underwent the ſame fate as moſt of the other cities in the neighbourhood of mount *Ætna*, having been in great part conſumed by the eruptions of that mountain, and buried in ruins by the dreadful earthquakes, which have often laid waſte the whole neighbouring country. Its territory was watered by the river *Amenes* or *Amenanus*, now called the *Judicello* [s]. *Murgentium*, or *Morgantia*, was founded, according to *Strabo* [t], by the *Morgetes*, a people of *Italy*, who croſſed over into *Sicily* with the *Siculi*, and built this city at a ſmall diſtance from the mouth of the *Symæthus*, now *La Jaretta*. *Thucydides* [u], *Scylax*, and *Pliny* [w], place it near the conflux of the *Chry-*

d *ſas*, now the *Dittaino*, and the *Symæthus*. *Fazellus* is therefore miſtaken in ſuppoſing *Morgantia* to have ſtood at the mouth of the river *Terias*, called by the natives *Fiume di San Leonardo*. *Stephanus* confounds this city with another in *Samnium* bearing the ſame name. There are now no footſteps remaining of either of theſe cities. *Leontini* ſtood about five miles diſtance from the coaſt, ten from *Catana*, and twenty from *Syracuſe*. It was built by the *Chalcidians*, under the conduct of *Theocles*, the *Athenian*, in the firſt year of the thirteenth olympiad, as *Thucydides* informs us [x]. The territory of *Leontini* was watered by the *Liſſus*, which falls into the *Tereas* at the diſtance of eight furlongs from the city [y]. *Leontini* was defended in the time of *Thucydides* [z], by two ſtrong citadels, the one called the citadel of *Phocea*, the other

e the citadel of *Bricinnia*. At a ſmall diſtance from the city was a lake abounding in fiſh, and about twenty miles in compaſs. The vapours ariſing from the marſhes, made by the overflowing of the lake, greatly infected the air, which was there deemed very unwholeſome; but to make amends for this, the fields were ſo fruitful, that, according to *Pliny*, they yielded an hundred-fold [a]; whence the city of *Leontini* was called by *Tully* the grand magazine of *Sicily* [a]. The wines it produced were thought the moſt delicious of the whole iſland; but the inhabitants abuſed this benefit by their intemperance, which gave riſe to the proverb, *The people of* Leontini *are always at their cups* [b]. *Dionyſius* the tyrant, having made himſelf maſter of this city, removed the inhabitants to *Syracuſe*. *Polybius* gives a very exact and

f minute account of *Leontini*, and to him we refer our readers for a more particular deſcription of it [c]. The city of *Hybla* was built by the *Sicani*, who were driven out by a colony from *Megaris* in *Greece*. Theſe new-comers, having enlarged and embelliſhed the place, gave it the name of their native city [d]. The *Hyblæan* honey is, as every one knows, much celebrated by the *Latin* poets. The ancient geographers mention three cities in *Sicily* bearing the name of *Hybla*; the city we are here

Taurominium. Catana. Murgentium. Leontini. Megaris & Hybla.

[m] Strab. l. vi. p. 185. Thucyd. l. i. [n] Pausan. in Meſſen. [o] Herodot. l. vi. [p] Diodor. Sicul. l. xiv. c. 60. & l. xvi. c. 7. [q] Strab. l. vi. p. 185. [r] Thucyd. l. iii. [s] Strab. l. v. p. 166. [t] Strab. l. vi. p. 186. [u] Thucyd. l. vi. [w] Plin. l. iii. c. 8. [x] Thucyd. l. vi. [y] Polyb. l. vii. [z] Thucyd. l. v. p. 344. Plin. l. iii. c. 8. [a] Cic. orat. Frumen. c. 18. [b] Erasm. Chiliad. [c] Polyb. l. vii. [d] Strab. l. vi. p. 185.

ſpeaking

ſpeaking of ſtood on the eaſtern coaſt, and gave name to the gulf which the preſent natives call the gulf of *Auguſta* from the city of *Auguſta* or *Aouſta* on that bay. The ſecond city of *Hybla* was ſituate on an eminence in the ſame place where the ſmall town of *Raguſi* now ſtands, and was called the *Little Hybla*. The third, which was called the *Great Hybla*, is ſuppoſed to have ſtood between *Catana* and *Hadranum* in the territory of the preſent *Paderno*. Some pretend that there are ſome traces of it ſtill to be ſeen near the mouth of the *Cataro*, formerly the *Alabon* or *Alabis* [c]. a

Syracuſe. *Syracuſe*, once the metropolis of all *Sicily*, and a moſt flouriſhing commonwealth, was, according to *Tully* [f], the greateſt and moſt wealthy of all the cities poſſeſſed by the *Greeks*. *Thucydides* equals it to *Athens* when that city was at the height of its glory [g], and *Strabo* calls it one of the moſt famous cities of the world for its advantagious ſituation, the ſtatelineſs of its buildings, and the immenſe wealth of its inhabitants [h]. It was built, according to *Thucydides* and *Strabo* [i], by *Archias*, one of the *Heraclidæ*, who came from *Corinth* into *Sicily*, in the ſecond year of the eleventh olympiad. The abridger of *Stephanus* and *Marcianus* of *Heraclea* tell us that it borrowed the name of *Syracuſe* from a neighbouring marſh called *Syraco*. This ſtately city contained within its walls, which were eighteen miles in compaſs, four very conſiderable cities, as *Strabo* calls them, united into one, *viz. Acradina*, *Tyche*, *Neapolis*, and the iſland or *Ortygia*. In *Acradina*, the largeſt of the four, there was a vaſt ſquare, ſurrounded with portico's, a magnificent temple dedicated to *Jupiter Olympius*, the *Prytaneum*, where the public councils were held, and a ſpacious palace for the adminiſtration of juſtice; not to mention ſeveral other buildings which were deemed maſter-pieces of architecture [k]. This quarter was ſituated on the ſea-ſide, and divided from *Neapolis* and *Tyche* by a wall of an extraordinary thickneſs and height. The ſecond city, called *Tyche*, ſtood between *Acradina* and the hill *Epipolæ*, having the former on the eaſt, and *Neapolis* on the ſouth. The chief ornaments of this diviſion were a ſpacious and beautiful gymnaſium, whither the youth reſorted to learn all ſorts of exerciſes, and ſeveral temples greatly admired for their inimitable ſtructure, eſpecially that of fortune called by the *Greeks Tyche*, whence this diviſion borrowed its name [l]. The third quarter, called the iſland or *Ortygia* was joined to *Acradina*, *Tyche*, and *Neapolis* by a bridge; the moſt remarkable buildings in this part were the palace of *Hiero*, which afterwards became the habitation of the *Roman* prætors, and two magnificent temples, the one dedicated to *Diana*, and the other to *Minerva*, the two tutelary goddeſſes of *Syracuſe* [m]. The laſt city was called *Neapolis*, or the new city, becauſe built after the other three; the chief ornaments of this city was a ſpacious amphitheatre, and two temples of wonderful architecture conſecrated to *Ceres* and *Libera*, or *Proſerpine*. The ſtatue of *Apollo Temnites*, which was afterwards carried to *Rome*, is celebrated by *Tully* as the moſt valuable monument in *Neapolis* [n]. Of theſe four cities *Ortygia* alone is now remaining; there are indeed ſome footſteps ſtill to be ſeen of the ancient *Syracuſa* in the ruins of the porticos, temples and palaces, which are deſcribed at length by *Fazellus*, to whom we refer the reader [o]. The famous fountain of *Arethuſa* (D) roſe in this iſland, but its ſpring is now dried up. Near the city ſtood a hill called *Epipolæ*, exceeding ſteep, and of very difficult acceſs. When the *Athenians* beſieged *Syracuſe*, this hill was not incloſed with a wall as in after-ages, but defended by a fort called *Labdalon* [p]. On *Epipolæ* was the famous priſon *Latomiæ*, which word properly ſignifies a quarry. *Cicero* gives us a minute account of this dreadful priſon, which was a cave one hundred and twenty-five b c d e

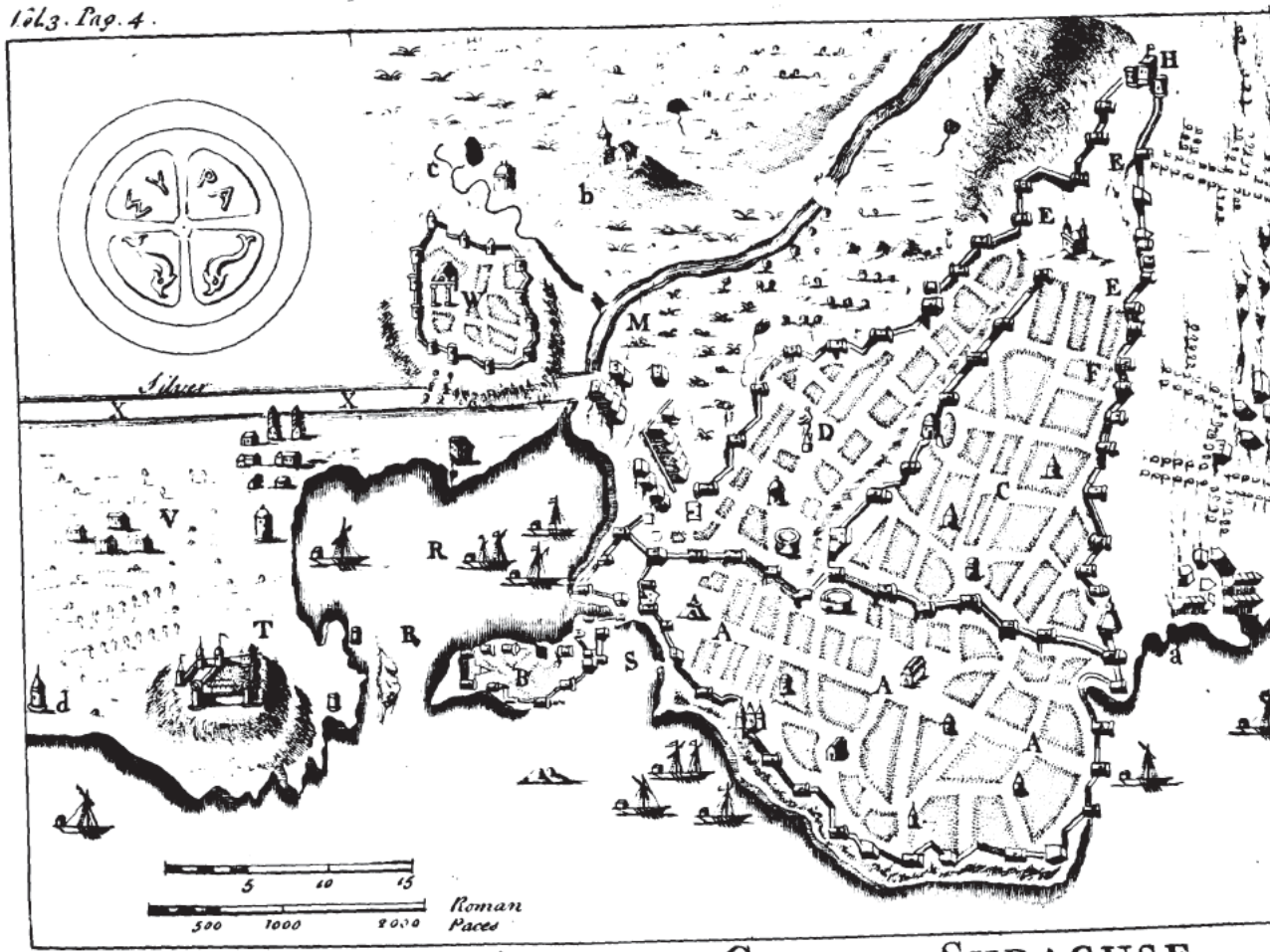
[c] Vide FAZELL. in deſcript. Siciliæ. [f] Cic. act. 4 in Verr. [g] THUCYD. l. vii. p. 503. [h] STRAB. l. vi. [i] THUCYD. & STRAB. ubi ſupra. [k] Cic. act. 4. in Verr. [l] Idem, ibid. [m] Idem, ibid. [n] Idem, ibid. [o] FAZELL. de rebus Sicul. [p] THUCYD. l. vi.

(D) The poets, without the leaſt ſhadow of probability, ſuppoſed that *Alpheus*, a river of *Elis* in *Peloponneſus*, rolled its waters either through, or under the waves of the ſea, without mixing with them, as far as the fountain of *Arethuſa*, which gave occaſion to the following lines of *Virgil*:

Extremum hunc Arethuſa mihi concede laborem . . :
Sic tibi, cum fluctus ſubter labére Sicanos,
Doris amara ſuam non inter miſceat undam (3).
Thy ſacred ſuccour *Arethuſa* bring,
To crown my labour, 'tis the laſt I ſing; . . .
So may thy ſilver ſtreams beneath the tide,
Unmixed with briny ſeas ſecurely glide. *Dryden.*

(3) *Virgil. Eclog.* 10.

paces



A MAP OF THE ANCIENT CITY OF SYRACUSE.

A Ae. Aeratium. BB. Lajus. CC. Ipcha or Tycha. DD. Temenites. EE. Epipolæ.
F The Quarry of Nyjon. G. Fort of Labdalum. HH. Euryalus. I. Canyon of the three
KK. the Walls made by them for the Siege. L. Heaps of Stones for the finishing
of the Walls. MM. Harbors. N. Wall made by the besieged. O. Leon. P. Trogilus.
Q. Thapsus. RR. the Great Haven. SS. the little Haven. T. fort Hominum.
VV. Dasion. WW. Olympieum. XX. highway to Helorus. Y. River Anapus.
Z. Lake Lysimelia. a. a Port of Trogilorum. b. Temple of Cyane.
c. the fountain of Cyane. d. d. Tower of Hercules.



I. Blundell

SYRACUSE BESIEGED BY THE ATHENIANS.

a paces long, and twenty foot broad, cut out of the rock to an incredible depth. It was the work of *Dionyſius* the tyrant, who cauſed thoſe to be ſhut up in it who had the misfortune to incur his diſpleaſure [q]. The whole city was environed with a treble wall, ſo flanked with towers and caſtles at proper diſtances, that it was deemed impregnable. It had two harbours at a ſmall diſtance from each other, being ſeparated only by the iſland, *viz.* the great harbour, and the ſmall one, called otherwiſe *Laccus*; both were ſurrounded with ſtately edifices [r]. The great harbour was above five thouſand paces in circumference, and the entrance of it five hundred paces wide, being formed on one ſide by a point of the iſland *Ortygia*, and on the other by the little iſland and cape *Plemmyrium*, which was defended by a fort
b of the ſame name. Above *Acradina* was a third port, called the harbour of *Trogilus*. The river *Anapis* ran about a mile and half diſtance from the city, and emptied itſelf into the great harbour. Near the mouth of the river, and about five hundred paces from the city, ſtood a caſtle, called *Olympia* from the temple of *Jupiter Olympius*, which was the chief ornament of the place. *Thucydides* in his deſcription of the city mentions only theſe three diviſions, *viz.* the iſland, *Acradina* and *Tyche*; whence it is plain that *Neapolis* was added after his time [s]. *Syracuſe* underwent ſeveral revolutions before it was taken by the *Romans*, as we ſhall have occaſion to relate in the ſequel of this hiſtory; but was always one of the moſt wealthy and powerful cities of thoſe times; for *Gelon*, who had made himſelf
c maſter of *Syracuſe* in the year of *Rome* 260, and the other tyrants his ſucceſſors, were become formidable both to the *Greeks*, *Africans*, and *Aſiatics*. *Dionyſius* the younger, who governed this city, kept in conſtant pay 100000 foot, and 10000 horſe, beſides a fleet of 400 ſail. It is ſtill a very conſiderable place, and well peopled, having two harbours, and a great many fine buildings.

Camarina was formerly one of the moſt wealthy cities of *Sicily*. It ſtood between the rivers *Oanus* and *Hipparis*, now the *Fraſcolari* and *Camarana*, near the coaſt. Nothing now remains of this great city but ſome ruins, and the name of *Camarana*, which the natives give to a tower and a neighbouring marſh. *Thucydides* [t] and *Strabo* [u] tell us, that *Camerina* was founded by the *Syracuſians*, who afterwards, upon
d ſome diſpute between the two cities, took it by ſtorm, and levelled it with the ground. It was rebuilt by *Hypocrates*, tyrant of *Gela*, and after many revolutions brought under ſubjection by the *Romans* in the firſt *Punic* war (E). This is the firſt city of note on the ſouthern coaſt of *Sicily*, which lies oppoſite to *Africa*, and extends from cape *Pachynum* to *Lilybæum*. Next to *Camarina* ſtood *Gela*, a city once of great note, and ſaid by *Thucydides* [w] to have been founded by one *Antiphemus*, who had made a deſcent in the iſland, being aſſiſted in the enterprize by a body of two hundred *Rhodians* from the city of *Lyndus*. Theſe gave the name of *Lyndus*, their native city, to their new habitation. Some years after a body of *Cretans*, under the conduct of one *Entimus*, landing in this part of the iſland,
e joined the *Rhodians*, and together with them peopled the city. In proceſs of time the name of *Lyndus* was changed for that of the river *Gela*, called at preſent *Fiume di Terra Nova*, which watered the neighbouring territory [x]. This city is commonly thought to have ſtood at the mouth of the *Gela*, where *Terra Nova* now ſtands; but ſome place it in the neighbourhood of the preſent *Alicate* [y]. *Agrigentum* or *Agragas* was once a city of great note, and no leſs famous for its buildings than *Syracuſe* itſelf. It is ſaid by *Thucydides* [z] to have been founded by the inhabitants of *Gela* under the conduct of the duumviri *Ariſto* and *Piſtillus* about the 99th olympiad. It ſtood between the rivers *Agragas* and *Hypſa*, of which the former is now called *Fiume di Gergenti* and *Fiume di San Biaggio*, the latter *Fiume Drago*. We may judge

Camarina.

Gela.

Agrigentum.

[q] Cic. act. 6. in Verr. [r] Idem, ibid. [s] Thucyd. l. vi. [t] Thucyd. l. vi. [u] Strab. l. vi. p. 187. [w] Thucyd. ibid. [x] Plin. l. iii. c. 8. [y] Vide Fazell. de rebus Sicul. [z] Thucyd. ubi ſupra.

(E) This city ſtood near a marſh, which infected the air with its peſtilentious exhalations, and occaſioned contagious diſtempers. Hence, though it was a defence to the city, the inhabitants drained it, contrary to the direction of the oracle which they had conſulted. They had ſcarce finiſhed the work, when the *Syracuſians* attacking them on that ſide, took their city by aſſault, and utterly deſtroyed it. Hence the proverb *Camarinam ne moveas*, which was the anſwer of the oracle, and ſignifies that we ought not to expoſe ourſelves to a greater evil in order to avoid a leſs (4). The marſh was the ſame with the preſent *Lago di Camarina*. *Ptolemy* is certainly miſtaken in placing the city of *Camarina* ten miles diſtance from the ſea, and contradicts therein all the ancient geographers.

(4) *Anthолog. Grac. & Eraſm. Chiliad.*

of the ſituation and ſplendor of the ancient *Agrigentum* from the deſcription which *Polybius* gives us of it. "It exceeds, ſays he, moſt cities in *Sicily* for its fortifications, beautiful appearance, and magnificent buildings. It ſtands a hundred and eighteen furlongs diſtance from the ſea, but can conveniently import by water all ſorts of proviſions. It is by reaſon of its ſituation and fortifications one of the ſtrongeſt places in the iſland. Its walls are built upon a rock, which by art is become inacceſſible. The river, from which it takes its name, covers it to the ſouth, and the *Hypſa* to the weſt; to the eaſt it is defended by a fortreſs built on the brink of a precipice which ſerves inſtead of a ditch [a]. Among other remarkable buildings in it there were three temples greatly commended by the ancients, *viz.* the temple of *Minerva*, the temple of *Jupiter Olympius*, and that of *Jupiter Atabyris*, ſo called from a mountain in the iſland of *Rhodes*, where that god was worſhipped. For *Agrigentum*, as we have obſerved above, was built by the inhabitants of *Gela*, who were compoſed of *Rhodians* and *Cretans*. *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, that the citadel called *Omphace*, which ſtood at a little diſtance from the mouth of *Agragas*, was much more ancient than the city itſelf [b]. The temple of *Jupiter Olympius* was one of the moſt magnificent in *Sicily*. It was, according to *Diodorus* [c] three hundred and forty foot in length, threeſcore in breadth, and in heighth an hundred and twenty. This writer highly extols the beauty and ſize of the columns, which ſupported the building, the admirable ſtructure of the portico's, and the exquiſite taſte, with which the bas-reliefs and paintings were performed; and adds, that the laſt hand was never put to that ſtately edifice. We ſhall have occaſion hereafter to ſpeak of the immenſe and almoſt incredible wealth of the *Agrigentines*.

Heraclea Minoa.

Heraclea Minoa, ſo called, according to *Diodorus* [d], becauſe built by *Minos* king of *Crete*, ſtood on the banks of the *Halycus*, now the *Platani*, not far from the place which the natives call *Caſtel Bianco*. Some writers tell us, that this city was built before the *Cretans* arrived in *Sicily*, and was called *Macara*, which name was by the *Cretans*, who ſeized on the place, changed into that of *Minoa* in honour of their king *Minos*. *Diodorus* is not very coherent with himſelf in the account he gives of it; for in one place [e] he tells us that it was built by *Minos*, and in another [f] that it was founded by the *Cretans* after their king's death. The *Cretans* were driven out by the *Selinuntii*, and theſe in their turn by a colony of *Lacedæmonians* under the command of one of the *Heraclidæ*, from whom it borrowed the name *Heraclea*. There are ſtill extant ſome medals with the name of this city, and the figure of *Hercules*, from whom the leader of the *Lacedæmonians* pretended to be deſcended.

Selinus.

Selinus was formerly a city of great note, and is ranked by the ancients among the chief cities of *Sicily*. *Ptolemy* places it between the river *Mazara*, and the promontory *Lilybæum*; but herein he differs from all the ancient hiſtorians and geographers, who ſpeak of it as ſtanding between the *Mazara* and the *Hypſa*. *Strabo* [g] tells us that it was built by the inhabitants of *Megara* in *Sicily* under the command of one *Pammilus*, about an hundred years after the foundation of their own city. *Thucydides* ſeems to allude to their origin when he calls them *Selinuntians* of *Megara* [h]. They had great quarrels with the inhabitants of *Segeſta* about their frontiers, which kindled a bloody war between the two cities. The *Segeſtani*, being overpowered by their adverſaries, had recourſe to *Hannibal* the ſon of *Giſco*, who was then in *Sicily* at the head of an hundred thouſand men. The *Carthaginian* did not let ſlip ſo fair an opportunity of puniſhing the *Selinuntians* for the inſults they had offered his father. For *Giſco* being baniſhed *Carthage*, had taken refuge in *Selinus*, and periſhed there for want, the inhabitants refuſing to afford him any relief while he was in the utmoſt diſtreſs. *Selinus* not being able to hold out againſt ſo formidable an army, was taken and razed, and moſt of the citizens inhumanly maſſacred without regard to ſex or age. Some time after *Hermocrates*, the father-in-law of *Dionyſius* the elder, being expelled *Syracuſe*, joined the remains of the *Selinuntii*, who had eſcaped the rage of the *Carthaginians*, and repaired the city, which was ſubſiſting in the ſecond *Punic* war, but in *Strabo*'s time quite deſerted [i]. *Diogenes Laertius* tells us that near *Selinus* was a marſh, which with its peſtilentious vapours infected the whole neighbourhood; to prevent which evil, *Empedocles* turned the ſtreams of

[a] POLYB. l. vii. [b] DIODOR. l. xiii. [c] Idem, ibid. [d] Idem, l. xvi. [e] DIODOR. l. xvi. [f] Idem, l. iv. [g] STRAB. l. vi. [h] THUCYD. l. vii. [i] STRAB. ubi ſupra

the

a the two rivers *Selinus* and *Hypſa* into the marſh, and by that means carried off the ſtagnating waters. The ſame author adds, that the citizens in gratitude for ſo great a benefit, ordered divine honours to be paid *Empedocles*, and ſacrifices to be offered to *Æſculapius*. The city borrowed its name from the river *Selinus*, and the river from the great quantity of ſmallage, called in *Greek Selinon*, which grew on its banks. The river *Selinus* is ſuppoſed to be the preſent *Madiuni*, and the city the place now called by the natives *Terra delle pulci* [k]. Theſe are the moſt noted cities on the ſouthern coaſt, which faces *Africa*. On that which lies over-againſt *Italy*, and is called by *Ptolemy* the weſtern, but ought to be rather called the northern coaſt, were the following cities.

b *Lilybæum*, which gave name to the cape, was, according to *Tully* [l], one of the ſtrongeſt and moſt conſiderable cities of *Sicily*. There is nothing now remaining of it but the ruins of ſome aqueducts and temples, though it was ſtill ſtanding in *Strabo*'s time [m]. The city of *Marſala* or *Marſella*, whence the cape is now called *Capo di Marſella*, is ſuppoſed to have been built out of its ruins. *Lilybæum* had a port, which was a ſafe retreat for ſhips even in *Julius Cæſar*'s time [n]. The *Romans* indeed attempted ſeveral times to ſtop it up in their wars with *Carthage*; but their attempts proved unſucceſsful, the heaps of ſtones which they threw into it being too weak to reſiſt the violence of the ſeas and the ſtorms. The *Carthaginians*, as *Diodorus* informs us [o], laid the foundations of *Lilybæum*, after they had
c been driven from *Motya* by *Dionyſius* the tyrant; and according to the ſame writer [p], *Motya* was taken by the tyrant the fourth year of the ninety-fifth olympiad. But *Diodorus* herein contradicts himſelf, as he has but too often the misfortune to do; for he tells us elſewhere [q], that it was beſieged by the *Carthaginians* in the eighty-firſt olympiad, that is about fifty-two years before. The ſepulchre of the ſybil of *Cumæ* was formerly to be ſeen near this city [r]. *Diodorus* [s] ſpeaks of a well near *Lilybæum*, whereof the waters inſpired all thoſe who drank them with a prophetic enthuſiaſm; whence the inhabitants paid a particular worſhip to *Apollo*. *Drepanum*, now *Trapani*, anciently a famous mart with a ſafe harbour, was ſo called from the *Greek* word *Drepanos*, ſignifying a ſcythe, ſuch being the ſhape of the ſhore on
d which it ſtood. It was incloſed with ſtrong walls, and fortified by *Hamilcar*, *Hannibal*'s father, who kept it a conſiderable time, and made it the ſeat of war againſt the *Romans*, till by an order from *Carthage* he concluded a peace with *Lutatius*. Near *Drepanum* was the little iſland of *Columbaria*, which the inhabitants now call *La Columbara*. In *Drepanum* died *Anchiſes*, if *Virgil* is to be credited [t]. *Eryx* ſtood on the top of a hill bearing the ſame name at a ſmall diſtance from the ſea, and the place now called *Trepano del Monte*. The city borrowed its name from the mountain, and the mountain, as is ſuppoſed, from *Eryx* the ſon of *Venus*, who is ſaid to have been killed there by *Hercules*. *Mela* tells us [u] that *Æneas* built a temple on the top of the mountain in honour of his mother *Venus*. It is certain that the votaries of this
e goddeſs came in crouds from all parts of *Greece*, *Italy*, and *Sicily* to make their offerings to her in this place; whence ſhe was ſtiled *Venus Erycina*. *Eryx* was the ſeat of king *Aceſtes*, who ſo kindly entertained *Æneas* and his wandering *Trojans*. *Hamilcar* in the firſt year of the firſt *Punic* war razed the ancient city of *Eryx*, and repaired *Drepanum* with materials brought from thence. It was ſoon after rebuilt, for we find it to have been the laſt city which the *Carthaginians* held in *Sicily*, and delivered up to the *Romans* at the end of the ſame war. In *Strabo*'s time it was almoſt quite deſerted, few people reſorting to the temple after the *Romans* had built a magnificent one to *Venus Erycina* at a ſmall diſtance from the gate *Collina* [w].

f *Segeſta*, called by the *Greek* writers *Egeſta*, and ſometimes *Aceſta*, ſtood at a ſmall diſtance from mount *Eryx*, and according to an antient tradition was built by *Æneas*, when he was by a ſtorm driven on the coaſt of *Sicily*. Some writers add, that *Egeſtus*, or, as *Virgil* calls him, *Aceſtes*, was left in poſſeſſion of the city, by the founder, on his ſetting ſail for *Italy*, and that from him it was called *Egeſta* till it became ſubject to the *Romans*, who out of ſuperſtition changed the name of *Egeſta*

Lilybæum.

Drepanum.

Eryx.

Segeſta.

[k] Fazell. ubi ſupra. [l] Cic. Act. 5. in Verr. [m] Strab. l. vi. [n] Hirtius de Bell. African. [o] Diodor. Sicul. l. xxii. [p] Idem, l. xiv. [q] Idem, l. xi. [r] Solin. c. 11. Isidor. de origin. l. viii. c. 8. [s] Diodor. ubi ſupra. [t] Virgil. Æneid. 3, ver. 707. [u] Mela, l. ii. [w] Strab. l. vi. p. 188.

into

into that of *Segeſta* (F). Others ſay, that it was built by *Egeſtus*, before *Æneas* a
came into *Italy*, and ſome are of opinion that it was founded by one *Elymus* a *Trojan*,
whence the inhabitants of this diſtrict were called *Elymi* [x]. Their territory was
watered by the *Scamander* and the *Simois*, two names given theſe rivers by the *Trojans*
in memory of thoſe in their native country; the former is now *Il fiume di San Bar-
tolomeo*, and the latter a rivulet without name. This city was taken by *Agathocles*
tyrant of *Syracuſe*, by whoſe cruel command all the inhabitants were put to the ſword,
and even the antient name of the place changed into that of *Dicæpolis*, which it did
not long retain. *Tully* tells us, that it was ruined by the *Carthaginians* before the
reign of *Agathocles*, if therefore *Diodorus*'s account be true, it muſt have been rebuilt.
According to *Strabo*'s deſcription of it, it ſtood near the place where the town of b
Barbara was built many ages after, at a ſmall diſtance from *Caſtel a Mare*.

Panormus. *Panormus*, now *Palermo*, and the capital of *Sicily*, was built by the *Phœnicians*
ſome time before the arrival of any *Greeks* in the iſland [y]. Its territory was watered
by the *Orethus*, and the *Leutherus*, the former is now called *Amiraglio*, and the
latter *Baiaria*. In the neighbourhood of this city ſtood anciently a ſtrong for-
treſs called *Erƈta*, which name was common to it with the hill, which the natives
Himera. call *Monte Pelegrino*. *Himera* was built by the inhabitants of *Zancle* or *Meſſina*,
and utterly ruined by the *Carthaginians* [z]. It was afterwards rebuilt, and called
by the *Romans Thermæ Himeræ*, from the hot baths in its neighbourhood. *Tully*
ſpeaks of this city as one of the moſt conſiderable in *Sicily* [a]. *Himera* was the birth- c
place of the famous poet *Steſichorus*. *Tully* tells us, that among the ruins of the
old city two ſtatues were dug up, which were deemed maſter-pieces of art; the
one repreſenting the city itſelf under the figure of a woman, and the other a ſtoop-
ing old man with a hook in his hand, ſuppoſed to be *Steſichorus*. The city
borrowed its name from the river *Himera*, now *fiume di Termini*, which waſhed its
walls (G). In the reign of *Auguſtus* it was made a *Roman* colony, as appears from
Alæſa. ſome medals [b]. *Alæſa* or *Halaſa*, was a very antient city of *Sicily*, and ſtood, as
Fazellus conjectures, near the place where the city of *Caronia* ſtands at preſent, on
the river *Alæſus* or *fiume di Caſonia*. Near *Alæſa* was a fountain, which, as *Solinus*
would make us believe, uſed at the ſound of a flute to bubble up ſo that it could not d
Agathyrna. be kept within the baſon [c]. *Agathyrna*, which *Strabo* [d] calls *Agathyrſum*, and
Antoninus's itinerary *Agatinum*, was according to *Diodorus* founded in the time of
the *Trojan* war. Some think that it ſtood near the place now called *San Marco*,
at a ſmall diſtance from the promontory, which the *Sicilians* call *Capo d'Or-
lando*. Theſe are the chief cities we find mentioned by the antient geographers
on the coaſts of *Sicily*. Among the inland cities, the following are the moſt
remarkable.

Adranum. *Adranum*, now *Aderno*, at the foot of mount *Ætna*, near a river formerly bear-
ing the ſame name, as it does at preſent, being called *Fiume d'Aderno*. This city was
built, according to *Diodorus* [e], by *Dionyſius* the elder, and was famous for the temple e
of *Adranus*, the tutelary god of the *Siculi*. Thither the inhabitants of the iſland and
foreigners flocked at ſtated times of the year to make their offerings, and implore
the protection of the deity of the place. *Ælian* tells us, that a thouſand large
maſtiffs were conſtantly kept here, and that they were endowed with a particular
inſtinct, which led them to fawn upon ſuch as brought preſents to the temple, to

[x] STRABO l. 7. ex APOLLODORTO, & CIC. Act. 6. in Verr. [y] THUCYD. l. 6. [z] DIODOR. l. 13. c. 67.
[a] CIC. Act. 2. in Verr. [b] FAZELL. de reb. Sicul. [c] SOLINUS, c. 11. [d] STRABO l. 6. c. 184.
[e] DIODOR. SICUL. l. 14. c. 38.

(F) The *Romans*, ſays *Pompius Feſtus* (5), chang-
ed the name of *Egeſta*, into that of *Segeſta*, by add-
ing to it the letter S. This change was wholly
fouuded on ſuperſtition. For the word *Egeſta* is
the ſame, all but one letter, as *Egeſtas*, which ſig-
nifies in *Latin* poverty or want; and ſuch names,
as imported any thing that was bad, alarmed the
ſuperſtitious *Romans*, who thought them omens of
the dangers that threatened the perſon who pro-
nounced them. Upon theſe groundleſs prejudices
they changed the name of the city, which was
firſt called *Maleventum*, into that of *Beneventum*,
as they did that of *Egeſta* into *Segeſta*.

(G) There were two rivers in *Sicily* bearing this
name; one running northward, and this is the river
which gave the name to the city; the other runs
ſouthward, and falls into the *African* ſea. The for-
mer is now called *Fiume di Termini*, and the latter
Il Salſi or *Salſo*, which name agrees with what the
ancients ſay of it, *viz.* that its waters had a ſalt
taſte, which they contracted by flowing through
ſalt mines.

(5) *Pomp. Feſt. in Segeſta.*

conduct

a conduct drunken perſons home in the night, and fall furiouſly on thieves, and tear them in pieces [f]. *Centuripe*, formerly one of the richeſt cities in *Sicily*, is now but a ſmall village called by the natives *Centorbe*. It ſtood, according to *Strabo* [g], at the foot of mount *Ætna*, not far from the river *Symæthus*, now *La Jareſta*.

Enna ſtood on an eminence in the middle of *Sicily*, as *Strabo* [h] informs us; whence it was called, according to *Diodorus* [i], the navel of *Sicily*. It was one of the ſtrongeſt places in the iſland, and remarkable for its beautiful plains, fruitful ſoil, and the many lakes and ſprings which watered its territory. A modern writer derives the name of *Enna* from the word *Ennaam*, which in the *Phœnician* language ſignifies a fountain of pleaſure [k], the waters of this place being highly commended by the anti- Enna.
b ents for their limpidity and wholeſomeneſs. We are told by *Diodorus* [l], that *Ceres* was born in this diſtrict, and that ſhe firſt taught the inhabitants of *Enna* the art of agriculture. *Diodorus* adds, that the rape of *Proſerpine* by *Pluto* happened near *Enna*, while the young goddeſs was gathering flowers in a neighbouring meadow. This opinion obtained among the *Ennæans*, who ſhewed a large cavern, which opened of itſelf, as they believed, to make the god a way to his infernal kingdom. Hence the worſhip which the *Sicilians* paid theſe two divinities, the magnificent temple which *Gelo* erected to *Ceres* in this city, and the ſolemn feſtival, which the *Syracuſians* annually celebrated near the fountain *Cyane*, ſuppoſed to have ſprung up when the earth opened under *Pluto*'s feet. The temple of *Ceres* was reſorted to
c from all parts of *Italy*, *Greece*, and *Aſia*, and was deemed one of the richeſt in *Sicily*. The antient city of *Enna* is ſuppoſed to have ſtood where *Caſtro Janni* now ſtands. *Engyum* or *Enguyum* ſtood near mount *Maurus*, which the inhabitants call *Man-* Engyum.
donia, near the ſprings of *Aleſus*. *Cicero* [m] ſpeaks of *Engyum* as one of the moſt conſiderable cities of *Sicily*. It was founded by the *Cretans*, and was famous for a temple dedicated to *Ceres*, in which it was conſtantly affirmed that certain goddeſſes, called the Mothers, appeared from time to time. This temple was, according to *Plutarch*, built by the *Cretans*, and dedicated to the goddeſſes ſtiled the Mothers (H). That writer adds, that in the temple were lodged javelins and brazen helmets, which had been conſecrated to the goddeſſes of the place by *Meriones* and
d *Ulyſſes*. Theſe were the chief cities of *Sicily* in the ages we are to write of; the others we ſhall deſcribe in our notes as we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of them in the ſequel of the hiſtory.

Ætna, now *Mount Gibel*, or in one word *Mongibello*, is the higheſt in *Sicily*, and Mountains.
famous for its frequent and dreadful eruptions, which have often deſtroyed the whole Ætna.
country to a great diſtance. It is ſaid to be eight miles in height, and ſeventeen in circumference. The lower parts are very fruitful, the middle ſhaded with woods, and the top covered with ſnow great part of the year, notwithſtanding the flames and hot cinders it frequently throws up (I). The fire, which is continually burning in the bowels of this mountain, made the poets place here the forges
e of the *Cyclopes* under the direction of *Vulcan*, and the priſon of the giants who rebelled againſt *Jupiter*. Theſe fictions the vulgar ſoon took for truths, and looked on mount *Ætna* as the reſidence of *Vulcan*, and the ſeat of his empire. Upon this ſuppoſition they erected a temple to him on the hill, in which was kept, as *Ælian* informs us [n], a perpetual fire as in the temple of *Veſta*, this element being a ſymbol of *Vulcan*. Any extraordinary eruption was looked upon by the *Romans* as ominous, and two very dreadful ones are ſaid to have happened the one not long before the breaking out of the ſervile war in *Sicily*, and the other ſoon after the death of *Julius Cæſar*, both portending the bloody wars

[f] Ælian. de Animal. l. 3. [g] Strabo l. 6. [h] Strabo ibid. [i] Diodor. Sicul. l. 5. c. 3. [k] Bochar. Phal. l. 2. c. 3. [l] Diodor. Sicul. l. 5. c. 3. [m] Cic. Act. 3. in Verr. [n] Ælian. l. 11. de Animal.

(H) The *Pagans* gave the name of mothers to the goddeſſes of the firſt rank, namely to *Cybele*, *Juno*, and *Veſta*. In the like manner the god, whoſe protection they implored, was often invoked by the name of father. *Cicero* ſpeaks of a famous temple erected in the city of *Engium* to *Cybele*, who was ſtiled the *Great Mother* (6).

(I) This is elegantly expreſſed by *Silius Italicus*, in the following lines;

Summo cana jugo cohibet (mirabile dictu!)
Vicinam flammis glaciem, æternoque rigore
Ardentes horrent ſcopuli: ſtat vertice celſi
Collis hyems, calidaque nivem tegit atra favilla (7).

(6) *Cic. Act. 3. in Verr.* (7) *Sil. Ital. l. 14. v. 571.*

that enſued. The moſt remarkable conflagrations we read of ſince thoſe times were in the years of the *Chriſtian æra* 1169, 1329, 1408, 1444, 1447, 1536, 1554, by the laſt of which *Catania* and the neighbouring countries were very near being utterly deſtroyed, as they were alſo in 1669. But we muſt refer the reader for the cauſes of thoſe eruptions, and a particular account of them to *Fazellus*, *Cluverius*, and *Leontinus* in his *Pyrologia Typographica*. Next to *Ætna* in height and compaſs is mount *Eryx*, which we have ſpoke of above. a

Rivers. THE principal rivers were the *Terius*, now *La Tavetta*, the *Himera*, riſing on mount *Modenia*, and falling into the *African* ſea; it is now called *Salſo* for the reaſons we have hinted above; the *Halycus*, called by the preſent inhabitants, *Il Platani*; it riſes at a little diſtance from the ſmall town of *Halce*, anciently *Halyciæ*, and diſcharges itſelf into the *Sicilian* ſea, near the ruins of *Heraclea*, about eighteen miles weſt of *Agrigentum*; the *Anapus*, which riſes near *Buſſena*, waters the territory of *Syracuſe*, and empties itſelf into the *Sicilian* ſea, *&c.* b

NO country has produced men more famed for learning than *Sicily*; but we need not enlarge on this ſubject, it being well known, that *Æſchylus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Empedocles*, *Gorgias*, *Euclide*, *Archimedes*, *Epicharmus*, *Theocritus*, &c. were natives of this iſland.

The Æolian iſlands. THE *Æolian* iſlands lie off the north coaſt of *Sicily*, in the *Tyrrhenian* or *Tuſcan* ſea. They were ſo called from *Æolus*, who is ſuppoſed to have reigned there. They are alſo known by the name of the *Vulcanian* iſlands, becauſe ſome of them vomited out flames like mount *Ætna*, and *Vulcan* was the tutelary god of all ſuch places; for the ſame reaſon they were called by the *Greeks Hepheſtiades*. *Strabo*, *Diodorus*, *Mela* and *Pliny* count ſeven of them, *viz. Lipara*, *Hiera*, *Strongylæ*, *Evonymos*, *Didyme*, *Ericuſa*, *Phenicuſa*. *Lipara*, now *Lipari*, is the beſt peopled, and the largeſt of all the *Æolian* iſlands, being eighteen miles in compaſs. It is ſaid to have borrowed its name from *Liparus* the ſon of *Auſon*, who reigned in this iſland [o]. The ſoil is very fruitful, and the country furniſhed with great plenty of allom, ſulphur and bitumen. It has many medicinal baths, which were formerly much frequented; whence it had the name of *Thermeſſa*. *Strongylæ*, now *Stromboli*, is about ten miles in compaſs; and the ſoil no leſs fruitful than that of *Lipari*, but the whole country is frequently laid waſte by the flames which a mountain in the iſland throws out. The other iſlands are no-ways conſiderable, moſt of them being uninhabited and mere rocks. *Ptolemy* reckons up fifteen of theſe iſlands; but it is evident he includes in that number ſeveral other little iſlands which are too far diſtant from the *Æolian* iſlands to be comprehended under that denomination. They are diſtant about forty miles from the north coaſt of *Sicily*, and fifty from the neareſt part of the farther *Calabria*. c d

The iſlands Ægates. THE iſlands, called *Ægates* or *Ægades*, lie north of cape *Lilybæum*, and are three in number, *viz. Phorbantia*, or *Buccina* as *Pliny* calls it, *Ægyſa* or *Capraria*, and *Hiera*, which is alſo called *Maritima*. The firſt is now called *Levenzo*, the ſecond *Favignana*, and the third *Maretano*. e

The inhabitants. The Cyclopes *and* Læſtrigones. THE *Cyclopes* and *Læſtrigones* were, according to *Juſtin*, *Pliny*, *Solinus* and *Thucydides*, the firſt inhabitants of *Sicily*. They are ſaid to have ſettled in the territory of *Leontium*, and the countries in the neighbourhood of mount *Ætna*; but of their origin we know nothing except what we are told by the poets. That there were formerly *Cyclopes*, or giants, ſome moderns have endeavoured to prove from the remains of ſome dead bodies of a gigantic ſize, which have been found in ſeveral parts of this iſland. They pretend that theſe giants were deſcended from *Japhet*, and that they came into *Sicily* after the confuſion of languages [p]. Their inhumanity towards ſtrangers, and the flames which mount *Ætna*, a part of their territory, was conſtantly vomiting out, gave occaſion to the many fictions of the poets, eſpecially that the *Cyclopes* fed on human fleſh, and that they were employed by *Vulcan* to make thunderbolts for *Jupiter*. f

The Sicani. THE moſt antient inhabitants after the *Cyclopes*, were the *Sicani*, who, as *Diodorus* informs us [q], called themſelves the original inhabitants of the iſland. But *Thucydides* [r]. *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſus* [s], *Philiſtus* as quoted by *Diodorus* [t], *Solinus* [u], and the poet *Silius* [w] tells us, that they came from a country in *Spain*, watered by

[o] DIODOR. SICUL. l. 5. c. 8. [p] Vide THOM. FAZELL. Decad. 1. l. 1. c. 7. & MARIAN. Valguarnera de primis incolis ſiciliæ. [q] DIODOR. SICUL. l. 5. c. 2. [r] THUCYD. l. 6. [s] DION. HALIC. l. 1. [t] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. [u] SOLINUS, c. 10. [w] SIL. ITAL. l. 14.

the

a the river *Sicanus*, which *Servius* [x], upon very weak conjectures, takes to be the *Segro*. Some writers will have them to have been called *Sicani* from the river *Sicanus*; others from their leader, under whoſe conduct they ſettled in *Sicily*, and gave their name to the iſland, which before was called *Trinacria*. *Diodorus* is of opinion, that the *Sicani* were the original inhabitants of *Sicily*, and ſupports his aſſertion with the authority of *Timæus*, who wrote the hiſtory of *Sicily* from the earlieſt ages. According to that ancient writer the *Sicanians* at firſt enjoy'd the whole iſland, and applied themſelves to cultivate and improve the ground in the neighbourhood of mount *Ætna*, the moſt fruitful part of the iſland: they built ſeveral ſmall towns and villages on the hills to ſecure themſelves againſt thieves and robbers,
b and were governed not by one common prince, but each city and diſtrict by its own king. Thus they continued to live till *Ætna* began to throw out flames, and lay waſte the whole country; and then they abandoned their ancient habitations, and retired to the weſtern parts of the iſland, which they ſtill inhabited in the time of *Thucydides* [y]. Some *Trojans* after the deſtruction of their city landing in *Sicily*, ſettled among the *Sicani*, built the cities of *Eryx* and *Egeſta*, and became one people with them, taking the general name of *Elymi* or *Elymæi*. They were afterwards joined by ſome *Phocenſes*, who ſettled here on their return from the ſiege of *Troy*. The people properly called *Siculi*, or *Sicilians*, came over into *Sicily*, *The* Siculi. after the *Sicani* had for many ages enjoyed an indiſturbed poſſeſſion of the whole
c iſland. They were, according to *Hellenicus* of *Lesbos*, the ancient inhabitants of *Auſonia*, properly ſo called; but being driven from thence by the *Opici*, they took refuge in *Sicily*, and ſettled in that part of the iſland, which the *Sicani* had forſaken. As they were not contented with the narrow bounds which the *Sicani* allowed them, they began to encroach upon their neighbours; whereupon a bloody battle enſued, in which the *Sicani* were utterly defeated, and confined to a corner of the iſland. The *Siculi* now maſters of the greater part of the country, changed the ancient name of *Sicania* into that of *Sicily* [z]. *Philiſtus*, as quoted by *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*, tells us, that the *Siculi* were originally *Ligures*, and that they oppoſed *Hercules*, when on his return from *Spain*, he attempted to croſs the *Alps* out of *Gaul*
d into *Italy*. Notwithſtanding their oppoſition that great conqueror got ſafe into *Italy*, ſubdued the *Ligures*, and having incorported them into his army, carried them over into *Sicily*, it being his cuſtom, as the ſame author acquaints us, to recruit his army with the people he had conquered, and after they had aſſiſted him in making new conqueſts, to reward them with new ſeats [a]. The *Phœnicians* likewiſe ſettled on the coaſt, and in the adjacent iſlands, for the conveniency of trade; but upon the arrival of the *Greeks* retired into the country of the *Elymi*, in order to be nearer *Carthage* [b].

About three hundred years after the arrival of the *Siculi*, the iſland began to *The* Greeks. be known to the *Greeks*. Of theſe the firſt that went thither were the *Chalcidians* of
e *Eubœa*, under the conduct of *Thucles*, who built *Naxus*, and a famous altar of *Apollo*, which, as *Thucydides* tells us, was ſtill ſtanding in his time without the city [c]. The year after, which was, accotding to *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus* [d], the third of the ſeventeenth olympiad, *Archias* the *Corinthian*, one of the *Heraclidæ*, laid the foundations of *Syracuſe*. Seven years after a new colony of *Chalcidians* founded *Leontini* and *Catana*, after having driven out the *Siculi* who inhabited that tract. About the ſame time *Lamis* with a colony from *Megara*, a city of *Achaia*, ſettled on the river *Pantacius* at a place called *Trotilum*, where his adventurers lived ſome time in common with the *Chalcidians* of *Leontini*; but being driven from thence by the *Leontines*, he built the city of *Thapſus*, where he died. Upon his death, the colony
f left *Thapſus*, and under the conduct of *Hyblon* king of the *Siculi*, founded *Megara Hyblæa*, where they reſided two hundred and forty-five years, till they were driven out by *Gelon*, tyrant of *Syracuſe*. During their abode at *Megara*, they ſent one *Pammilus*, who was come from *Megara* in *Achaia*, their original city, to build *Selinus*. This city was founded about a hundred years after the foundation of *Megara*. *Antiphemus* and *Entimus*, the former a *Rhodian*, the other a *Cretan*, led each a colony of their countrymen, and jointly built the city of *Gela* on a river of the ſame name, eſtabliſhing in their new ſettlement the *Doric* cuſtoms, about forty-

[x] Serv. in lib. 8. Æneid. [y] Diodor. & Thucyd. ubi ſupra. [z] Thucyd. ubi ſupra. Dion. Halicar. l. 1. [a] Philistus apud Dion. Halicar. l. 1. [b] Thucyd. ubi ſupra. [c] Idem, ibid. [d] Dion. Halicar. l. 2.

five

five years after the founding of *Syracuſe*. The inhabitants of *Gela* founded *Agri-* a
gentum an hundred and eight years after their arrival in *Sicily*, and introduced the ſame cuſtoms there. A few years after *Zancle* was built by the pirates of *Cumæ* in *Italy*, but chiefly peopled by the *Chalcidians*, *Samians*, and *Ionians*, who choſe rather to ſeek new ſettlements than live under the *Perſian* yoke. Some time after *Anaxales*, tyrant of *Rhegium*, drove out the ancient proprietors, and dividing their lands among his followers, called the city *Meſſana* or *Meſſene*, which was the name of his native city in *Peloponneſus*. The city of *Himera* was founded by the *Zancleans* under the direction of *Eucleides*, *Simus*, and *Sacon*; but peopled by the *Chalcidians*, and ſome *Syracuſian* exiles, who had been driven out by the contrary faction. The *Syracuſians* built *Acræ*, *Chaſmenæ*, and *Camarina*; the firſt ſeventy years, the b
ſecond ninety, and the third one hundred and thirty-five after the foundation of their own city. This is the account which *Thucydides*, a moſt judicious and exact writer, gives us of the various nations, whether *Greeks* or *Barbarians*, who ſettled in *Sicily* [e]. He takes no notice of a colony from *Crete*, which, if *Diodorus* is to be credited, ſettled in *Sicily* long before the *Greeks* got any footing in that iſland. According to this writer *Minos*, king of *Crete*, having invaded *Sicily* in purſuit of *Dædalus*, was there treacherouſly put to death by *Cocalus*, king of the *Sicani*. The *Cretans*, who had attended him in this expedition, having loſt their leader, and likewiſe their ſhips, which were all burnt by *Cocalus*, reſolved to ſettle in the iſland, and build a city; which they did accordingly, calling it from the name of their king *Minoa*. Some time after the inhabitants of *Minoa*, poſſeſſing themſelves of a c
place ſtrong by nature, in the heart of the country, built there the city of *Engium*. After the deſtruction of *Troy*, *Merion*, with other *Cretans*, being caſt away on the coaſts of *Sicily*, were kindly entertained by their countrymen there, and admitted to ſhare all the privileges of their city. Their power being thus increaſed with their numbers, they began to make frequent inroads into the neighbouring territories, and conſiderably extended their confines. In proceſs of time they became one of the moſt wealthy colonies of *Sicily*, and built a moſt magnificent temple in honour of the *Curetes* or *Corybantes*, called in *Crete* the *Mother Goddeſſes* [f]. *Strabo* counts among the ancient inhabitants of *Sicily* the *Morgetes*, who being driven out of *Italy* by the *Œnotrians*, ſettled in that part of the iſland, where the ancient city of *Mor-* d
gantium ſtood [g]. The *Campani*, who aſſumed the name of *Mamertini*, that is, invincible warriors, and the *Carthaginians*, who ſettled very early in *Sicily*, ought likewiſe to be counted among the ancient inhabitants of the iſland; but of theſe we ſhall have frequent occaſion to ſpeak in the ſequel of this hiſtory.

The hiſtory of the Sicani *and* Siculi.

As the authors, who have wrote the hiſtory of *Sicily* from the earlieſt times, and to whom both *Diodorus* and *Thucydides* refer us for a more full account of what they only hint at, have not, to the irreparable loſs of the learned world, reached our times, we cannot pretend to give any ſatisfactory or connected hiſtory of thoſe nations that inhabited the iſland before the arrival of the *Greeks* (K). Of the *Læſtrigones*

[e] THUCYD. l. vi. [f] DIODOR. SICUL. l. v. c. 13. [g] STRAB. l. vi.

(K) The authors who wrote the hiſtory of *Sicily* from the earlieſt ages are *Timæus*, *Philiſtus*, *Antiochus of Syracuſe*, *Hipys*, and *Theopompus*. *Timæus* was contemporary with *Plato*, wrote the hiſtory of *Sicily*, and is often quoted and followed by *Diodorus Siculus*. *Philiſtus* flouriſhed under the two *Dionyſius*'s, and wrote a complete hiſtory of *Sicily* from the earlieſt ages to his time. He was a native of *Naucratis*, but paſſed great part of his life at *Syracuſe*, where he aſſiſted *Dionyſius* in the eſtabliſhing of his authority. He married the niece of *Dionyſius*, unknown to him, and was on that account baniſhed *Sicily*. He is often quoted by *Joſephus*, and ſeems to have been an accurate writer (18). *Antiochus* of *Syracuſe* is quoted by *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus* as an author of great credit; he flouriſhed about the 90th olympiad, and wrote the hiſtory of *Sicily* in nine books, which began with the reign of *Cocalus*, and ended with the ſtate of *Sicily* in the reign of *Darius Nothus* king of *Perſia*. *Pauſanias* mentions this author in theſe words; Antiochus *ſon of* Xenophanes, *a* Syracuſian, *ſays in his hiſtory of* Sicily, *&c.* He is alſo quoted by *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*, who tells us, that he extracted his hiſtory from ancient and authentic monuments. *Strabo*, *Heſychius* and *Feſtus* ſeem to pay a great deference to the authority of this writer. *Hipys* flouriſhed either in the reign of *Darius*, or that of *Xerxes*, and was the firſt who wrote the hiſtory of *Sicily*, which hiſtory was afterwards abridged by one *Myes*. He is frequently quoted by *Plutarch*, *Suidas*, the ſcholiaſt on *Aratus*, and others. *Theopompus*, a native of the iſle of *Chios*, flouriſhed in the reigns of *Artaxerxes Ochus* of *Perſia*, and *Philip* the father of *Alexander* of *Macedon*. He was the diſciple of *Iſocrates*, and in the opinion of *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*, far excelled his maſter. *Athenæus* cites and commends him as a lover of truth, and one who ſpared

(18) *Vid. Plut. in Dio. Diodor. Sicul. l.* xvi.

a *Læſtrigones* and *Cyclopes* we know nothing but what we read in the poets, and is beneath the dignity of hiſtory to take notice of. We ſhall only ſay that ſome writers have, not without good grounds, imagined that the *Læſtrigones* and *Sicani* were one and the ſame people [h]. As to the *Sicani*, they had at firſt as many kings as cities, but were in proceſs of time brought under ſubjection to one common prince. Of all their kings we find two only mentioned in hiſtory, viz. *Cocalus* and *Teutus*; all we know of the latter is, that in his time the *Sicani*, being at variance among themſelves, were ſubdued by *Phalaris* tyrant of *Agrigentum*, and *Teutus* himſelf taken by treachery in *Veſſa* his capital [i]. *Cocalus* reigned long before him, and was, according to *Diodorus*, contemporary with *Minos* king of *Crete*, who being highly incenſed b againſt *Dædalus* for helping his queen *Paſiphae* to ſatisfy her unnatural luſt, equipt a powerful fleet, and purſued him into *Sicily*, where *Cocalus* then reigned. Upon his arrival he ſent meſſengers to *Cocalus*, requiring him to deliver up *Dædalus*. The *Sicanian* ſhewed himſelf diſpoſed to comply with his requeſt, entertained him very ſplendidly, and invited him to his palace, where he cauſed him to be privately ſtifled in a hot bath. The *Cretans*, who had attended him into *Sicily*, raiſed a ſtately monument to their deceaſed king, whoſe bones were many ages after dug up in laying the foundations of *Agrigentum*, and ſent into *Crete* by *Thero* ſovereign of that diſtrict [k]. In the time of the *Peloponneſian* war the *Sicani* ſided with the *Lacedæmonians*, and afterwards with *Dionyſius*, tyrant of *Syracuſe*, againſt the *Car-*c *thaginians*; but were at laſt entirely ſubdued by the latter, and held in ſubjection till the *Romans* in the firſt *Punic* war reſcued them from that bondage [l].

THE *Siculi* were in like manner firſt ſubject to many, and afterwards to one common prince. *Æolus*, according to *Diodorus* [m] and *Juſtin* [n] was their firſt king, and ſucceeded by *Butes*, as *Butes* was by *Eryx*. But the moſt renowned among their princes was *Ducetius*, who governed the *Siculi* with great wiſdom, built the city of *Palicon* (L), and removed that of *Neas*, the place of his birth, from the hills to the champain country [o]. He engaged in a war with the *Syracuſians*, by whom he was routed, and ſurrendering himſelf to them, was ſet at liberty upon condition that he ſhould leave *Sicily*, and lead a private life at *Corinth* (M). The *Syracuſians*, having

[h] Vid. REINECCII. hiſt. Jul. Vol. II. p. 381. [i] POLYÆN. l. v. [k] DIODOR. l. iv. c. 13. PAUSAN. l. vii. EUSEB. in Chron. [l] DIODOR. l. xiii. & xvi. [m] Idem, l. xiii. [n] JUSTIN. l. iv. [o] DIODOR. l. xi.

ſpared no pains in the ſearch of it. Beſides many other excellent performances, he wrote the hiſtory of *Philip*, the father of *Alexander*, in three books; in one of which he gave an account of the affairs of *Sicily* from the beginning of the reign of *Dionyſius* the elder to the expulſion of *Dionyſius* the younger (19). As the works of theſe authors have not reached us, we are left quite in the dark as to ſome of the moſt material points in the hiſtory of *Sicily*.

(L) The city was ſo called from a neighbouring temple dedicated to the gods *Palici*, who were ſuppoſed to be two twin-brothers, and ſons of *Jupiter* by the nymph *Thalia*. The temple was very famous for the wonders that were related of it; but far more for the ſacredneſs of the oaths that were taken there, the violation of which was ſaid to be always attended with ſudden and exemplary puniſhment. This ſacred place was a ſecure aſylum for all perſons, who were oppreſſed by a ſuperior power; and eſpecially for ſlaves, who were unjuſtly abuſed, or too cruelly treated by their maſters. They continued ſafe in the temple till ſuch time as they had made their peace by the interpoſition of mediators choſen by both parties; and there was not a ſingle inſtance of a maſter's having forfeited the promiſe he had made to pardon his ſlaves; ſo greatly revered were the gods who preſided in the temple for the ſevere vengeance they were believed to take on thoſe who violated their oaths (20).

(M) *Ducetius*, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, united all the *Siculi*, the inhabitants of *Hybla* excepted, into one body; by which means he became very powerful, and gained ſeveral conſiderable victories over the *Syracuſians*, who began to give no ſmall umbrage to the inhabitants of *Sicily*. But after many glorious ſucceſſes, *Ducetius* was defeated in a pitched battle, and abandoned by the greateſt part of his forces. The conſternation, into which ſo ſudden and general a deſertion threw him, prompted him to take a reſolution which nothing but the utmoſt deſpair could ſuggeſt. He withdrew in the night to *Syracuſe*, advanced as far as the great ſquare in the middle of the city, and there falling proſtrate at the foot of the altar, abandoned his life and dominions to the mercy of the *Syracuſians* his profeſſed enemies. Such a ſight drew the whole city into the ſquare, and the orators endeavoured to inflame the people thus aſſembled againſt the ſuppliant, whom providence had put into their hands, that they might revenge and puniſh by his death all the injuries he had done the republic. Such ſpeeches incenſed the multitude, who were ready to fall upon him even at the foot of the altar; but an aſſembly being convened, the wiſeſt of the ſenators repreſented, that they were not to conſider what puniſhment *Ducetius* might deſerve, but how it behoved the *Syracuſians* to behave on that occaſion; that they ought not to look upon him any longer as an enemy, but as a ſuppliant, by which character his perſon was become ſacred and inviolable; that it was worthy the goodneſs natural to the *Syracuſians* to exert their clemency even towards thoſe who leaſt deſerved it, *&c.* The people was greatly affected with this ſpeech, and

(19) *Diodor. Sicul. l. xvi.* (20) *Diodor. Sicul. ibid. c. 22.*

thus got rid of a powerful rival, reduced the whole country of the *Siculi*, except the city of *Trinacria* alone, which refuſed to admit the *Syracuſians* within the walls. This city was at that time the metropolis of the *Siculi*, and its inhabitants were accounted the beſt warriors of the whole nation. The *Syracuſians* therefore, having drawn together all their troops, marched out againſt the *Trinacrians*, who met them at ſome diſtance from their city, and offered them battle. Both armies engaged with the utmoſt fury, and the victory was long doubtful. But at laſt the *Trinacrians* were overpowered with numbers, and thinking it beneath them either to beg quarter, or to fly, were all to a man killed on the ſpot. Such of them as were wounded, preferring death to captivity, diſpatched themſelves. The *Syracuſians* having gained ſo complete a victory over a people never before ſubdued, levelled the city with the ground, ſold all the women and children for ſlaves, and ſent the ſpoils by way of thankſgiving to the temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos* [p]. Thus were the *Siculi* reduced by the *Syracuſians*; but they did not long continue ſubject to them; for in the war which not long after broke out between the *Syracuſians* and *Athenians* under the conduct of *Nicias*, we find the former ſoliciting the *Siculi* to join them againſt a foreign enemy, and eſpouſe the cauſe of *Syracuſe* as their own. But the *Siculi* were ſo far from complying with their requeſt, that they ſent powerful ſuccours to the *Athenians*, and cut in pieces a body of *Spartans* that was marching to the relief of *Syracuſe* [q]. In the war which was ſoon after kindled between *Carthage* and *Syracuſe*, they aſſiſted the *Carthaginians* with an army of twenty thouſand men [r]. But in the war which *Dionyſius* the elder made upon the *Carthaginians* with a deſign to drive them out of the iſland, they aſſiſted the *Syracuſians* to the utmoſt of their power. The *Carthaginians* prevailed in this war, and the *Siculi*, notwithſtanding the aſſiſtance they had lent *Dionyſius*, were by him abandoned, and given up to the *Carthaginians*, whoſe yoke they bore till the time of *Timoleon* the *Corinthian*, who reſtored moſt of the cities belonging to the *Siculi* to the full enjoyment of their ancient liberties [s], as we ſhall have occaſion to relate at length in the ſequel of this hiſtory. This is what we have been able to gather relating to the firſt inhabitants of *Sicily*, from the few fragments that are ſtill remaining of the authors, who have wrote at length on that ſubject. We ſhall now proceed to the hiſtory of the *Greek* colonies in *Sicily*, beginning with that of *Syracuſe* the moſt powerful ſtate and eminent city in the whole iſland.

[p] Idem, l. xii. [q] Idem, ibid. [r] Idem, l. xiii. [s] Idem, l. xiv.

and all to a man voted for ſparing *Ducetius*'s life. However he was baniſhed *Sicily*, and ordered to reſide at *Corinth*, the original city of the *Syracuſians*, who took upon them to furniſh the exile with all things neceſſary to ſupport himſelf ſuitable to his dignity. *Ducetius* however returned ſome years after into *Sicily* under pretence of founding a new colony, and endeavoured to deliver his countrymen from the oppreſſion they groaned under, but was prevented by death from accompliſhing his deſign (21).

(21) *Diodor. Sicul. l.* xi. & xii.

SECT. II.

The hiſtory of Syracuse.

WHAT kind of government firſt prevailed in the city of *Syracuſe* is not well known. We find one *Polis* mentioned by *Athenæus* [t] and *Ælian* [u] as reigning there in the earlieſt times; whence ſome have concluded that the city was firſt governed by kings. It is certain that monarchical government, if firſt introduced, was not of long continuance, being ſoon changed into a democracy, as is manifeſt from *Ariſtotle* [w], *Diodorus Siculus* [x], and *Juſtin* [y]. But as the hiſtory of that republic is for the ſpace of two hundred years overcaſt with an impenetrable miſt for want of records, we ſhall begin with the reign of *Gelon*, in whoſe time *Syracuſe* began to make a very conſiderable figure, and thenceforward furniſhes many great and memo-

[t] Athen. l. iii. c. 28. [u] Ælian. V. H. l. xii. c. 31. [w] Aristot. l. v. Polit. c. 4. [x] Diodor. Sicul. l. xx. [y] Justin. l. xxii.

rable

a rable events for the ſpace of above two hundred years. During all that time it exhibits a perpetual alternative of ſlavery under tyrants, and liberty under a popular government, till it was at length reduced by the *Romans*, and made part of their empire.

Gelon was born in the city of *Gela*, whence he probably took his name (N). He ſignalized himſelf in the wars, which *Hippocrates*, tyrant of *Gela*, carried on againſt the neighbouring ſtates, moſt of which he reduced, and was very near making himſelf maſter of *Syracuſe*, after having defeated the *Syracuſians* in a battle fought on the banks of the *Florus*; however he obliged them to deliver up to *Hippocrates* the city of *Camarina*, which they had ever poſſeſſed to that time. After the death Gelon. *Year of the flood* 2514. *Before Chriſt* 485.

b of *Hippocrates*, *Gelon* under pretence of defending the rights of the tyrant's children, his wards, took up arms againſt his own citizens, and having overcome them in a battle, ſeized on the ſovereignty for himſelf. After this ſucceſs, he undertook to reſtore ſome *Syracuſians*, who had been expelled the city by the contrary faction. With theſe exiles he marched from *Caſmene* to *Syracuſe*, where he was received by the populace with loud acclamations, and put in poſſeſſion of the city. Being now maſter of ſo wealthy a place, he gave the government of *Gela* to his brother *Hiero*, and bent all his thoughts on the embelliſhing of *Syracuſe*, and extending the limits of that ſtate. His firſt care was to people it well, and therefore, having deſtroyed the city of *Camarina*, he transferred the inhabitants to *Syracuſe*. He

c had ſoon after ſome diſputes with the *Megareans*, who were ſupported by all the *Eubœans* that inhabited *Sicily*. But their joint forces were not able to cope with *Gelon*, who drove them out of the field, took and razed their cities, and tranſplanted the moſt wealthy among the inhabitants to his favourite city, allowing them to enjoy the ſame rights and privileges as the natives. The common people, though they had no part in promoting the war againſt him, he ſold for ſlaves, obliging thoſe who purchaſed them, to tranſport them out of *Sicily*, ſaying that it was more eaſy to govern a thouſand men of ſubſtance, than one who had nothing to loſe [a]. By this means the power of *Syracuſe* roſe in a ſhort time to a very great height, and the friendſhip of *Gelon* was courted not only by the neighbouring ſtates, but by

d thoſe of *Greece*, namely of *Athens* and *Lacedæmon*, who jointly ſent embaſſadors into *Sicily*, inviting him to enter into an alliance with them againſt *Xerxes* king of *Perſia*, who was ready to invade *Greece* with a formidable army. *Gelon*, it ſeems, had been, before this time, engaged in a war with the *Carthaginians*, and on that occaſion had implored in vain the aſſiſtance of the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians*, for he upbraided the embaſſadors with the contempt *Athens* and *Lacedæmon* had ſhewn him when he ſolicited ſuccours from them againſt the *Carthaginians*. However he declared at the ſame time that he was ſo far from retaliating ſuch an ungenerous treatment, that on the contrary he was ready to ſupply them with two hundred gallies, twenty thouſand men compleatly armed, two thouſand horſe,

e two thouſand bow-men, two thouſand ſlingers, two thouſand lighthorſe, and beſides to furniſh the whole *Greek* army with corn during all the time of the war, upon condition they would appoint him commander in chief of all their forces. This propoſal was rejected by the embaſſadors with indignation, who told him that if he was willing to ſuccour *Greece* under the conduct of the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians*, they would willingly enter into a confederacy with him againſt the common enemy, but if he diſdained to obey their orders, they did not care for his aſſiſtance. *Gelon* replied with a great deal of temper, that he could not help thinking he had a better claim to the ſupreme command than either the *Lacedæmonians* or *Athenians*, ſince he had a far greater number both of ſea and land-

[a] Herodot. l. vii.

(N) The firſt of *Gelon*'s anceſtors we find mentioned in his hiſtory was one *Oeceſtor*, who was born in the iſland of *Telus*, but went to ſettle at *Gela*, whence he was driven with the other inhabitants by *Antiophemes* and the *Lyndians* of *Rhodes*, when they poſſeſſed themſelves of that city. In proceſs of time one of his deſcendants by name *Telines* was created by the inhabitants of *Gela* high-prieſt of the infernal gods. At what time the family returned to *Gela* is not known. *Herodotus* (22) informs us that *Telines* was the firſt of the deſcendants of *Oeceſtor*, who made any figure, and that ſome of the inhabitants of *Gela* being expelled in a ſedition, he by the authority of his function brought them back to their native country, for which good office the prieſthood was continued in his family.

(22) *Herodot. l.* vii.

forces;

forces; but however he would abate ſomething of his firſt pretenſions, and be ſatisfied with the command either of the fleet or the army, and allow them to chuſe which of the two they liked beſt. The embaſſadors, notwithſtanding the ſtraits their reſpective countries were in, would hearken to no ſuch propoſals; whereupon they were commanded by *Gelon* to depart forthwith his dominions [b]. a

In the mean time *Gelon* being informed that *Xerxes* had already croſſed the *Helleſpont*, and apprehending that the *Greeks* would not be able to reſiſt ſo formidable a power, diſpatched to *Delphos* one *Cadmus*, a perſon whom he could confide in (O), with rich preſents, enjoining him to wait the event of a battle, and in caſe *Xerxes* ſhould conquer to preſent him with the treaſure, and pay him homage in his name; but if the *Greeks* ſhould get the better of the *Barbarian*, to bring back the preſents to *Sicily* (P) [c]. *Gelon*, it ſeems, was at this time quite ignorant of the alliance which *Xerxes* had concluded with the *Carthaginians* before he undertook his expedition into *Greece*. By that treaty it was agreed, that while the *Perſians* invaded *Greece*, the *Carthaginians* ſhould fall on thoſe who were of the *Greek* name in *Sicily* and *Italy*, that they might be diverted from aſſiſting one another. Purſuant to this agreement, the *Carthaginians* made vaſt preparations with a view to recover the places which they had formerly poſſeſſed in *Sicily*. It is not exactly known at what time the *Carthaginians* firſt carried their arms into *Sicily*; all we are certain of is, that they were poſſeſſed of ſome part of it as early as the firſt year after the expulſion of king *Tarquin* at *Rome*; for in the time of the firſt conſuls *Brutus* and *Valerius* the *Romans* and *Carthaginians* entered into a treaty, chiefly in relation to navigation and commerce, whereby it was expreſsly ſtipulated among other things, that the *Romans*, who ſhould touch at *Sardinia*, or that part of *Sicily*, which belonged to the *Carthaginians*, ſhould be received there in the ſame manner as the *Carthaginians* themſelves [d]. Hence it is manifeſt, that the *Carthaginians* were already maſters of *Sardinia* and part of *Sicily*. This treaty was concluded about twenty-eight years before *Xerxes* invaded *Greece*; but at the time of that expedition the *Carthaginians* had not a foot of ground in *Sicily*, having been driven out by *Gelon*, as appears from that prince's ſpeech to the *Athenian* and *Spartan* embaſſadors related at length by *Herodotus* [e]. No wonder then that the *Carthaginians* readily embraced ſo favourable an opportunity of recovering their dominions in *Sicily*, and joined in alliance with *Xerxes*, who was an irreconcileable enemy to the whole *Greek* nation. The preparations for this war are ſaid to have been continued for three years, during which time *Hamilcar*, the ſon of *Hanno*, who was charged with the management of it, not only raiſed what forces he could in *Africa*, but alſo with the money ſent him by *Xerxes* hired a great number of mercenaries in *Spain*, *Gaul*, and *Italy*; ſo that his army amounted to three hundred thouſand men, and his fleet to two thouſand ſhips of war, and three thouſand tranſports. With this formidable army *Hamilacr* ſailed from *Carthage*, and landing without oppoſition at *Panormus*, laid ſiege to *Himera* a maritime city in that neighbourhood. *Theron*, tyrant of *Agrigentum*, whoſe daughter *Gelon* had married, was then in poſſeſſion of *Himera*, b c d e

[b] Herodot. ibid. Diodor. Sicul. l. xi. Aristot. l. viii. Polit. c. 12. [c] Herodot. ibid. [d] Polyb. l. iii. c. 22, 23, 24. [e] Herodot. ubi ſupra.

(O) *Cadmus* had been formerly lord of *Cos*, the dominion of which iſland he had received by inheritance from his anceſtors; but becauſe they had uſurped that ſovereignty, and unjuſtly deprived the inhabitants of their liberty, *Cadmus* voluntarily reſigned his authority, reſtored the *Coans* to their ancient rights and privileges, and retired to the city of *Zancle* in *Sicily*, where he lived a private life. *Gelon*, who was well acquainted with his character, ſent him to *Delphos* on this occaſion, entruſting him with preſents of an immenſe value. Neither was he deceived in the opinion which he had conceived of his integrity; for *Cadmus* no ſooner heard that the *Perſians* had been defeated, and that *Xerxes* was retiring with his forces, than he returned to *Sicily*, and delivered up to *Gelon* the treaſures he had entruſted him with, though he might with impunity have appropriated them to himſelf (23).

(P) The *Sicilian* writers, as *Herodotus* informs us, vary in ſome particulars of this account, and ſay, that *Gelon*, having at laſt prevailed with himſelf to ſerve under the *Lacedæmonians*, would have aſſiſted *Greece* in her diſtreſs, if his own dominions had not been invaded by the *Carthaginians*. Theſe authors make no mention of any alliance concluded between the *Perſians* and *Carthaginians*; but tell us, that the *Carthaginians* were invited into *Sicily* by *Terillus*, who had been tyrant of *Himera*, but diſpoſſeſſed of his government by *Theron* tyrant of *Agrigentum*, to revenge which injury at the inſtigation of *Anaxilas* tyrant of *Rhegium*, who had married his daughter, he had recourſe to the *Carthaginians*, not doubting but they would gladly embrace ſo favourable an opportunity of invading *Sicily* (24).

(23) *Herodot. ibid.* (24) *Idem, ibid.*

having

a having driven from thence *Terillus*, to whom that city of right belonged. The tyrant ſeeing his city all on a ſudden inveſted with ſo numerous an army, diſpatched meſſenger after meſſenger to his ſon-in-law imploring a ſpeedy ſuccour. *Gelon* upon the firſt notice he had of the ſtraits *Theron* was in, drew together an army of fifty thouſand foot, and five thouſand horſe, and marched with all poſſible expedition to his relief. *Hamilcar* on his ſitting down before *Himera*, which was a town of great ſtrength, had cauſed two large camps to be well fortified; in one of which he lodged his land-army; and his ſhips, which he had cauſed to be drawn aſhore, in the other, placing there all his marines for their defence. *Gelon*, on his arrival at *Himera*, intercepted a courier, carrying letters from the inhabitants of *Selinus*, confederates of the *Carthaginians*, to *Hamilcar*, whereby he underſtood,
b that *Hamilcar* was to offer the next morning in the camp of the marines a ſolemn ſacrifice to *Neptune*, and that he had appointed the *Selinuntine* cavalry to join him the ſame day in the ſaid camp. *Gelon* taking advantage of this intelligence, drew out an equal number of his own horſe, ordering them to advance to the enemy's camp about the time agreed on, as if they were the *Selinuntines*. His orders were put in execution, and the body of cavalry admitted without the leaſt ſuſpicion into the camp. *Hamilcar* was then buſy in ſacrificing, and the greater part of the ſoldiery attending him without arms. The *Syracuſians* therefore, without the leaſt oppoſition, making up to *Hamilcar*, killed him, purſuant to their general's orders,
c cut in pieces moſt of his marines, and ſet fire to the ſhips. In this critical conjuncture, *Gelon*, who had notice of the ſucceſs by a ſignal given him from the top of a neighbouring hill, drew out his army and attacked the other camp. The *Carthaginians* at firſt made a gallant reſiſtance; but when news was brought them of their general's death, and at the ſame time ſeeing all their fleet in a blaze, they had no longer courage to ſtand their ground, but betook themſelves to a precipitous flight; and then the ſlaughter was dreadful. We are told that no fewer than an hundred and fifty thouſand were killed in the purſuit; the reſt retired to an eminence, where they made head againſt the enemy; but being ſurrounded on all ſides without any hopes of relief, they were obliged, for want of proviſions, to ſurrender at diſcretion; ſo that of this mighty army, the greateſt that had ever been raiſed
d in thoſe weſtern parts, not one ſingle man made his eſcape [f]. *Herodotus* tells us that this battle was fought the ſame day as that of *Salamis*, but *Diodorus Siculus* will have the *Carthaginians* to have been defeated the ſame day that *Leonidas* was killed at *Thermopylæ*. After the battle *Gelon* amply rewarded all thoſe who had ſignalized themſelves in the action, eſpecially the body of horſe, to whom he was chiefly indebted for the victory. The greateſt part of the ſpoils, which were of an immenſe value, he offered to the gods, adorning with them the temples of *Syracuſe* and *Himera*. The captives he ſhared with his allies, who employed them in public works for the common good; and ſo many were taken, that all *Africa*, as our author ſays, ſeemed to have been tranſplanted into *Sicily*. Some of the private citizens of *Agrigentum*, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves above the reſt, had
e five hundred apiece. They were all put in irons, and ſet apart for the public ſervice; and on this occaſion it was, that the *Agrigentines* built their famous temple, and made thoſe conduits, which were ſo much admired by the ancients, and called *Pheaces* from one *Pheax*, who was the overſeer of the work [g].

Of the two thouſand ſhips of war, and three thouſand tranſports, of which the *Carthaginian* fleet conſiſted, eight ſhips only, which happened to be out at ſea when the camp of the marines was taken, made their eſcape, and ſailed for *Carthage*; but before they reached that place they were all caſt away, a few men only being ſaved in a ſmall boat. Theſe arriving at *Carthage* brought the diſmal news of the entire defeat of their army, and the loſs of their fleet. The grief, conſternation and deſpair, which ſuch an unexpected diſaſter occaſioned in the city, is not to be
f expreſſed. As the *Carthaginians* in all great reverſes of fortune ever loſt their courage, and ſunk into deſpair, they looked upon themſelves as utterly ruined, expecting every moment to ſee the victorious army land at *Carthage*. In this fright they immediately diſpatched embaſſadors into *Sicily*, enjoining them to ſtrike up a peace with *Gelon* upon any terms. The embaſſadors without delay put to ſea, and landing at *Syracuſe* threw themſelves at the conqueror's feet, and with many

[f] Herodot. & Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. [g] Diodor. Sicul. ibid.

tears begged him to receive their city into favour, and grant them a peace upon what conditions he ſhould think fit to preſcribe. *Gelon* heard them with great humanity, and being touched with compaſſion, granted them a peace upon the following conditions; *viz.* that they ſhould pay two thouſand talents of ſilver to defray the expences they had put him to, build two temples, where the articles of the treaty ſhould be lodged and kept as ſacred, and for the future abſtain from offering human ſacrifices. This laſt article ſhews the humanity of *Gelon*'s temper; and indeed no prince ever gave more inſtances of good nature, than he after his authority was one eſtabliſhed. Some acts of ſeverity, which he is ſaid to have practiſed before he was firmly ſeated on the throne, are generally aſcribed to his counſellors, who prompted him to them againſt the natural bent of his humane temper. The *Carthaginians* did not think this a dear purchaſe of a peace which was abſolutely neceſſary for their affairs, and which they hardly durſt hope for. They ſhewed their gratitude to *Damarata*, *Gelon*'s wife, who had been chiefly inſtrumental in procuring them ſo favourable a peace, by ſending her a crown of gold, which was valued at an hundred talents of gold. This crown *Gelon* turned into money, and coined pieces called from his wife's name *Damaretia*, each of them being worth ten *Attic* drachma's [h].

Gelon, after the concluſion of the peace, having nothing to fear from *Africa*, reſolved to embark his troops, and paſſing over into *Greece*, join his countrymen there againſt the *Perſians*. Upon ſecond thoughts he had changed his mind, and reſolved rather to ſerve under the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians*, than ſuffer the barbarians to inſult over thoſe of the *Greek* name. But while all things were in a readineſs for this expedition, a meſſenger from *Corinth* brought him the joyful news of the victory, which the *Greeks* had gained at *Salamis*, and at the ſame time acquainted him that *Xerxes* with a great part of his army had left *Europe*. Hereupon he disbanded his army, after having commended his ſoldiers and officers for the forwardneſs they had ſhewn to aſſiſt their countrymen in *Greece*, and given each of them ſome token of his favour. He commanded the allies to return to their reſpective homes, and the mercenaries he quartered in places at a great diſtance from *Syracuſe* his metropolis. And now having no troops within, or near, the city, he ſummoned a general aſſembly of all the inhabitants of *Syracuſe*, commanding them to come armed, as if they were to encounter an enemy. When they were met, he himſelf repaired to the aſſembly without arms or guards, and there gave them an account of his whole conduct, ſhewing to what uſes he had applyed the ſeveral ſums, with which he had been entruſted, and in what manner he had employed his authority; adding, that he had never any thing elſe in view but the public welfare; but however, if he had through ignorance done any thing amiſs, they were at full liberty to inflict upon him what puniſhment they thought fit, ſince they were all well armed, and he without arms or guards to ſcreen himſelf from their vengeance. The numerous aſſembly ſtruck with ſo unexpected a ſpeech, and ſtill more with the unuſual confidence he repoſed in them, anſwered with loud acclamations, calling him their great benefactor, their deliverer, their king. This laſt title *Gelon* had ever declined, ſtiling himſelf only prætor of *Syracuſe*; but the *Syracuſians* obliged him, before he left the aſſembly, to accept of it, and with one conſent inveſted him with the ſupreme authority [i]. Their gratitude did not ſtop here; a decree was paſſed, without oppoſition, ſettling the crown, after his death, on his two brothers, *Hiero* and *Thraſybulus* And becauſe he had, by coming without arms or guards into the aſſembly, put his life into their hands, the aſſembly commanded a ſtatue to be erected repreſenting him ſimply in the habit of a citizen, hoping thereby to tranſmit the memory of ſo remarkable an action to the lateſt poſterity (Q) [k].

[h] Idem, ibid. [i] Idem, ibid. [k] Idem, ibid. & PLUT. in Timol.

(Q) This ſtatue met afterwards with a very ſingular fate. About a hundred and thirty years after it had been ſet up, *Timoleon*, having reſtored the *Syracuſians* to their ancient liberty, thought it adviſeable to ſell all the ſtatues of the princes, who had governed till that time, in order to eraze the leaſt footſteps of tyranny, and at the ſame time to relieve the wants of the people. But firſt he brought them to a trial as ſo many criminals, hearing the depoſitions and witneſſes againſt them. They were all condemned with one voice, the ſtatue of *Gelon* excepted, which found an eloquent advocate in the ſincere gratitude the citizens ſtill retained for ſo beneficent a prince (25).

(25) *Ælian. l.* 13. *c.* 37.

THE

a THE *Syracuſians* had no cauſe to repent their having entruſted him with the ſovereign power; for he employed the ſhort time he reigned in the truly royal care of making his people happy. He was the firſt man, as our author obſerves [l], who became more virtuous by being raiſed to the throne. Before his power was eſtabiſhed, he was, contrary to his natural diſpoſition, obliged to uſe ſome ſeverity; but when the ſupreme authority was by the common conſent of the citizens put into his hands, he made it his only ſtudy to oblige all, and ſerve the public to the utmoſt of his power, without any regard to his private eaſe or advantage. The firſt thing he did after his acceſſion to the throne, was to beſtow on ten thouſand foreigners, who had ſerved under him, all the rights and
b privileges of the *Syracuſian* citizens. This he did with a view to people his capital, to encreaſe the power of the ſtate, and reward the ſervices of ſo many brave men, who had expoſed their lives for the defence of the city [m]. He was, as *Plutarch* informs us [n], particularly famous for his honeſty, truth and ſincerity; for he is ſaid never to have wilfully wronged the meaneſt of his ſubjects, and never to have promiſed a thing which he did not perform. Happening once to be in great want of money for the carrying on of an expedition, and on the other ſide not caring to load his ſubjects with extraordinary taxes, he convened the people, laid before them the ſtate of his finances, and deſired them to contribute voluntarily what every one could afford, and ſhould think proper. The *Syracuſians*, who were not
c yet well acquainted with *Gelon*'s character, for this happened before his victory over the *Carthaginians*, ſeemed unwilling to be at any expence on account of the expedition, for which the money was deſigned. He therefore entreated them to lend him the neceſſary ſum, aſſuring them, that though it was to be employed for the public good, they ſhould be reimburſed aſſoon as the war was ended. He was then furniſhed with the money he wanted, which he not only repaid at the time agreed on, but divided great part of the booty, which he got in that expedition, among thoſe who had lent him it [o].

ONE of the chief objects of his attention was the encouraging of agriculture, which he took great pains to make his ſubjects look upon as an honourable im-
d ployment. He animated the husbandmen by his preſence, and took delight in employing his ſpare hours in working with them in the fields. His deſign in ſo doing was not, ſays *Plutarch* [p], merely to render the country rich and fruitful, but to inure his ſubjects to toils, and by that means preſerve them from a thouſand diſorders, which inevitably accompany a ſoft and indolent life. He was a profeſſed enemy to all luxury, pomp and oſtentation; and ever uſed his utmoſt endeavours to baniſh from his dominions all ſuch callings as had a natural tendency to debauch the manners, and enervate the courage of his ſubjects. From his infancy he ſhewed a great diſ-inclination to muſic, which was at that time in great requeſt among the *Greeks*; whence while he was one day at an entertainment, a lyre being preſented,
e according to a cuſtom that then prevailed, to each of the gueſts, when it was *Gelon*'s turn to play, he inſtead of ſounding the inſtrument as the reſt had done, cauſed his horſe to be brought, and mounting him with wonderful agility and grace, ſhewed that he had learnt a more noble and manly exerciſe, than that of playing on the lyre [q].

EVER ſince the defeat of the *Carthaginians* the ſeveral cities of *Sicily* enjoy'd a profound peace; ſuch as had ſided with the enemy were, upon their firſt application, generouſly pardoned by the conqueror, and ſuffered quietly to enjoy their ancient liberties. The *Syracuſians* above all others were happy under the auſpicious government of ſo good and beneficent a prince. Their republic indeed was
f changed into a monarchy; but the laws, and not the monarch, bore the whole ſway. Their properties were as ſafe, their liberties as extenſive, as when they were their own maſters, and their city in a far more flouriſhing condition than ever. Their king aſſumed no part of the kingly office, but the toils and cares of it, and the ſatisfaction of procuring happineſs to others, which of all ſatisfactions is the greateſt. He was often heard to ſay, that the *Syracuſians* in placing the crown upon his head could have no other view than to engage him, by ſo ſignal a favour, to defend the ſtate, to preſerve order in all things, to protect innocence, and juſtice, and to exhibit by his ſimple, modeſt, frugal, and regular life a pat-

[l] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. [m] Idem, ibid. [n] PLUT. in Apophth. [o] Idem, ibid.
[p] Idem, ibid. [q] Idem, ibid.

tern

tern of all civil vertues to his ſubjects. And this deſign he anſwered above any prince that ever had ſwayed a ſcepter before him; his whole life being taken up in promoting the worſhip of the gods, the obſervance of the laws, and the welfare of his ſubjects. But his reign was ſhort, heaven having only ſhewn, we may ſay, to the world, that thoſe, who in after-ages were to be ſet over others, might in him have a perfect pattern of all the virtues that are becoming ſo eminent a ſtation. He died of a dropſy, in the ſeventh year of his reign, and the grief of his ſubjects for the loſs of their common father, and beſt friend, as they not undeſervedly ſtiled him, was equal to the love and eſteem they had always bore him. Even on his death-bed he gave an inſtance of his reſpect for the laws; the *Syracuſians* had enacted one againſt the extravagant pomp of funerals, and *Gelon*, always willing to confirm with his example what the people agreed on, begged his brother *Hiero*, who was to ſucceed him, to take care that this law was ſtrictly obſerved in his funeral. The whole city accompanied the body of their beloved king to the place where it was to be interred, though it was above twenty miles diſtant from *Syracuſe*. The people, in token of their gratitude and affection for ſo loving a prince, erected in the place, where he was buried, a magnificent mauſolæum, ſurrounded with nine towers of a ſurprizing height, and exquiſite ſtructure, and decreed him thoſe honours, which were then paid to the demi-gods or heroes. The *Carthaginians* afterwards demoliſhed the mauſolæum, and *Agathocles* the towers; but, ſays our hiſtorian, neither violence, envy, nor time, which deſtroys all other things, could efface the glory of his name, or aboliſh the memory of his exalted virtues and noble actions, which love and gratitude had engraved in the hearts of his ſubjects [r] (R).

Hiero. *Year of the flood 2532. Before Chriſt 472.*

After *Gelon*'s death the ſcepter continued near twelve years in his family. He was ſucceeded by *Hiero* his eldeſt brother, who is commended by ſome of the ancients as an excellent prince, and by others repreſented as a covetous, headſtrong and cruel tyrant. To reconcile theſe writers we muſt diſtinguiſh the periods. In the beginning of his reign he behaved more like an unjuſt tyrant, than a lawful prince; he thought himſelf above the laws, deſpiſed his ſubjects, and, led by his covetous temper, impoveriſhed the people to enrich himſelf. His conduct, ſo unlike that of his predeceſſor, ſoon made him the object of the public hatred; but the *Syracuſians* bore with his vices, out of the great veneration they had for his brother's memory, which was the only thing that reſtrained them from riſing in open rebellion. He was extreamly jealous of his brother *Polyzelus*, whoſe great intereſt and credit among the citizens made him ſuſpect, that he deſigned to drive him from the throne. He therefore employed only foreigners and mercenaries about him, ſuffering no *Syracuſian* to ſet foot in his palace. In order to get rid of *Polyzelus*, he reſolved to put him at the head of a great army, which he was going to ſend to the aſſiſtance of the *Sybarites* againſt the *Crotoniates*, hoping he might loſe his life in that expedition. But *Polyzelus*, being well apprized of his deſign, refuſed the command, which ſo exaſperated the tyrant, that he would have cauſed him to be put to death, had he not by a timely flight ſaved himſelf in the territories of *Theron*, king of *Agrigentum*, who had married his daughter. *Hiero* demanded him, but *Theron* could not by any threats be prevailed upon to deliver up his father-in-law, who had taken ſanctuary in his dominions. This gave riſe to a war, which laſted many years between the kings of *Syracuſe* and *Agrigentum*, and was at laſt ended in the following manner. The inhabitants of *Himera* being grievouſly oppreſſed by their governor *Thraſideus*, the ſon of *Theron*, and not daring to complain to his father, ſent embaſſadors to *Hiero*, offering to deliver up to him their city, and join him againſt his rival *Theron*. But *Hiero*, deteſting their treachery, diſcovered the whole plot to *Theron*, who out of gratitude offered to conclude a peace upon terms, that were highly advantagious to *Hiero*. The conditions were accordingly agreed to by the contending parties, and the two kings reconciled. On this

[r] Dioror. Sicul. l. 11. Ælian. de Animal. l. 1. c. 3. Scholiast. Pindari. p. 164. Plut. in Dion.

(R) *Pliny* tells us out of *Philiſtus*, that when his body was burnt according to the ancient cuſtom, a favourite dog of his followed the body of his deceaſed maſter to the funeral pile, and throwing himſelf into the flame, was with it reduced to aſhes (26).

(26) *Plin. l. 6. c. 4.*

occaſion

a occaſion *Theron* interpoſing his good offices in behalf of *Polyzelus*, prevailed upon *Hiero* to receive him again into favour. To make the reconciliation between the two kings more laſting, they cemented it with a new alliance, *Hiero* marrying *Theron*'s ſiſter, after which there was during *Theron*'s reign a perfect harmony between the ſtates of *Syracuſe* and *Agrigentum* [t].

Hiero having thus concluded a peace with the king of *Agrigentum* turned his arms againſt the inhabitants of *Catana* and *Naxus*, whom he drove from their country, and in their room ſettled a colony of *Syracuſians* and *Peloponneſians*. This he did with a view to be honoured after his death as the founder of thoſe cities, for all cities paid their founders ſuch honours as were beſtowed on heroes. The b *Cataneans* and *Naxians* he tranſplanted to the city of *Leontini*, incorporating them with the ancient inhabitants. The ſame year he obtained a ſignal victory over the *Hetruſcans* of *Tyrenia*, who infeſted the neighbouring coaſts, ſunk moſt of their ſhips, burnt others, and cleared the ſeas of thoſe pirates [u]. He found himſelf ſoon after engaged in a war with the *Agrigentines* under the conduct of *Thracydeus*, who had ſucceeded his father *Theron*, but was very unlike that good and generous prince; for going aſtray from the path, which *Theron* had pointed out to him, he no ſooner aſcended the throne, but, throwing aſide all reſtraint of the laws, he began to oppreſs his ſubjects in a moſt tyrannical manner. *Hiero*, out of the reſpect he bore to his father's memory, adviſed him to uſe his ſubjects with more c humanity, leſt they ſhould conſpire againſthim, and drive him from the throne as one not fit to be entruſted with their lives and fortunes. This wholeſome advice ſo provoked *Thracydeus*, who was of a violent temper, that he entered the *Syracuſian* territories in an hoſtile manner, laid waſte the country, and even threatened the metropolis with a ſiege, having under his ſtandards above twenty thouſand men. *Hiero* ſeeing himſelf inſulted at the very gates of his metropolis, raiſed an equal number of forces, and marched out againſt the unjuſt aggreſſor. *Thraſydeus* did not decline the engagement, which was very bloody, moſt of the troops on both ſides being killed on the ſpot. But the *Syracuſians* carried the day, and *Thraſydeus* out of deſpair abdicating the government, fled to the city of *Megara*, where he d laid violent hands on himſelf. Upon his abdication the *Agrigentines* recovered their liberty, and entered into an alliance with *Hiero* [w].

Hiero, a little before his death, invited into *Sicily* the ſons of *Anaxilas* formerly tyrant of *Rhegium*, and a great friend of his brother *Gelon*, and adviſed them, as they were come to years of maturity, to take the ſovereign power into their own hands, and call to an account *Micythus*, who had been left their guardian. *Hiero*, who had contracted a bad ſtate of health, was mighty deſirous to ſee the children of his brother's friend in poſſeſſion of their dominions before he left the world. The two young men loaded with rich preſents ſet out from the court of *Syracuſe*, and arriving at *Rhegium* commanded *Micythus* to give an account of his admi- e niſtration, which he did in the preſence of their friends and relations, no one finding any thing to object to him, but on the contrary all admiring and extolling his prudence, his integrity and juſtice; for it appeared, ſays our author, that no man had ever diſcharged a truſt with more honeſty and diſintereſtedneſs. The young princes repenting the ſteps they had taken, earneſtly preſſed him to reſume the government, promiſing to reſpect him as if he were their father, and pay him a filial obedience till the hour of his death. But *Micythus* could not by any means be prevailed upon to accept their offer, and was equally preſſing with them to take the reins of the government into their own hands; which they no ſooner conſented to do, but *Micythus* took his leave of them, and embarked for f *Greece*, his native country, being attended to the ſhore by the whole city in the utmoſt grief for ſo great a loſs. He afterwards led a private life at *Tegea* in *Arcadia*, where he was no leſs eſteemed and loved than he had been at *Rhegium* [x]. Soon after *Hiero* died at *Catana*, which city he had repeopled, and was there buried with great pomp and magnificence. *Diodorus* tells us in one place that he reigned only eleven years, and in another that he reigned twelve years and eight months. But *Ariſtotle* will have him to have ſwayed the ſcepter only ten years [z].

[t] Diodor. Sicul. l. 11. [u] Idem, ibid. [w] Diodor. Sicul. ibid. Schol. in Pindar. [x] Idem, ibid, [y] Idem, ibid. & l. 12. [z] Ariſtot. l. 5. Polit. c. 12.

THERE is a ſtrange diſagreement among authors with relation to *Hiero*'s character. *Diodorus* tells us, that he was of a covetous, cruel, and tyrannical temper, and an utter ſtranger to the candor and ſincerity of his brother *Gelon*; that out of jealouſy he attempted to make away with his brother *Polyzelus*, and that he oppreſſed his ſubjects to ſuch a degree, that they would have depoſed him had they not been reſtrained by the remembrance of *Gelon*'s generoſity and general kindneſs to all his ſubjects [a]. On the other hand *Ælian* [b] commends him as a juſt, generous, and good-natured prince, and adds, that the moſt needy were not more ready to crave than he was to give, that his generoſity knew no bounds, that he was a great admirer of learning, and a bountiful encourager of the learned, that he was a prince of great candour and ſincerity, and that he lived in perfect harmony with his brothers without ever entertaining any ſort of jealouſy againſt them. This account is, ſeemingly, in each particular a direct contradiction to the former. However ſome writers have endeavoured to reconcile both teſtimonies, as we have hinted above. For *Hiero*, as the ſame *Ælian* informs us elſewhere [c] in the beginning of his reign betrayed a fierce, ſavage, and untractable temper; but falling afterwards into a lingering diſtemper, which confined him to his palace, and thereby gave him an opportunity of reflecting ſeriouſly on the conduct of his life, he ſeemed, as it were, to have changed his nature. During his illneſs his only delight was to converſe with men of learning, whom he invited to his court from all parts, amply rewarding them for the relief their entertaining converſation afforded him. Among theſe were *Simonides*, *Pindar*, *Æſchylus*, *Bacchylides*, and *Epicharmus*. The converſation of theſe great men did not a little contribute to the ſoftening of *Hiero*'s inhuman temper; for they were not only excellent poets, but alſo poſſeſſed of a great fund of learning, and conſulted as the ſages of their age. *Simonides* in particular had a great aſcendant over the king's mind, and the only uſe he made of it was to inſpire him with ſentiments worthy of a prince. He frequently converſed with him on philoſophical ſubjects, and in one of theſe converſations it was that *Hiero*, as we read in *Tully* [d], asked him his opinion of the nature and attributes of the deity; to which queſtion *Simonides* anſwered that he muſt have one day to conſider on it; the next day he asked two, and went on increaſing in the ſame proportion; when *Hiero* preſſed him to give the reaſon of theſe delays, he confeſſed that the ſubject was above his comprehenſion, and that the more he dived into it, the more obſcure it appeared to him. Several of the ſayings of *Hiero*, related by *Plutarch* [e] and *Athenæus* [f] ſhew that he profited greatly by the inſtructions of *Simonides*. Among others they tell us, that he uſed often to ſay, that a king's palace and ears ought to be always open to every man who would ſpeak truth without diſguiſe. It is well known, that *Pindar* in his odes beſtows the higheſt encomiums on *Hiero*, not only for the victory he won in the *Olympic* games, but alſo for his eminent virtues, calling him a prince, in whom centered all the great and truly princely qualities. We will not take upon us to ſay how far we may depend on the praiſes which *Pindar* gives *Hiero*, ſince poets are not always ſincere in the elogiums they beſtow upon princes. However it is certain that *Hiero*'s court was a place of reſort for all men of wit and learning, and that he invited them to it by his affability, courteous treatment, and much more by his liberality. He was paſſionately fond of the *Olympic* games, and did not diſdain to enter the liſts with perſons of the loweſt rank; on which account he is cenſured by *Xenophon* in the inimitable treatiſe he has left us on the art of governing well, which is intitled *Hiero*, and writ by way of dialogue between this prince and *Simonides*. It is ſaid that *Themiſtocles*, ſeeing *Hiero* arrive at *Olympia* with a ſplendid equipage in order to aſſiſt at the games, was for excluding him from that diverſion for not having ſuccoured the *Greeks* againſt the common enemy [g]. This motion was commended by all, but ſeconded by none. *Hiero* was a powerful and reſolute prince, and would not have eaſily put up ſuch an affront.

Thraſybulus. *Hiero* was ſucceeded by his brother *Thraſybulus*, a moſt cruel and bloody tyrant. He practiſed all ſorts of cruelty on his ſubjects, fancying, ſays our author, that he was of a different nature from them, and that he had been ſet over them only that he might with ſafety trample them under his feet. All thoſe, who gave him

[a] DIODOR. SICUL. l. xi. [b] ÆLIAN. var. Hiſt. l. ix. c. 1. [c] Idem, var. Hiſt. l. iv. c. 15. [d] Cic. de nat. Deor. [e] PLUTARCH. in Apoph. [f] ATHENÆUS, l. vi. c. 4. [g] ÆLIAN. var. Hiſt. l. ix. c. 5.

the

a the leaſt umbrage, were barbarouſly murdered; the moſt wealthy, upon frivolous pretences, either put to death or condemned to perpetual baniſhment; and in ſhort the city turned into a ſhambles. Such inhuman proceedings grew ſoon inſupportable to the *Syracuſians*, who entering into an aſſociation took up arms, and declared *Thraſybulus* an enemy to his country. The tyrant ſeeing the whole city in arms, though he kept always in his pay above fifteen thouſand mercenaries, attempted at firſt to appeaſe the tumult with fair words, but finding that the incenſed citizens were not to be impoſed upon, he poſſeſſed himſelf of that part of the city which was called *Acradina*, and of the iſland, and thence made frequent ſallies on the enemy, who were maſters of the quarter called *Tyche*. The *Syracuſians* ſent embaſ-
b ſadors to *Gela*, *Agrigentum*, *Selinus*, *Himera*, and other cities, deſiring them to join in the common cauſe, and ſend ſpeedy ſuccours to the relief of *Syracuſe*, ſince on the fate of the metropolis depended that of the other cities. Upon this embaſſy they all ran to arms, and joining the *Syracuſians*, put them in condition to venture a general engagement, which was attended with the deſired ſucceſs; for the tyrant was entirely defeated, and cloſely beſieged in *Acradina*, whence he ſent deputies to capitulate with the people. The only terms he could obtain were, that his life ſhould be ſpared on condition he reſigned his authority, and retired out of *Sicily*. Theſe he was obliged to comply with, and accordingly, after having diveſted himſelf of all power, he withdrew to the city of *Locros* in *Italy*, where he led a
c private life after a ſhort reign of ten months [h]. Upon his reſignation, *Syracuſe*, and the other cities that had been ſubject to him, were declared free, and the popular government every-where re-eſtabliſhed, and maintained till the reign of *Dionyſius* the tyrant, that is for the ſpace of threeſcore years.

Thraſybulus driven out, and a popular government introduced at Syracuſe.

THE *Syracuſians*, being thus reſtored to their former liberty, called a general aſſembly, where it was unanimouſly decreed, that a ſtatue ſhould be erected to *Jupiter* the deliverer, of the ſize of a coloſſus, and that on the anniverſary of the happy day they had regained their liberty, ſolemn games ſhould be exhibited, and four hundred and fifty bulls ſacrificed, by way of thankſgiving, to the gods, and all the people therewith entertained and feaſted as on a day of general rejoycing [i].
d It was at the ſame time decreed, that all the magiſtrates, according to ancient cuſtom, ſhould be choſen from among the chief citizens, and that none of the ſtrangers, who had been made denizens by *Gelon*, ſhould be admitted to any employment of truſt. This decree incenſed the foreigners, who could not brook ſuch an odious diſtinction, after they had been by *Gelon* put upon the ſame foot with the beſt of the citizens. Having therefore complained in vain of ſuch a hardſhip, they at laſt joined together to the number of ſeven thouſand, and ſeizing on *Acradina* and the iſland, annoyed from thence the other quarters of the town, reſolved to obtain by force of arms what they could not get by any other means. They fortified themſelves ſo ſtrongly in their poſts, that the *Syracuſians*, though far ſuperior
e to them in number, could not diſlodge them. Wherefore they determined to ſhut them up ſo cloſe on all ſides that no proviſions could be carried in, and thus force them by famine either to ſurrender, or venture an engagement; the beſieged choſe the latter, and were moſt of them cut in pieces after having made a great ſlaughter of the *Syracuſians*. After the example of *Syracuſe* all the other *Greek* cities in *Sicily* entered into an alliance againſt the mercenaries and foreigners, who had been enriched with lands and houſes by *Gelon* and *Hiero*, drove them from their poſſeſſions, and reſtored the ancient proprietors to their eſtates, and former habitations. Thus were all the cities of the iſland freed from foreigners, and reſtored to that form of popular government which had prevailed before the reign of *Gelon* [k].

Year of the flood, 2544. Before Chriſt 460.

New tumults in Syracuſe.

f THOUGH the tyrants, and thoſe who were ſuſpected to be their abettors, were thus every-where driven out, yet there lay concealed in the minds of many a ſecret leaven, as we may call it, of tyranny, which frequently diſturbed the harmony of the public peace and tranquillity, and occaſioned ſeveral tumults and commotions. In *Syracuſe* one *Tyndarides*, having gained by his largeſſes a conſiderable party among the populace, attempted to aſſume the ſovereign power; but both he and his accomplices were ſeized and put to death. Their puniſhment did not deter others from the like attempt; for no ſooner had any citizen acquired a conſiderable fortune, but he

[h] DIODOR. SICUL. l. xi. ARISTOT. l. v. Polit. c. 10. [i] DIODOR. SICUL. ibid. [k] Idem, ibid. c. 21.

began

began to entertain thoughts of wearing a diadem, and, with that view, to court the favour of the people. To prevent therefore the many evils daily ariſing from thence, and to bring down the aſpiring minds of the wealthy citizens, the *Syracuſians* were at length forced to make a law not unlike that of the *Athenian* oſtraciſm; for as at *Athens* every citizen was to write on a ſhell the name of the perſon, whom they conceived to be the moſt capable, on account of his wealth and adherents, of aſpiring to the crown; ſo at *Syracuſe* they were to write on a leaf the names of ſuch as they apprehended powerful enough to uſurp the ſovereignty. When the leaves were counted, he, who had moſt ſuffrages againſt him, was, without any further enquiry, baniſhed for five years. This new-contrived method of impairing the eſtates, and weakening the intereſt of the overgrown citizens, was called *Petaliſm* from the *Greek* word *Petalon*, which ſignifies a leaf. This law was attended with many evil conſequences; for thoſe, who were moſt capable of governing the commonwealth, were driven out, and the adminiſtration of public affairs committed to the meaneſt of the people; nay, many of the chief citizens, who were able to do their country great ſervice, fearing to fall under the laſh of this law, withdrew from the city, and lived private in the country, not concerning themſelves with public affairs. Whence all the employments being filled with men of no merit or experience, the republic was on the brink of ruin, and ready to fall into a ſtate of anarchy and confuſion. The law therefore of petaliſm, upon more mature deliberation, was repealed ſoon after it had been firſt enacted, and the reins of the government again put into the hands of men, who knew how to manage them [l].

Petaliſm introduced at Syracuſe.

a b c

IN the mean time *Ducetius*, prince of the *Siculi*, who inhabited the inland parts of the iſland, having raiſed a powerful army, laid ſiege to *Enna*, which he took by ſtorm, and advanced to *Agrigentum* with a deſign to drive the *Greeks* from all the cities which had been formerly poſſeſſed by his countrymen. The *Agrigentines* went out to meet him, but their army was overthrown, and the city threatened with a ſiege. Hereupon they had recourſe to the *Syracuſians*, who ſent them a ſtrong reinforcement under the command of one *Bilco*. *Ducetius*, who was then beſieging *Motyum*, a ſtrong-hold belonging to the *Agrigentines*, leaving part of his forces before the place, led the reſt againſt the united troops of the *Syracuſians* and *Agrigentines*, put them to flight, and returning before *Motyum*, made himſelf maſter of that city. The *Syracuſian* general upon his return was tried for the loſs of his army, for moſt of the *Syracuſians* were cut to pieces in the engagement, and being convicted of holding a ſecret correſpondence with the enemy was put to death, and a worthy citizen, whom the hiſtorians do not name, inveſted with the command. This new general was attended with all the ſucceſs they could wiſh for, for he entirely defeated the *Siculi*, reduced all their cities, and brought *Ducetius* to ſuch ſtraits, that he was obliged to ſubmit to the *Syracuſians*, and throw himſelf upon their mercy, as we have related above [m].

War between the Syracuſians *and the* Siculi.

d

AFTER the reduction of the *Siculi*, the *Syracuſians* became ſo powerful, that they gave, in ſome degree, law to the whole iſland. The *Greek* cities indeed enjoyed a perfect liberty, but at the ſame time acknowledged *Syracuſe* as their metropolis. If that wealthy city had been contented with the reſpect, which all the *Greek* colonies in *Sicily* willingly paid her as the moſt able to protect them againſt any foreign invaſion, the iſland would have enjoyed a laſting tranquillity; but ſhe began by degrees to aſſume the authority of a ſovereign over cities that were no leſs free than herſelf, which gave riſe to the wars which we are now to relate. She began with the *Leontines*, and invading, on what pretence we know not, their territory, laid waſte that fruitful country, and reduced the city of *Leontini* to great ſtraits. The inhabitants, not being able to make head againſt the ſuperior forces of the *Syracuſians*, had recourſe to the *Athenians*, from whom they were originally deſcended; for the *Leontines* came from *Calcis*, which was an *Athenian* colony. On this occaſion they employed one *Gorgias*, the moſt famous orator of his time, and who is ſaid to have been the firſt that taught the rules of rhetoric. *Gorgias* arriving at *Athens* made an oration to the people on the grievances their countrymen ſuffered from the *Syracuſians*, and the advantages that would accrue to them from ſending a powerful army into *Sicily*, in which he diſplayed ſo much eloquence, and ſuch an elegant diction, that the *Athenians*, though themſelves men of great learning, were ſtruck with admiration,

War between the Syracuſians *and* Leontines.

e f

[l] Idem, ibid. c. 26. [m] Idem, ibid.

a miration, and greatly affected with the beauties and charms of his ſpeech. But there needed no great eloquence to perſuade the *Athenians* to concern themſelves with the affairs of *Sicily*. Ever ſince the time of *Pericles* they had meditated the conqueſt of that iſland. *Pericles* indeed had always endeavoured to check this ambitious and wild project, remonſtrating that by living in peace, and contenting themſelves with the conqueſts they had already made, without engaging in hazardous enterprizes, they would raiſe their city to a flouriſhing condition. The authority he had at that time over the people, though it kept them from invading *Sicily*, yet could not ſuppreſs the deſire they had to conquer it. At the time we are now ſpeaking of they were maſters at ſea, and every-where ſucceſsful, they had many confederates, a
b numerous army, experienced commanders, and in ready money above ten thouſand talents. With theſe advantages they did not doubt but they ſhould be able to overcome the *Lacedæmonians*, with whom they were then at war, and at the ſame time reduce the iſland of *Sicily*. This, and not the gingling oratory of *Gorgias*, was what induced them to eſpouſe the cauſe of the oppreſſed *Leontines*. Accordingly they ſent without delay an hundred ſail of ſhips well manned under the command of *Lachetes* and *Chabrias*, enjoining them to make a deſcent on the territories of *Syracuſe*. Theſe arriving at *Rhegium* were there joined by a hundred more from the *Athenian* colonies. With this reinforcement they ravaged the *Æolian* iſlands, at that time in confederacy with *Syracuſe*, defeated the *Myleans* as they were marching to join the
c *Syracuſians*, took their city, and committed great devaſtations in the enemy's country. However the *Athenians* not ſatisfied with the progreſs their arms made in *Sicily*, ſent forty ſhips more to reinforce their ſquadron, which now conſiſted of two hundred and fifty ſail. But in the mean time the *Leontines*, being ſenſible that the *Athenians* aimed at nothing leſs than the ſovereignty of the whole iſland, concluded a ſeparate peace with the *Syracuſians*, and were all made free of *Syracuſe*. The *Athenians*, being by this agreement diſappointed in their hopes of conquering *Sicily*, vented their rage, according to the cuſtom of popular governments, upon thoſe who had commanded in that unſucceſsful expedition. *Pythodorus* and *Sophocles* were baniſhed, and *Eurymedon* ſentenced to pay a heavy fine. The *Athenians* were
d at that time, which was the ſixth year of the *Peloponneſian* war, ſo blinded by their proſperity, that they believed no power was able to reſiſt them [n].

War between the Syracuſians *and* Athenians.

About ten years after broke out the moſt memorable war that had ever to that time been waged in *Sicily*. It was occaſioned by a diſpute ariſing between the inhabitants of *Egeſta* and *Selinus* concerning their borders. The territories of the two cities were divided by a river, which the *Selinuntines* croſſed, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the lands lying next to it, pretending that they had formerly belonged to them. This provoked the *Egiſtines*, who after having endeavoured in vain to recover their property by fair means, took up arms, and drove out the intruders by force. The *Selinuntines* on the other hand, unwilling to part with thoſe lands, though they could not make good their claim to them, raiſed an army, entered the territories of the
e *Egeſtines* in a hoſtile manner, and laid waſte the whole country. The *Egeſtines* took up arms in their own defence, but were entirely defeated, and forced to ſhelter themſelves within their walls. In this condition they ſent embaſſadors to ſollicit ſuccours from *Agrigentum*, *Syracuſe*, and even from *Carthage*; but none of theſe ſtates would concern themſelves with their diſputes. It was therefore at laſt reſolved in their general aſſembly, that embaſſadors ſhould be ſent to *Athens* to implore the aſſiſtance of that republic, and withal to promiſe that they in their turn would help the *Athenians* to the utmoſt of their power whenever they ſhould ſtand in need of their aſſiſtance. Their embaſſadors arriving at *Athens*, repreſented among other things, that
f ſhould they be abandoned, the *Syracuſians*, who underhand ſupported the *Selinuntines*, would not fail to poſſeſs themſelves of their city, and by degrees become maſters of the whole iſland; in which caſe they would be able to ſend powerful ſuccours to the *Lacedæmonians*, who were their founders. The *Athenians* were overjoyed to have a new opportunity of meddling with the affairs of *Sicily*. However they thought it adviſeable firſt to ſend deputies into *Sicily* to inquire into the ſtate of the iſland, and particularly of the *Egeſtines*; for they had promiſed to pay all the troops that ſhould be ſent to their aſſiſtance. Upon the arrival of the embaſſadors, the *Egeſtines*, having borrowed from the neighbouring nations a great many gold and ſilver

[n] Diodor. Sicul. l. xii. c. 7.

veſſels, made a vain ſhew of them to the *Athenians*, telling them that they had gold and ſilver enough to defray the whole charges of the war. When the embaſſadors were returned to *Athens*, and the great wealth of the *Egeſtines* noiſed abroad, an aſſembly of the people was called to deliberate on the war which was to be waged in *Sicily*. *Nicias*, a man of no ſmall authority among the people, argued with great prudence againſt the war, ſhewing that it was impoſſible to contend with the *Lacedæmonians*, and at the ſame time ſend ſo great a force, as they muſt needs do, into *Sicily*; that it was a kind of madneſs to entertain thoughts of ſubduing ſo powerful an iſland, when they had not yet been able to reduce *Greece*; that they ought firſt to humble the enemies they had at their doors, before they went in ſearch of others at a diſtance, *&c.* Many other things he ſaid, which were well ſuited to the occaſion, and are related at length by *Thucydides* [o] and *Diodorus* [p]; but the contrary opinion, which was ſupported by *Alcibiades*, the moſt eloquent ſpeaker at that time in *Athens*, prevailed by a great majority. It being now determined to purſue this wild enterprize at all events, *Alcibiades*, *Nicias*, and *Lamachus* were appointed to command the fleet, with full power not only to ſuccour *Egeſta*, but to regulate the affairs in *Sicily* in ſuch manner as they judged beſt for the intereſt of the republic. This commiſſion *Nicias* accepted much againſt his will, being firmly perſuaded, that it could not be attended with ſucceſs, and dreading to have *Alcibiades* for his collegue. But the *Athenians* could not be prevailed upon to commit the whole management of the war to *Alcibiades*, judging wiſely that his ardor and intrepidity wanted to be tempered with the warineſs and prudence of *Nicias* [q].

The Athenians *reſolve to invade* Sicily. *Year of the flood* 2583. *Before Chriſt* 416.

Nicias not daring to oppoſe any longer openly an expedition, on which all *Athens* was ſo violently bent, endeavoured to do it indirectly by ſtarting a great many difficulties, drawn from the vaſt charges the republic muſt be at in carrying it on. But all he could alledge, inſtead of cooling the ardour of the people, ſerved only to inflame it the more. Nay, an *Athenian* ſtanding up in the aſſembly and addreſſing *Nicias*, deſired him not to ſhift off or delay the buſineſs any longer, but declare there before them all what forces he would have the *Athenians* decree him. *Nicias* anſwered, that he could not exactly tell before he adviſed with his fellow commanders, but as far as he could judge, an hundred gallies, and five thouſand land-forces, at leaſt, would be requiſite. Hereupon full power was unanimouſly granted him to raiſe what forces, and fit out what ſhips he thought neceſſary; and accordingly the levies were carried on in *Athens*, and the confederate cities, with ſuch ſucceſs and expedition, that in a few days the number of troops he had required was raiſed, and the gallies manned and equipt. When all things were ready for their departure, the officers, before they went on board, had a private conference with the ſenate concerning the adminiſtration of affairs in *Sicily*, for they did not at all doubt but they ſhould reduce the iſland. In this conference it was determined that the *Syracuſians*, and the *Selinuntines* their allies, ſhould be carried away and ſold for ſlaves, and the reſt obliged to pay an annual tribute, and live according to the laws of *Athens* [r]. The next day the army, conſiſting of ſeven thouſand choſen men, marched from the city to the *Pyræus*, where the fleet lay, and there taking leave of their friends and relations went on board the tranſports amidſt the ſhouts and acclamations of an immenſe multitude that had attended them from the city. When the troops were imbarqued, and the fleet ready to put off, the trumpet ſounded, and ſolemn prayers were offered up for the ſucceſs of the expedition, gold and ſilver cups filled with wine were carried about to the whole army, both ſoldiers and officers drinking, according to cuſtom, ſucceſs to the undertaking (S). The uſual libations being poured out, and the ceremonies appointed by law for ſuch occaſions duly performed, the ſhips began to ſail out of the harbour one after another, the people, who lined the ſhore, ſhouting at the ſame time, and lifting up their hands to heaven to wiſh their fellow-citizens a good voyage, and a ſafe return. They firſt ſailed to the iſland of *Ægina*, and from thence to *Corcyra*, which they had appointed the place of rendezvous for their allies, and the tranſports. Upon the arrival of their con-

[o] THUCYD. l. vi. [p] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. [q] THUCYD. & DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra.
[r] DIODOR. SICUL. ibid.

(S) It was a cuſtom among the *Greeks*, and ſome other nations, before great enterprizes to wiſh good ſucceſs, and at the making of leagues and treaties, to ratify what they did, by drinking to one another.

federates

a ſederates at *Corcyra* they put to ſea again, and made for *Tarentum*; but meeting there with a very indifferent reception, they ſailed along the coaſt of *Italy* till they came to *Rhegium*, where they made ſome ſtay with a view to prevail upon the inhabitants to ſuccour the *Leontines*, who were originally *Chalcideans*, as well as themſelves. But the *Rhegians* anſwered, that they were determined to ſtand neuter, and to undertake nothing but in concert with the other *Greek* ſtates in *Italy*. During their ſtay here they ſent ſome ſhips to cruiſe off the coaſt of *Sicily* in order to find out ſome proper and convenient place for landing the troops, and at the ſame time to know what treaſure the *Egeſtines* could contribute towards carrying on the war which had been undertaken for their ſake. Theſe on their return acquainted the b generals, that the *Egeſtines* had impoſed upon them, and abuſed their credulity, ſince they were a poor indigent people, and had only thirty talents in the public treaſury. Hereupon a council of war being called, *Nicias* was of opinion that they ſhould ſail to *Selinus*, which had been the firſt occaſion of this expedition, and then, if the *Egeſtines* performed their promiſe, and ſupplied the army with a month's pay, to oblige the *Selinuntines* and *Egeſtines* to come to an agreement, and ſo return to *Athens* without engaging their country in ſo expenſive a war. By this means *Athens*, ſaid he, will ſhew her readineſs to aſſiſt her friends, and at the ſame time ſave her men and treaſure for ſome more promiſing enterprize. *Alcibiades*, on the other hand, thinking it highly diſhonourable to return home without making any conqueſts after c they had ſet out with ſuch a parade, was of opinion that they ſhould ſollicit the cities of *Sicily* to a confederacy againſt the *Syracuſians* and *Selinuntines*; and in caſe they found them diſpoſed to come into their meaſures, to attack either *Syracuſe* or *Selinus*, the former, if they refuſed to reſtore the inhabitants of *Leontini* to their city, and the latter, if they did not conclude a peace with the *Egeſtines*. *Lamachus* offered a third opinion, which perhaps was the moſt prudent; he was for ſailing directly to *Syracuſe*, and laying ſiege to the city before the inhabitants had time to prepare for their defence. But the opinion of *Alcibiades* prevailing, they ſet ſail for *Sicily*[1].

ADVICE of this expedition coming to *Syracuſe* from all quarters, it was thought ſo improbable there, that no one would give credit to it. But as it was daily more d and more confirmed, the *Syracuſians* began ſeriouſly to think in what manner they ſhould oppoſe ſo great a power. They ſent deputies to every part of the iſland asking ſuccours againſt an enemy, who, as was evident from ſo great preparations, could have nothing leſs in view than the ſubjecting of the whole iſland; they garriſoned all the forts and caſtles in the country, reviewed their troops, made ready their arms and engines, and in ſhort prepared all things as though the enemy had been already in the heart of their country[1].

IN the mean time the *Athenian* fleet arriving in *Sicily*, the land-forces were put aſhore near *Catana*, which city they took by ſurprize, *Naxus* opened its gates to them, *Hyccara*, a ſmall town belonging to the *Sicanians*, was taken by ſtorm, and e all the inhabitants ſold for ſlaves. Theſe were the only exploits of this campaign, which being ended, and the winter now drawing on, the *Athenian* generals thought it adviſeable to take up their quarters in ſome place near *Syracuſe*, that they might be in a readineſs to undertake the ſiege of that place early in the ſpring. But in the mean time *Alcibiades*, as we have already related [a], being called home to take his trial, the command of the army was left to *Nicias* and *Lamachus*. Theſe advancing towards *Syracuſe* poſſeſſed themſelves of an advantagious poſt by the following ſtratagem. They ſent a perſon, on whoſe fidelity they could depend, to *Syracuſe*, enjoining him to acquaint the *Syracuſians*, as if he had been diſpatched from their friends in *Catana*, that the *Cataneans* had conſpired to fall upon the *Athenians*, who were f quartered within the city, in the night; and that if the *Syracuſians* would advance to the *Athenian* camp with all their forces, they might eaſily poſſeſs themſelves of it in that confuſion. The *Syracuſians*, not ſuſpecting any deceit, appointed a night, and at the time agreed on marched out with the flower of their troops to join the *Cataneans*. But the *Athenians*, in the mean time, having imbarqued their forces and ammunition, ſet ſail for *Syracuſe*, and without any oppoſition landed near *Olympicum*, where they fortified their camp with ſtrong intrenchments, before the *Syracuſian* forces returned from *Catana*. The *Syracuſians*, finding themſelves thus ſhamefully impoſed upon, marched back to *Syracuſe* with great expedition, and

[1] DIODOR. SICUL. ibid. PLUT. in Nic. THUCYD. l. vi. [1] Idem, ibid. [a] Vol. II. p. 517.

the

the very next day drew up their army in battle-array before the enemy's camp. a
Nicias marched out of his trenches to give them battle, which was fought with incredible bravery on both ſides. Victory was a long time doubtful; but a very heavy ſhower of rain, accompanied with thunder and lightening, falling unexpectedly, ſo terrified the *Syracuſians*, the greateſt part of whom had never before carried arms, that they began to retire. The *Athenians* durſt not purſue them, becauſe their horſe, who were ſtill in a body, and had not been defeated, covered their retreat. They therefore withdrew in good order, after having thrown a detachment into the temple of *Olympicum* to prevent its being plundered [w].

After this battle the *Athenians*, who were not yet in a condition to attack *Syracuſe*, retired with their fleet to *Naxus* and *Catana* to winter there, and in the mean b
time procure new ſupplies both from *Athens* and their confederates in *Sicily*. The meſſengers they ſent to *Athens* ſoon returned with three hundred talents, and ſome troops of horſe; the *Egeſtines* likewiſe, and the *Siculi* ſent them a reinforcement of cavalry, and furniſhed their army with all ſorts of proviſions. On the other hand the *Syracuſians* diſpatched embaſſadors to *Corinth*, whence they originally came, and alſo to *Lacedæmon*, to implore their aſſiſtance againſt an enemy, who aimed not only at the ſovereignty of *Sicily*, but of all *Greece*. The embaſſadors were kindly received in both places, eſpecially at *Lacedæmon*, where *Alcibiades*, who had taken ſanctuary in that city, enforced their demand with all his credit and eloquence. At his perſuaſion *Gylippus*, an officer of great experience, was appointed to command c
the reinforcement, which was deſigned for *Sicily*, and troops raiſed with a deſign to invade the territories of *Athens*, and thereby make a powerful diverſion. But before any ſupplies arrived in *Sicily*, *Nicias* leaving his winter quarters ſet ſail for *Syracuſe*, and arriving there in the night before the *Syracuſians* had any notice of his departure from *Catana*, poſſeſſed himſelf of the important poſt of *Epipolæ* (T). The *Syracuſians* attempted to diſlodge him, but after a ſharp engagement were driven back into the city with the loſs of three hundred men. *Nicias* encouraged with this ſucSyracuſe *beſieged.* ceſs began to build a wall round the city in order to cut off from the beſieged all communication with the neighbouring country. This work was carried on with ſuch vigor and expedition as quite terrified the *Syracuſians*, who indeed made frequent d
ſallies, but were always repulſed with great loſs. The wall was at laſt finiſhed, and the city blocked up on all ſides. However the beſieged were not ſo far diſheartened as not to annoy the enemy with vigorous ſallies, in one of which they put the *Athenians* to flight, demoliſhed great part of their works, and made a great ſlaughter of thoſe who defended them; among the reſt *Lamachus*, one of their chief and beſt commanders, was ſlain, and ſeveral other officers of diſtinction. Notwithſtanding this advantage gained by the *Syracuſians*, *Nicias*, who was now the ſole general, purſued the ſiege, and after repairing his works began a wall of circumvallation in order to prevent any ſuccours from being thrown into the place. He cauſed alſo the canals to be cut by which water was conveyed into the place, which ſoon e
brought the *Syracuſians* to the utmoſt diſtreſs. Seeing themſelves therefore on the brink of ruin, and without any hopes of relief, they began to think of capitulating; and accordingly an aſſembly was held to ſettle the articles in order to ſend them to *Nicias*. But before they came to any determination, an officer, by name *Gongyles*,
Gylippus *arrives in* Sicily. arriving from *Corinth* on board a galley, brought them the joyful news of the approach of *Gylippus* with a force ſufficient to diſpel all their fears, and oblige the enemy to raiſe the ſiege. The joy which this news ſo unexpected occaſioned in the city, is not to be expreſſed. They paſſed from one extreme to the other, and inſtead of capitulating began to prepare themſelves for new ſallies in order to facilitate *Gylippus*'s entrance into the city. While they were making theſe preparations, *Gylippus* appeared at the head of three thouſand foot, and two hundred horſe, and making directly for *Epipolæ*, where *Nicias* had fortified himſelf in a caſtle called

[w] Diodor. Sicul. l. xiii. p. 137, 138. Thucyd. l. vi. p. 453, 454.

(T) *Epipolæ* was a hill which ſtood without the city, and commanded it. It was exceeding ſteep, and of very difficult acceſs. At the time of the ſiege we are ſpeaking of, it was not ſurrounded with walls, as in after-ages. The paſs leading to it was called *Euryelus*. On the top of the hill was a fort called *Labdalon* (27).

(27) *Thucyd. l.* vi.

Labdalum,

a *Labdalum*, drew up his ſmall army under the walls, and then ſent a herald to *Nicias* to let him know that he would allow him only five days to leave *Sicily*. *Nicias* did not condeſcend to return any anſwer to this propoſal; whereupon *Gylippus* attacking the fort, carried it by ſtorm, and put all the *Athenians*, who were in it, to the ſword. This opened him a way into the city, where he was received with loud acclamations, and honoured as the deliverer of the city. Having allowed his troops a few days reſt, he marched out with his own and the *Syracuſian* forces to demoliſh the enemy's works; whereupon a ſharp engagement enſued, in which many were killed on both ſides: But at length the *Athenians* carried the day. Their victory was chiefly owing to the narrowneſs of the place, which made the b *Syracuſian* cavalry and bow-men quite unſerviceable. *Gylippus* to encourage his ſoldiers, reproached himſelf with the ill ſucceſs they had met with, and publicly declared that he, not they, had occaſioned the late defeat. However, he promiſed to give them very ſoon an opportunity of retrieving both their honour and his, and accordingly the very next day he led them againſt the enemy, and gained a very conſiderable victory [x].

Gylippus enters Syracuſe.

After this ſucceſs thirteen gallies arrived from *Corinth* with conſiderable ſupplies both of men and money for the *Syracuſians*; and *Gylippus*, not content to ſend embaſſadors to the cities of *Sicily*, went himſelf from town to town, ſolliciting them to join him. By this means he raiſed above three thouſand men, and with c theſe freſh ſupplies returned to *Syracuſe*. *Nicias* on the other hand finding his troops leſſen daily in proportion as thoſe of the enemy's increaſed, began to be diſheartened, and wrote to the *Athenians* in the ſtrongeſt terms, ſhewing that without powerful ſupplies both by ſea and land, the enterprize would prove abortive, and the ſmall army remaining be loſt. His letter made a great impreſſion on the minds of the *Athenians*, who immediately nominated two officers, who ſerved under him, *Menander* and *Euthydemus* to aſſiſt him till other generals ſhould be ſent; for he had deſired, on account of his bad ſtate of health, a collegue to bear part of the burden and care of the war. *Eurymedon* and *Demoſthenes* were choſen to ſucceed *Lamachus* and *Alcibiades*. The former ſet out immediately with ten gallies, and a d conſiderable ſum of money to aſſure *Nicias* that a ſpeedy ſuccour ſhould be ſent him; the latter was employed in raiſing troops, and equipping ſhips in order to ſet ſail the following ſpring.

On the other ſide the *Lacedæmonians*, having at the inſtigation of *Alcibiades* broke the truce they had made with the *Athenians*, invaded *Attica* under the conduct of *Agis* and *Alcibiades*, in order to divert them from ſending any ſupplies into *Sicily*. But they were ſo infatuated with the *Sicilian* expedition, that notwithſtanding the ſtraits they were in at home, they decreed fourſcore gallies, and five thouſand land-forces to be ſent into that iſland. The *Syracuſians* hearing that the enemy was ſoon to be reinforced with ſuch powerful ſupplies, fitted out a fleet with all e poſſible expedition, in order to venture a ſea-engagement, and deſtroy the *Athenian* ſhips that blocked up the city by ſea, before they were joined by the ſquadron, which *Demoſthenes* was bringing over into *Sicily*. With this view they ſailed out with a fleet of fourſcore ſail well manned, and being met by the *Athenian* fleet, conſiſting of ſixty ſail, a ſharp engagement enſued, which drew the *Athenians* from their poſts to the ſea-ſide. But while they were ſtanding on the ſhore idle ſpectators of the combat, *Gylippus*, who foreſaw this, attacked the forts unexpectedly, and as great part of the garriſon had flocked to the ſhore, he poſſeſſed himſelf of them without great oppoſition, and made a dreadful ſlaughter of thoſe, who haſtened from the ſhore to the aſſiſtance of their companions. Hereupon a great noiſe and f tumult ariſing in the camp, the *Athenians* engaged at ſea were ſtruck with terror, and made what haſte they could to gain the ſhore, and there aſſiſt their land-forces in the defence of the ports. But finding, as they drew near, that *Gylippus* was already in poſſeſſion of the poſts they were coming to defend, they tacked about, and with their whole fleet in line of battle fell upon the *Syracuſians*, who were purſuing them in diſorder, ſunk eleven of their veſſels, killed great numbers of their marines, and made ample amends for the battle they had loſt by land, with a compleat victory by ſea. After the fight both parties ſet up trophies; the *Athenians* for their victory by ſea, and the *Syracuſians* for their ſucceſs by land. The *Athenians*

A ſea-fight between the Athenians and Syracuſians.

[x] Diodor. Sicul. ibid. p. 138. Thucyd. l. 6. p. 471. Plut. in Nic. p. 534.

loſt in the forts, that were taken, all their treaſure, and great part of their provi- a
ſions, and military ſtores.

The *Syracuſians*, notwithſtanding the loſs they had ſuſtained by ſea, were determined to attempt a ſecond engagement both by ſea and land, before the ſuccours, which *Demoſthenes* was bringing, ſhould arrive. In order therefore to provoke them to a fight they daily drew up their fleet in line of battle before the great harbour, where the *Athenian* fleet was anchored, and with biting jokes and rallery, put their patience to the utmoſt trial. *Nicias* was averſe from venturing a ſecond battle; ſaying, that as he expected a freſh fleet every moment, and a great reinforcement, it would betray the greateſt want of judgment, ſhould he hazard a battle without being forced to it, when his troops were inferior in number to thoſe of the b
enemy, and already fatigued. On the other hand *Menander* and *Euthydemus*, who had been appointed to ſhare the command with him till the arrival of *Demoſthenes*, wanting to perform ſome mighty exploit before they reſigned their commiſſion, repreſented to *Nicias*, that ſhould they ſhun a battle, the reputation of the *Athe-*
Another ſea-fight. *nian* arms would be forfeited, and they forſaken by all their allies in *Sicily*. They were ſo preſſing with *Nicias* that they forced him at laſt to compliance, and accordingly the fleet conſiſting of ſeventy-five gallies ſailed out of the harbour. The firſt day the two fleets continued in ſight of each other without engaging; the ſecond ſome veſſels engaged, but neither ſide gained any conſiderable advantage. The third day, the *Syracuſians* drew up their navy earlier than uſual, and having c
continued ſo till the day was far ſpent, they withdrew as they had done the day before. The *Athenians* ſuppoſed they were not to return that day, and therefore began to retire without obſerving any order, when all on a ſudden the enemy's fleet ſailing out of the little harbour fell upon the *Athenians* before they had time to draw up in line of battle. Victory did not long continue in ſuſpence; the *Athenians* were put to flight, after having loſt ſeven gallies, and a great many men, ſome being killed, and others taken priſoners [7].

This loſs threw *Nicias* into the utmoſt conſternation, and renewed the memory of all the misfortunes he had met with ſince his firſt coming into *Sicily*. But while
Demoſthenes *arrives from* Athens *with new ſupplies.* he was revolving in his mind theſe gloomy ideas, *Demoſthenes*'s fleet appeared d
advancing to the great haven with ſuch pomp and aſſurance of victory as filled the enemy with dread. This fleet conſiſted of ſeventy-three gallies, having on board eight thouſand men beſides mariners, and great ſtore of proviſions, and warlike engines to be employ'd in the ſiege. All the gallies were richly trimmed, and their prows adorned with coſtly ſtreamers: They were manned with choſen rowers, commanded by experienced officers, and furniſhed at a vaſt expence with all ſorts of warlike machines uſed then in ſea-engagements. As they approached the ſhore the ſound of the trumpets mixed with repeated ſhouts and loud acclamations, both from the fleet and the camp, made all the city reſound. This air of pomp and triumph *Demoſthenes* affected purpoſely to ſtrike terror into the enemy. And truly the e
beſieged, notwithſtanding their late advantages, began now to be quite diſheartened, finding they had to do with an enemy, who could ſend ſuch powerful ſuccours abroad, while they had ſo troubleſome a war on their hands at home. The common people were for putting an end to their calamities by capitulating, before the city was reduced to the laſt extremity, and while they could hope for tolerable terms. But *Demoſthenes* did not give them time to come to any reſolution; thinking it adviſeable to take advantage of the general conſternation, which his arrival had occaſioned, he prepared to attack the city the ſame day he arrived, being determined either to put a ſpeedy end to the war, or raiſe the ſiege, and return to the relief of *Athens*, which was in a manner blocked up by the *Lacedæmonians*. f
Nicias terrified at this bold and precipitate reſolution, conjured him not to be overhaſty, but to take time to weigh things maturely, that he might have no cauſe to repent when it would be too late. He obſerved to him, that the enemy would be ruined by delays, that they were in great want both of money and proviſions, that their allies were ready to abandon them, and that they would be ſoon forced to ſurrender, as they had before reſolved to do. This *Nicias* ſaid, becauſe he had certain advice ſent him daily of whatever was tranſacted in the city. But his remonſtrances were conſtrued an effect of the dilatorineſs, with which he had al-

[7] Diodor. Sicul. Thucyd. & Plut. ubi ſupra.

ways

a ways been reproached. And indeed it was peculiar to him to ſtart difficulties on all occaſions, and deaden the vivacity of the troops by delays, diſtruſts, and timorous precautions. All the officers therefore came over to the opinion of *Demoſthenes*, and *Nicias* himſelf was forced to acquieſce in it [z].

The Athenians defeated before Syracuſe.

A general aſſault being reſolved on, *Demoſthenes* marched in the dead of the night to attack the important poſt of *Epipolæ*, and was at firſt attended with ſucceſs, having made himſelf maſter of the caſtle, and cut the garriſon in pieces. *Gylippus* at the firſt alarm haſtened to the relief of the place; but his troops, being ſeized with a panic, which was increaſed by the darkneſs of the night, were eaſily repulſed and put to flight. But as the *Athenians* advanced in diſorder to prevent their rallying, they met with a body of *Bœotians* under the command of *Hermo-*
b *crates*, an officer of great courage and experience, and were by them ſtopt till the *Syracuſians*, who had fled, had time to recover from their ſurprize. Then *Gylippus* encouraging his men, brought them back to the charge, and the fight was renewed. The *Athenians*, though in diſorder, ſtood their ground for ſome time, but at laſt, freſh troops continually arriving from the city, they were forced to give way, and not knowing the roads many of them either fell from the tops of the rocks, and were daſhed in pieces, or were ſlain the next day, as they were ſtraggling from one another up and down the fields and woods. Two thouſand *Athenians* were killed on this occaſion, and a great many arms and warlike engines taken.

c AFTER this overthrow *Demoſthenes* was for returning to *Athens*, eſpecially as the ſeaſon was not too far advanced for croſſing the ſea, and they had ſhips enow to force their paſſage, in caſe the enemy ſhould diſpute it. He declared, that in his opinion it would be of far greater advantage to oblige the *Lacedæmonians* to raiſe the blockade of *Athens*, than to continue that of *Syracuſe*, in which they ſpent their ſtrength to no purpoſe. But *Nicias* had ſtill hopes of becoming maſter of the city, which he knew to be in great want of all things, and beſides was under great apprehenſions of the people of *Athens*, who had baniſhed two generals in former times for returning from *Sicily*, though they had acted a very prudent part in ſo doing. He ſaid, that as thoſe who were to judge him, had not been eye-witneſſes of the ſtate of affairs, they would be of a different opinion; and that thoſe very men,
d who then exclaimed againſt the difficulties they laboured under, would perhaps change their note, and accuſe them of having been bribed to raiſe the ſiege. He concluded by declaring, that as for himſelf he choſe rather to fall glorioufly by the enemy's ſword, than be ignominouſly condemned by the ſuffrages of the populace. Theſe reaſons were not able to convince *Demoſthenes*, who was ſtill of opinion, that the only way left to ſave themſelves was to quit the country. However, as he had been unſucceſsful in his former advice, he was afraid of inſiſting upon this, and yielded to *Nicias* [a].

IN the mean time the *Syracuſians* were reinforced with powerful ſupplies from the *Siculi*, *Selinuntines*, *Geleans*, and *Camarineans*; which encouraged them as much as it diſheartened the *Athenians*, in whoſe army a violent plague broke out, occaſi-
e oned by the unwholeſome air of the fens and marſhes, near which they were encamped. This calamity, added to many others, made *Nicias* alter his opinion, and orders were privately iſſued enjoining the officers of the fleet to be in a readineſs to ſet ſail at a minute's warning. The ſoldiers were commanded to ſhip all their baggage, and be ready to go on board upon a ſignal that ſhould be given. But when all things were ready, and moſt part of the ſoldiers embarked, without the *Syracuſians* having the leaſt ſuſpicion of their deſign, the moon was ſuddenly eclipſed, which ſo terrified *Nicias*, who was naturally ſuperſtitious, that he would needs conſult the ſoothſayers before he ſuffered the reſt of the ſoldiers to go on board. It was cuſtomary on ſuch occaſions to ſuſpend the enterprize, that was in hand, for three days. But the ſoothſayers, whom *Nicias* conſulted, pronounced,
f that he muſt not ſet ſail, till three times nine days were paſt; which, without all doubt, was a myſterious number in the opinion of the people [b].

THE *Syracuſians* in the mean time receiving notice of the intended departure of the *Athenians*, took freſh courage, and reſolved to attack them both by ſea and land. Purſuant to this reſolution, they ſailed out with threeſcore gallies againſt the

[z] THUCYD. l. 7. p. 513, 518. PLUT. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. [a] THUCYD. l. 7. p. 518, 520. PLUT. in NIC. p. 538, 542. DIODOR. SICUL. p. 142. [b] Idem, ibid.

Athenian

Athenian fleet conſiſting of fourſcore and ſix. *Eurymedon*, who commanded the right of the *Athenian* fleet, extended his line, as he had more ſhips, in order to ſurround the oppoſite wing of the enemy. But being in this attempt, ſeparated from the reſt of the fleet, he was driven by *Agatharcus*, the *Syracuſian* admiral, into the gulf called *Daſion*, and there killed with great part of his men. The death of the admiral diſheartened both the ſoldiers and officers, who now every where gave way, and being chaſed by the enemy ſheltered themſelves within the haven; which, as we ſhall ſee anon, proved fatal to them. In this engagement the *Athenians* loſt eighteen ſhips, and two thouſand men. *Gylippus*, who commanded the land-army, ſeeing the enemy's gallies forced aſhore, advanced with part of his troops to fall upon ſuch as landed, but was repulſed by the *Tuſcans*, who guarded that quarter, and driven into the marſh called *Lyſimelia*, where many of his men were killed by the *Tuſcans* and *Athenians*, who flew to their aſſiſtance. Each party erected trophies, the *Syracuſians* for their victory by ſea, and the *Athenians* for the advantage they had gained by land. But the minds of the two nations were differently diſpoſed. The *Syracuſians*, who had been ſo terrified at the arrival of *Demoſthenes*, ſeeing themſelves victorious in a naval engagement, took freſh courage. On the contrary, the *Athenians*, overcome by ſea contrary to their expectation, loſt all hopes, and only thought of retiring.

THE enemy, to prevent their eſcaping by ſea, blocked up the mouth of the great harbour, which was about five hundred paces wide, with ſhips and gallies joined and faſtened together with anchors and iron chains. The *Athenians*, ſeeing themſelves thus penned up on all ſides, held a council of war, in which it was unanimouſly reſolved, that they ſhould attempt, at all adventures, to break through the fleet, that ſhut up the harbour, and retire with all their forces on board to *Catana*; but if they ſhould not ſucceed in this bold undertaking, to ſet fire to their ſhips, and march by land to the neareſt city belonging to their allies. Purſuant to this reſolution, the flower of the troops, and the moſt experienced among the officers were put on board an hundred and fifteen gallies, and the reſt of the army drawn up in battalia on the ſhore. On the other ſide the *Syracuſians* fitted out ſeventy-four gallies, which they placed with many other veſſels behind thoſe that ſtoped up the harbour, to the end that if any of the latter were ſunk, or the chains, which joined them, broken, the *Athenians* might yet find themſelves a ſecond time ſtoped and entangled. As this engagement was to determine the fate of *Syracuſe*, the walls of the harbour, and every eminence within the city was filled with crouds of ſpectators. The commanders on both ſides employed all their eloquence to animate their men. *Nicias* leaving his poſt on the ſhore, went on board a veſſel, and ſailing round the *Athenian* fleet, exhorted the commander of each galley in particular to behave like an *Athenian*, putting them in mind, that on their valour, in the fight now approaching, depended the ſafety and preſervation of their wives, their children, and their country, as well as their own. *Nicias* was ſcarce returned to his poſt, when the trumpets ſounded the charge, and the *Athenian* fleet advanced with great violence, to break the blockade at the mouth of the harbour. But the *Syracuſian* gallies, which had been left within the veſſels chained together, on purpoſe to ſtop the courſe and fury of the enemy, rowed up againſt them with ſuch impetuoſity, that they put both their own and the enemy's fleet in the utmoſt confuſion. In this diſorder the lines on both ſides being broken, and the veſſels diſperſed, they engaged here and there in ſmall ſquadrons. However, the fight was obſtinate on both ſides. The *Athenians*, ſeeing they were utterly loſt, unleſs with an invincible reſolution they forced their paſſage, deſpiſed all dangers, and fought like men in a deſperate condition. On the other ſide the *Syracuſians*, knowing that they were obſerved by their parents and children, exerted their utmoſt efforts in defence of their country. The fight was no leſs dreadful than the confuſion, and the ſlaughter great on both ſides: The lamentable outcries of the wounded, and thoſe, who were periſhing in the water, the noiſe of the oars, and the loud ſhouts from the ramparts, and the ſhore, where both armies were drawn up, prevented any orders from being heard or attended to. As the battle was fought under the very walls of the city, parents were eye-witneſſes of the death of their children, wives of the miſerable end of their husbands, and one friend beheld another wallowing in his blood, without being able to lend him any relief. After the battle had laſted many hours, and both parties were quite

Another ſea-engagement.

a quite tired out, and no more able to manage either their arms, or their oars, yet if any of them offered to fly to the ſhore, they were driven back with bitter reproaches
• by their countrymen under whoſe eyes they fought. The *Athenians* asked thoſe who made to the ſhore, whether they intended to ſail to *Athens* by land, and obliged them, though covered over with wounds, to return to the charge. The *Syracuſians* met with no better treatment from their countrymen, who prevented even thoſe from landing whoſe ſhips were quite diſabled and ready to ſink, bidding them ſave their lives by boarding the enemy's ſhips, or die an honourable death in defence of their country. Thus the battle was continued the whole day, and it was by far the moſt bloody and obſtinate which had ever been fought in thoſe ſeas. At length the *The Athenians defeated.*
b *Athenians* were, in ſpite of their utmoſt endeavours, driven aſhore, and the city immediately acquainted with the victory by an univerſal ſhout from the fleet, which was anſwered by loud acclamations of joy from the army on the ſhore, and the ſpectators on the walls. The *Athenians*, who eſcaped, leapt out of their broken and ſhattered ſhips, and fled to the land army. The *Syracuſians* loſt on this occaſion eight ſhips, and had eleven diſabled; the *Athenians* loſt threeſcore, and moſt of the reſt were rendered quite unſerviceable [c].

In this deſperate condition the *Athenian* officers met to conſider what meaſures they ſhould take in ſo critical a conjuncture. *Demoſthenes* was for manning with freſh ſoldiers the few gallies that remained, and while the *Syracuſians* were under no
c apprehenſions on account of their late victory, to fall upon them again, and force their way out of the harbour. This was no ill advice, but *Nicias* oppoſed it; others ſay, that the ſoldiers refuſed to obey, alledging that it would be impoſſible for them to ſuſtain a ſecond engagement. It was thereupon determined to abandon the ſhips, and retire that very night by land to the cities of their confederates. But *Hermocrates*, commander in chief of the *Syracuſian* forces, ſuſpecting their deſign, ordered all his troops to be immediately drawn out with a deſign to ſtop all the paſſes and prevent their retreat. The *Syracuſians* were then in the height of their rejoycings, and thinking of nothing but how to divert themſelves after the toils they had ſuſtained. They therefore unanimouſly declared, that they would not,
d upon any account whatſoever, take up arms again till they had been allowed ſome days reſt. Hereupon *Hermocrates*, thinking it of the utmoſt importance not to ſuffer ſo great a body of forces to make their eſcape, ſince they might fortify themſelves in ſome corner of the iſland, and there begin a new war, deviſed the following ſtratagem to gain time. He ſent ſome horſemen to the *Athenian* camp, who were to paſs for friends, and adviſe *Nicias* not to quit his camp, which was well fortified, ſince the *Syracuſians* lay in ambuſh for him, and had ſeized on all the paſſes leading to the cities of their allies. This falſe advice ſtopt *Nicias* at once, and he did not even ſet out the next day, that his ſoldiers might have more time to refreſh themſelves, and carry off whatever might be neceſſary for their ſubſiſtance. He
e might have paſſed with great ſafety had he not been thus deluded. The next day *Hermocrates* having prevailed upon his men to march out, poſſeſſed himſelf of the moſt difficult paſſes, fortified the avenues leading to the places where the rivers were fordable, broke down the bridges, and ſpread detachments of horſe up and down the plains; ſo that there was not one outlet, through which the *Athenians* were not obliged to fight their way. However as they could no longer ſubſiſt in their camp, the third day after the battle they ſet out to the number of forty thouſand men, leaving behind them all their gallies, and great part of their baggage. The whole army was in the utmoſt conſternation in ſeeing ſuch great numbers of men, either dead or dying, abandoned to wild beaſts, or the cruelty of the enemy. Some who
f were ſick or wounded, hanging on the necks of their friends and companions, conjured them with many tears, to take them along with the army; others dragging themſelves after them, followed as far as their ſtrength allowed them, and when this failed, had recourſe to tears and ſighs, calling upon the gods as well as men to revenge the cruelty they met with; ſo that every place echoed with groans and mournful lamentations. But the moſt melancholy part of the ſpectacle, and which moſt deſerved compaſſion, was *Nicias* himſelf. That great man, dejected and worn out with a tedious illneſs, deſtitute of all neceſſary things when his age and infirmities required them moſt, tormented not only with his own grief, but with the

[c] Diodor. & Thucyd. ibid.

affliction of others, thought of nothing but how he might beſt comfort his ſoldiers, and rouſe their courage; he ran from one part of the army to the other exhorting his men to pluck up their ſpirits, by repreſenting to them, that matters were not yet deſperate, ſince other armies had eſcaped far greater dangers; that they ought not to grieve too immoderately for misfortunes which they had not occaſioned; that if they had offended any god, his vengeance muſt be ſatiated by this time; that fortune, after having ſo long favoured the enemy, would at laſt be tired of perſecuting them, *&c.* Above all he inſiſted upon their marching in good order, ſince by a prudent and couragious retreat, which was now become their only reſource, they might not only ſave themſelves, but their country, and enable it to recover its former ſplendor [d].

THE hopes of the deſponding army being ſomewhat revived by this ſpeech, they marched out in two bodies, both drawn up in the form of a phalanx; the van was led by *Nicias*, and the rear by *Demoſthenes*, with the baggage in the centre. They forced their paſſage over the river *Anapis*, notwithſtanding the vigorous oppoſition they met with. But being every day haraſſed by the *Syracuſian* horſe and bowmen, who were continually diſcharging ſhowers of darts upon them, and finding all the outlets guarded, ſo that they were obliged to diſpute every inch of their way, they began again to deſpond. *Nicias* offered the enemy battle, but *Hermocrates* and *Gylippus*, not caring to engage men, whom deſpair made invincible, retired as ſoon as they ſaw them drawn up in battalia, but when they began to proceed in their march, they then fell upon their rear with the utmoſt fury.

Demoſthenes and *Nicias*, ſeeing the miſerable condition to which the army was reduced; for many were daily wounded, and beſides, they were in great want of proviſions, the enemy having laid waſte the whole country, through which they were to paſs, reſolved to alter their rout, and inſtead of purſuing their march to *Catana*, to turn towards the ſea, and make the beſt of their way for *Camarina* and *Gela*. Accordingly having lighted a great many fires in their camp, they retired in the dead of the night. The van-guard led by *Nicias* kept together and advanced in good order; but half the rear, commanded by *Demoſthenes*, fell into great confuſion and loſt their way. However they got early in the morning to the ſea-ſide, but could have no advice of the reſt of the army. In the mean time the *Syracuſians*, having intelligence of their march, by break of day made after them with all poſſible expedition, and came up with *Demoſthenes* about noon. The *Athenians* were then in ſome diſorder, as not ſuſpecting the enemy could overtake them ſo ſoon. The *Syracuſians* did not fail to take advantage of their confuſion, and immediately charging them with their cavalry, they forced them into a narrow paſs, and there ſurrounded them on all ſides. *Demoſthenes* ſeeing there was no hopes of eſcaping, after having fought from noon to night, thought it adviſeable to ſave the lives of ſo many brave men by capitulating. Accordingly having ſtipulated that neither he nor any of his men ſhould be put to death, or ſentenced to perpetual impriſonment, they all, to the number of ſix thouſand, laid down their arms and ſurrendered [e].

Nicias arrived the ſame evening at the river *Erineus*, which he croſſed and encamped on an eminence, where the enemy came up with him the next day, and ſummoned him to ſurrender as *Demoſthenes* had done. *Nicias* not believing what they told him of his collegue, obtained leave to ſend a horſeman to enquire of the truth. Upon the return of the meſſenger, being informed that *Demoſthenes* had really ſurrendered, he ſent a herald to the enemy's camp, offering to pay the whole charges of the war, upon condition that he was allowed to leave the country with all his forces. But this propoſal being rejected, the enemy attacked him with great vigor, and the *Athenians*, though quite tired out with their long marches, and faint with hunger, ſtood their ground till night put an end to the combat. When all things ſeemed quiet, *Nicias* commanded his men to file off in ſilence, for he was there in abſolute want of all neceſſaries. But they no ſooner took up their arms, than the advanced guards of the *Syracuſians* gave the alarm. Whereupon the *Athenians*, ſeeing themſelves diſcovered, remained there all night. However three hundred of them broke through the enemies guards, and marched as far as they could that night. At break of day *Nicias* purſued his march, being galled all the way by ſhowers of darts from

[d] THUCYD. & DIODOR. ibid. [e] THUCYD. & DIODOR. ibid.

a all ſides. When they arrived at the river *Aſinarus*, they ruſhed into it without any order, every one ſtriving to get over the firſt, and in that confuſion the *Syracuſian* cavalry advancing full gallop into the river, trod many of them down with their horſes, cut others in pieces, and made ſuch a dreadful havock of thoſe unfortunate men, while they were not in a condition to make any reſiſtance, that the *Aſinarus* was for many miles died with their blood. Our hiſtorian tells us, that the *Athenians* were ſo tormented with drought, occaſioned by their long and quick march, that unmindful of their preſent danger they ſeemed to be more intent on quenching their thirſt than ſaving their lives, though what they drank was rather the blood of their companions than the waters of the ſtream. On this occaſion above eighteen
b thouſand *Athenians* were by the mercileſs *Syracuſians* inhumanly butchered. *Nicias* with a ſmall body, which eſcaped the ſlaughter, and kept together, being hemmed in on all ſides, ſurrendered, not to the *Syracuſians*, but to *Gylippus*, hoping to meet with better treatment from him than from the *Syracuſians*. The only condition he asked was, that their lives ſhould be ſpared, which being granted, they threw down their arms and ſurrendered. After this the *Syracuſians* detached ſeveral ſmall bodies of horſe to all parts, and theſe took the three hundred, who had forced their way through the guards the night before, with many others whom they found ſtraggling in the fields; ſo that out of ſo numerous an army very few had the good fortune to eſcape either death or ſervitude [f].

c The *Athenians*, it ſeems, were diſpleaſed with their general for ſurrendering in this manner, ſince his name was omitted on a public monument, where the names were engraved of thoſe commanders who had loſt their lives in the ſervice of their country [g].

The *Syracuſians* upon this happy ſucceſs having erected two trophies, and fixed to them the arms of the two captive generals, returned to the city, which they entered in triumph among the loud and joyful acclamations of their fellow-citizens, who flocked from all quarters to be ſpectators of ſo glorious a ſight. The whole city returned thanks to the gods in the moſt ſolemn manner for having auſpiciouſly ended the greateſt war they had ever been engaged in, and put a period to their
d calamities with a ſignal and compleat victory [h].

The next day an aſſembly was called to determine the fate of the captives, when one *Diocles*, a man of great eſteem and authority among the people, was of opinion, that the two *Athenian* generals ſhould be firſt whipt with rods, and then put to death, that the reſt ſhould be ſhut up in the quarries, and there allowed only two ſmall meaſures of flower and one of water a day, and that the inhabitants of the iſland, who had joined them, ſhould be ſold for ſlaves. This opinion was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by *Hermocrates*, to whom the *Syracuſians* were chiefly indebted for their late victory; he was a man highly eſteemed for his eminent probity and juſtice; but nevertheleſs ſo incenſed was the multitude againſt the *Athenians*, that
e they would not ſuffer him to continue his ſpeech. *Hermocrates* being thus interrupted by the ſhouts and clamours which ecchoed from all parts of the aſſembly, a venerable old man, by name *Nicholaus*, who had loſt in this war two ſons, the only heirs to his name and eſtate, roſe up ſupported by two of his ſervants. He no ſooner offered to ſpeak, but a profound ſilence was made, no one doubting but he would make a bitter invective againſt the priſoners. *Nicholaus* ſeeing the eyes of the whole multitude fixed upon him, ſpoke thus: Dear countrymen, you ſee me now appear here ſupported by the hands of my ſlaves, who formerly made my appearance ſupported by thoſe of my beloved children; but they are now gone, and I deprived of the only comfort of my old age. However, though I am every day deſiring
f they were alive, yet I cannot help thinking them happy for having ſacrificed in defence of their country that life which they muſt have one day parted with by the law of nature. They are happy, and I alone miſerable, who have loſt my children, and with them all hopes of poſterity. And ſince I have bore ſo great a part in the calamities of this war, I ſhall ever hate and deteſt the *Athenians*, who, without any provocation, kindled it in the very heart of our country. They indeed deſerve the ſevereſt treatment; but have not the gods, the juſt avengers of crimes, already puniſhed their injuſtice, and revenged our ſufferings ſufficiently? They invaded us with a fleet of two hundred ſail, and an army of forty thouſand

[f] Thucyd. & Diodor. ibid. [g] Pausan. l. i. [h] Diodor. Sicul. ibid.

men,

men, and not one ſhip, not one man has made his eſcape to carry home the news of their deſtruction. Have they not therefore ſuffered already above the degree and meaſure of their offence? and will you, O *Syracuſians*, be ſo hard-hearted as to inſult them in their diſtreſs, and treat them inhumanly while they lie proſtrate at your feet. You have ſhewn your bravery and valour in reducing them to the ſtate they are now in; let your mercy and compaſſion exert themſelves as much as your courage has done. But what do I ſay mercy and compaſſion? you are bound in juſtice to treat them with humanity, and reject with horror the very thought of putting them to death. When their generals laid down their arms and ſurrendered, did you not promiſe to ſpare their lives? and if we put them to death, ſhall we not be eternally branded with the juſt reproach of having violated the law of nations, and diſhonoured our victory with the blackeſt treachery? What then, you will ask, is to be done with the captives? My opinion is, and I hope it will not ſeem ſtrange to any here preſent, that they be all diſmiſſed, and ſuffered to return unhurt to their country. Let it be ſaid in all nations, that we have overcome the *Athenians* not only in arms, but in mercy and humanity. Thus our enemies will not only be cenſured by others, but will even condemn themſelves for having attempted to deſtroy men of ſo merciful a temper. To uſe that ſeverity, which ſome unthinking men have adviſed, is intailing the hatred of ſo great and powerful a nation on our poſterity, which is no ways ſafe, the iſſues of war being ſo uncertain, that the conquerors are often by a ſudden change of fortune brought lower than the conquered, as the event of this war has ſhewn. Thoſe who beſieged us in our capital are by an unexpected turn of fortune become our priſoners. It is therefore great prudence to ſhew compaſſion in the miſeries of others, if we expect to find the ſame ourſelves in their condition. As for *Nicias*, you all know, that he pleaded your cauſe in the aſſembly of the *Athenians*, and did all that lay in his power to diſſuade his countrymen from this expedition. How baſe then and ungenerous would it be to condemn this worthy man to death for obeying the commands of his ſuperiors, though contrary to his own opinion and inclination? How hard-hearted muſt that man be, whoſe anger is not aſſuaged in ſeeing ſo renowned a general, lately the admiration of *Greece*, loaded with irons, and ſuffering under the miſerable condition of a ſlave, as if fortune in his life gloried to ſhew the greatneſs of her power. Since therefore under her kind auſpices we have triumphed over our enemies, let us carry it with humanity and moderation, and not inſult with the cruelty of barbarians over thoſe who are of the ſame ſtock with ourſelves [1].

THE people ſeemed moved to compaſſion by this ſpeech, eſpecially as they expected to hear this venerable old man cry aloud for vengeance on thoſe who had brought all his calamities upon him; inſtead of which he earneſtly ſued for their pardon. But the enemies of the *Athenians* expatiating on their inveterate hatred to the *Syracuſians*, and the many calamities which they had brought upon them, the people returned to their former reſolution, and followed the advice of *Diocles*. The generals were firſt whipt, and then put to death, all compaſſionate men bewailing the hard lot of two ſuch illuſtrious perſonages, eſpecially of *Nicias*, who, as our author tells us, of all men of his time leaſt deſerved to be brought to ſo great a degree of miſery. *Thucydides* ſays, that *Gylippus* pleaded their cauſe with a great deal of eloquence, out of gratitude with regard to *Nicias*, who after the overthrow which the *Lacedæmonians* received at *Pylus*, had perſuaded the *Athenians* to reſtore the captives to their liberty; out of generoſity with reſpect to *Demoſthenes*, who had ever been a profeſſed enemy to the *Spartans*. On the other hand *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, that *Gylippus*, ſeeing the people greatly affected by the ſpeech of *Nicholaus*, and inclined to pardon the captives, effaced the good impreſſions he had made in their minds, and by a moſt bitter invective againſt the *Athenians*, which our hiſtorian ſets down at length, ſo prejudiced the aſſembly againſt the generals, that they were immediately put to death. The other priſoners were thruſt down into the quarries, where, crouded upon one another, they ſuffered inexpreſſible miſeries for the ſpace of eight months. They were there ever expoſed to the inclemencies of the air, and alterations of the weather; ſcorched in the day-time by the burning rays of the ſun, and frozen in the night by the colds of autumn; poiſoned by the ſtench of their own excrements, and the bodies of thoſe who died of their wounds and of

[1] DIODOR. SICUL. ibid.

diſeaſes,

a diſeaſes, and lay together in heaps; in fine tormented with hunger and thirſt, their allowance being ſcarce ſufficient to keep them alive. Moſt of them died of the hardſhips they ſuffered; others were taken out of the quarries, and being ſold for ſlaves met with a moſt generous treatment from their maſters, who, moved with compaſſion, and thinking they had already ſufficiently atoned for any fault they could be guilty of, reſtored them to their ancient liberty.

SUCH was the iſſue of this war after it had laſted near three years, and coſt the *Athenians* an immenſe treaſure, without their reaping any thing by it but ſhame and diſhonour. The *Syracuſians* rewarded their allies, eſpecially the *Lacedæmonians*, with great part of the ſpoils; what remained was divided among their own ſoldiers, and hung up in their temples, as monuments of the victory they had obtained by b the powerful aſſiſtance of the deities worſhipped there. *Gylippus* on his return to *Lacedæmon* was accompanied by five-and-thirty *Syracuſian* gallies to be employed under the conduct of *Hermocrates* againſt the *Athenians*. But this fleet was entirely deſtroyed in a ſea engagement near *Abydus*, and the commanders obliged to return to the defence of their own country, which was ſoon involved in a new war. *Year of the flood* 2586. *Before Chriſt* 413.

THE *Egeſtines*, who had called the *Athenians* into *Sicily*, and conſtantly adhered to them during the whole courſe of the war, dreading the reſentment of the *Syracuſians*, and being anew attacked by the *Selinuntines*, who laid claim to great part of their territories, had recourſe to the *Carthaginians*, offering to put their city into their c hands, and declaring that they had rather live ſubject to *Carthage* than to *Syracuſe*. After their embaſſadors had delivered this meſſage to the ſenate, the *Carthaginians* were greatly perplexed what to reſolve. On one ſide they were deſirous of getting foot anew in *Sicily*, and poſſeſſing themſelves of a city, which lay ſo convenient for them; on the other they feared the power of the *Syracuſians*, who had lately obtained ſo ſignal a victory over the *Athenians*, and would not fail to aſſiſt their ancient allies the *Selinuntines*. At laſt the deſire of enlarging their dominions prevailed, and the *Egeſtines* were promiſed ſuccours. But before the *Carthaginians* came to an open rupture, they attempted to ſow ſeeds of diviſion between the *Selinuntines* and *Syracuſians*. With this view they ſent embaſſadors to *Syracuſe*, entreating that city to compoſe the differences of the contending parties in an amicable manner, d and oblige the *Selinuntines* to content themſelves with that portion of the lands in queſtion, which they ſhould think fit to allow them. They hoped, that if the *Selinuntines* ſhould decline the arbitration of the *Syracuſians*, that would breed a miſunderſtanding between the two cities; whence the *Syracuſians* would not think themſelves obliged to lend any aſſiſtance to the *Selinuntines*, who had refuſed to ſtand to their arbitration, nor the *Selinuntines* have the confidence to recur to them after they had thus affronted them by rejecting their mediation. But this trick of *Punic* policy did not ſucceed; the *Syracuſians* indeed interpoſed their good offices, but finding the *Selinuntines* unwilling to come to an accommodation upon the terms they propoſed, and remembering their eminent ſervices during the late war, they would neither compel them to it, nor, for ſo ſlight a cauſe, renounce their alliance. Hereupon the e *Carthaginians*, being reſolved at all events to get poſſeſſion of *Egeſta*, ſent to the *Egeſtines* five thouſand men from *Africa*, and eight hundred from *Campania*. The latter had been hired by the *Chalcidians* to aſſiſt the *Athenians* againſt the *Syracuſians*; but after their overthrow ſailing back into *Campania*, ſtaid there in hopes that ſome ſtate might ſoon ſtand in need of their aſſiſtance. Accordingly the *Carthaginians* took them into their ſervice, bought them horſes, and placed them in garriſon at *Egeſta*. Theſe in conjunction with the five thouſand *Africans* falling unexpectedly upon the *Selinuntines*, put them to flight, killed a thouſand of them on the ſpot, and took all their baggage. Upon this open rupture between the two cities, both diſpatched embaſſadors to ſolicit ſuccours from their confederates, the *Selinuntines* from the *Syracuſians*, and the *Egeſtines* from the *Carthaginians*, which being promiſed on f both ſides, a moſt dreadful war broke out between the *Egeſtines* and *Carthaginians* on one hand, and the *Selinuntines* and *Syracuſians* on the other. The *Carthaginians* foreſeeing the greatneſs of the undertaking they were to imbark in, committed the whole management of the war to *Hannibal*, impowering him to raiſe what forces he thought fit. He was grandſon to *Hamilcar*, who had been defeated and killed by *Gelon*, before *Himera*, as we have related above, and ſon to *Giſco*, who being baniſhed his country had retired to *Selinus*, where he died for want of neceſſaries. As he *The* Carthaginian *war.*

[k] THUCYD. & DIODOR. ibid.

bore therefore a natural hatred to all the *Greeks*, and was deſirous to wipe off by a
his own valor the diſgrace of that defeat, which he conſidered as a ſtain upon his family, he was indefatigable all that ſummer, and the enſuing winter in raiſing forces not only in *Africa*, but in *Spain* and *Italy*, and making the other neceſſary preparations; inſomuch that in the beginning of the ſpring he had no fewer than three hundred thouſand men under his ſtandard. Theſe with an immenſe ſtore of proviſions, engines, arms, and all other things neceſſary for ſuch an undertaking, he put on board threeſcore long gallies, and fifteen hundred tranſports, and ſetting ſail, aſſoon as the ſeaſon would allow, croſſed the ſea and landed ſafe at a place called *the well of* Lilybæum, where the city of *Lilybæum* was afterwards built. After he had landed his forces, he cauſed all his ſhips to be drawn aſhore for fear of giving umbrage to b
the *Syracuſians*, and then being joined by the *Egeſtines*, marched ſtrait to *Selinus*, which city he inveſted, and began to batter the walls with incredible fury. The *Selinuntines*, who had been the only people in *Sicily* that had ſided with the *Carthaginians* againſt *Gelon*, did not think they would have come to ſuch extremities, and therefore were at firſt ſtruck with great terror. However as they were not altogether without hopes, but expected ſpeedy ſuccours from *Syracuſe* and other confederate cities, they all joined as one man, and made a vigorous defence; even the women and children regardleſs of danger appeared on the ramparts ready to ſacrifice their lives in the defence of their country [1].

Selinus beſieged by the Carthaginians.

As the walls were inceſſantly battered day and night by the rams, and other warlike engines, a breach was ſoon opened, and the firſt who entered it were the *Campanians* out of an ambition of diſtinguiſhing themſelves above the reſt; but they were repulſed with great loſs, as were the *Africans* and *Spaniards*, whom *Hannibal* ſent to ſupport them. The fight laſted from noon to night, when *Hannibal* ſounded the retreat. In the mean time the *Selinuntines* ſent expreſſes to *Agrigentum*, *Gela*, and *Syracuſe*, acquainting them with the ſtate of affairs. The *Agrigentines* and *Geleans* immediately armed their troops, but waited for the *Syracuſian* auxiliaries with a deſign to fall upon the enemy with united forces. The *Syracuſians* likewiſe without delay drew together what forces they could, but as they did not think them ſufficient to relieve effectually the beſieged, whom they apprehended to be in no immi- d
nent danger, they put off their march for ſome days till they got together a ſtronger force. But *Hannibal*, aſſoon as it was light, renewing the aſſault, poſſeſſed himſelf of the breach which had been made the day before, and of another which his rams had opened near it, and from thence charging the beſieged, obliged them to give ground, but could not put them in diſorder, nor enter the city. Many fell on both ſides; but the *Carthaginians* were conſtantly ſupplied with freſh men; whereas the *Selinuntines* had none to relieve them, being all employed at once in defending the breaches. Thus the aſſault was daily renewed for the ſpace of nine days with incredible ſlaughter. At length the beſieged being quite tired out, the *Iberians* after a long conteſt lodged on the ramparts; from thence they advanced into the e
city, but finding all the ſtreets and paſſages barricadoed, and being at the ſame time ſorely galled by ſhowers of tiles and ſtones thrown by the women from the tops of the houſes, they were obliged to retire to the ramparts. The next day they returned to the charge very early, and by continually pouring freſh men into the city forced the *Selinuntines* to abandon the narrow ſtreets, and purſued them into the market-place, where they made a ſtand, and were all to a man cut in pieces. Two thouſand ſix hundred had by the favour of the night made their eſcape to *Agrigentum* before the enemy had forced the narrow paſſes; ſo that now there was not one ſingle man left alive in the city. The *Carthaginians* therefore raging in all parts without reſtraint, rifled the houſes, and then ſet fire to them, and either threw into the f
flames the women and children they found in them, or dragging them into the ſtreets, put them all, without diſtinction, to the ſword. Neither did this ſatiate their inhuman cruelty, which they carried ſo far as to mangle in a barbarous manner even the dead bodies, ſome of them carrying about with them numbers of hands tied round their girdles, and others out of oſtentation bearing the heads of the ſlain on the points of their ſwords and ſpears. The city was razed two hundred and fifty years after it had been built, and the few women and children, who outlived this fatal day, carried away captives. Thoſe who fled to *Agrigentum*, were received

Taken and razed.

[1] DIODOR. SICUL. l. xiii. c. 6. & 7.

there

a there with great humanity and tenderneſs, and abundantly ſupplied with all neceſſaries out of the public ſtores (U) [m].

Hannibal, having thus taken and demoliſhed *Selinus*, marched with all his army to *Himera*, extremely deſirous to revenge on that city the death of his grandfather *Hamilcar*, who had been ſlain there by *Gelon* with an hundred and fifty thouſand *Carthaginians*. On his march he was joined by twenty thouſand *Siculi* and *Sicani*, whom he ſent with the main body of the army to lay ſiege to the city, while he with a body of forty thouſand men encamped on a riſing ground at a ſmall diſtance from it. The *Syracuſians* had ſent four thouſand men to the aſſiſtance of the *Himereans* under the conduct of *Diocles*, before the city was inveſted, and the other confederates had likewiſe ſent what troops they could well ſpare. Wherefore the inhabitants, encouraged b by theſe ſuccours, and dreading to undergo the ſame fate as the *Selinuntines*, made a moſt vigorous defence. The *Carthaginians* made ſeveral breaches in the wall, but were conſtantly repulſed for ſeveral days ſucceſſively, without being able to gain an inch of ground. This did not a little diſcourage the enemy, notwithſtanding their late ſucceſs at *Selinus*; which the *Himereans* obſerving made a ſally with ten thouſand men, cut many of the *Carthaginians* in pieces, and put the whole army to flight, purſuing them with great ſlaughter to the hill, where *Hannibal* was encamped. That general ſeeing his army in confuſion, haſtened to their relief; upon which the battle was begun anew, and continued for ſome hours, victory inclining to neither ſide. At length the *Himereans*, being overpowered with numbers, gave ground; but three c thouſand of them kept their poſts, and covered the retreat of their companions, ſuſtaining the ſhock of the whole *Carthaginian* army till they all died upon the ſpot. Himera *beſieged.*

After this engagement five and twenty gallies appeared off of *Himera*, and a report was ſpread all over the city and the enemy's camp, that the *Syracuſians* with all their forces were coming to the relief of the city. Hereupon *Hannibal* having put the flower of his troops on board his gallies, prepared to ſail for *Syracuſe*, hoping to ſurprize the city now that it wanted, as he ſuppoſed, ſufficient forces to defend it. But thoſe gallies proved to be the fleet which the *Syracuſians* had ſent ſome time before to the aid of the *Lacedæmonians*, returning home. As they touched at *Himera*, *Diocles*, d commander in chief of the *Syracuſian* auxiliaries there, adviſed them to ſail with all ſpeed to *Syracuſe*, leſt *Hannibal* ſhould make any attempt upon that city. He thought it alſo adviſeable to leave *Himera* for a while, and with one half of his forces to return to *Syracuſe* on the gallies, leaving the other half behind him, which he thought ſufficient to hold out till he, after putting his own city in a ſtate of defence, ſhould return. This the beſieged took very ill, but could not prevail upon *Diocles* to alter his meaſures. Upon his departure the *Carthaginians* doubled their attacks, and battered the walls night and day without intermiſſion. On the other hand the beſieged believing the ſhips would return ſpeedily, were indefatigable in defending the walls, repairing the breaches, and repulſing the enemy. Thus they held out againſt the repeated aſſaults and utmoſt efforts of above three hundred thouſand men till the very e day the fleet appeared, when the *Carthaginians*, ſummoning all their courage and reſolution, gave a general aſſault, and with their numbers bearing all down before them, drove the citizens from the ramparts, and in ſpite of their utmoſt efforts entered the city ſword in hand. There is no ſort of cruelty which the barbarous *Carthaginians* and *Iberians* did not practiſe on this occaſion; all they met, without regard to ſex or age, were inhumanly butchered; the ſlaughter was ſo mercileſs, that the very channels in the ſtreets flowed with blood. After they had plundered the temples and houſes, and levelled the city with the ground, *Hannibal* cauſed *Taken and razed.*

[m] Idem, ibid.

(U) A few days after the city was taken three thouſand *Syracuſians* arrived at *Agrigentum* on their march to the relief of *Selinus*. But underſtanding that the city was taken, they ſent embaſſadors to *Hannibal* to treat of the redemption of the captives, and to beg of him that he would at leaſt ſpare the temples. *Hannibal* returned anſwer, that ſince the *Selinuntines* had not been able to defend their own liberty, they deſerved to be treated like ſlaves; and that the gods, provoked at their wickedneſs, had forſaken both the city and the temples; whence it would be no ſacrilege to ſtrip them of their ornaments. The *Syracuſians*, not ſatisfied with this anſwer, ſent a ſecond embaſſy, and on that occaſion employed one *Empedione* of *Selinus*, who had always been of the *Carthaginian* party, and adviſed the citizens to open their gates to them, when they firſt appeared before the city. *Hannibal* received him with great demonſtrations of kindneſs, reſtored him his eſtate, pardoned all thoſe priſoners who were any ways related to him, and permitted the others, who had fled to *Agrigentum*, to return and people the city anew, upon paying to the *Carthaginians* an annual tribute.

three

three thouſand of the captives to be carried to the place, where his grandfather had a
been defeated and killed by *Gelon*'s cavalry, and there firſt expoſed them to the inſults
of his barbarians, and then cauſed them to be cruelly maſſacred .

THUS ended this campaign, after which *Hannibal*, diſmiſſing the *Siculi* and con-
federates, and disbanding the *Campanians*, imbarqued his troops, and ſet ſail for
Africa. When he arrived at *Carthage*, the whole city went out to meet him, and
received him with loud and joyful acclamations, as a general that had performed
greater things in ſo ſhort a time than any ever before him.

Hermocrates *baniſhed.*

ABOUT this time ſome diſturbances aroſe in *Syracuſe*, occaſioned by the return of
Hermocrates. This brave officer had ſignalized himſelf in the war againſt the *Athe-*
nians, and had been afterwards ſent with a fleet of thirty-five gallies to the aid of the b
Lacedæmonians. During his abſence the contrary faction, headed by *Diocles* (W),
prevailing at home, he was tried, and without ſo much as being heard, condemned
to baniſhment. As he was a man of great probity, and had on all occaſions been
very ſerviceable to his country, many of the citizens ſought to have him recalled,
knowing that his enemies had prevailed on the ungrateful multitude to baniſh him
merely on account of his virtue, which gave them no ſmall umbrage. But all their
endeavours proving unſucceſsful, *Hermocrates* himſelf returned into *Sicily*, and having
raiſed an army of ſix thouſand men, by the advice of his friends he advanced to *Sy-*
racuſe, and ſurpriſed one of the gates of the city. But the adverſe party running to
arms, and falling furiouſly upon his ſmall army, cut moſt of them in pieces, and c
ſlew *Hermocrates* himſelf. All thoſe who had declared in his favour, were condemned
to perpetual baniſhment, and among the reſt his ſon-in-law *Dionyſius*, who made
the *Syracuſians* pay dear for the exceſſes they committed on this occaſion, as we
ſhall ſee in the ſequel of the hiſtory [o].

The Carthaginians *return to* Sicily.

THE late ſucceſs of the *Carthaginians* in *Sicily* revived the deſign which they had
ever entertained of ſubduing the whole iſland. With this view they began to make
new preparations, and raiſe another army, committing the whole management of
the war to the ſame *Hannibal*. But as he pleaded his great age, and ſhewed him-
ſelf unwilling to take upon him the command and return to *Sicily*, they joined in
commiſſion with him *Imilcar* the ſon of *Hanno*, one of the ſame family. Theſe d
two generals being plentifully ſupplied with money, and impowered to raiſe what
forces they thought neceſſary for ſo great an undertaking, not only made great levies
at home, but ſent officers with large ſums into *Spain*, *Italy*, *Lybia*, *Sardinia* and
the *Balearic* iſlands to hire numerous bodies of mercenaries. When all their forces
were muſtered at *Carthage*, the army was found to conſiſt of three hundred thouſand
choſen men, as *Ephorus* informs us; but *Timæus* ſays, that they amounted only to
an hundred and twenty thouſand, or thereabouts. All things being got ready, the
troops were imbarqued on a thouſand tranſports, which under the convoy of a nu-
merous ſquadron of gallies arriving ſafe in *Sicily* landed on the coaſt of *Agrigentum*,
and marched ſtrait to that city [p]. e

The *Syracuſians* and their confederates had ſent embaſſadors to *Carthage* to com-
plain of the late hoſtilities practiſed upon them by *Hannibal*, and perſuade the ſenate

[n] Idem, ibid. [o] DIODOR. SICUL. ibid. [p] Idem, ibid.

(W) *Diocles* was a man of great authority among the people. By his advice the form of government was altered after the firſt *Carthaginian* war, and the magiſtrates, contrary to the ancient cuſtom, choſen by lot. He alſo inſtituted laws for the *Syracuſians*, which were obſerved not only in the city of *Syracuſe*, but in moſt of the free ſtates of *Sicily*, *Diocles* being highly eſteemed by all for his wiſdom and probity. Others after his time made laws, namely *Cephalus*, who flouriſhed under *Timoleon* and *Polydorus*, who was contemporary with *Hiero*; but theſe were only called interpreters of the law, which was written in ſuch obſolete language as was hardly underſtood; the title of law-giver was beſtowed upon none but *Diocles*. He is ſaid to have been a man of an inexorable nature and great ſeverity. Among the many laws he made one was, that if any man came armed into the court, where the public aſſemblies were held, he ſhould be put to death, even though he had done it inadvertently. Not long after the publication of this law, ſome of the neighbouring people having invaded the territories of *Syracuſe*, *Diocles* put on his armour to march out againſt them; but in the mean time a tumult ariſing in the court, he haſtened thither to appeaſe it with his ſword by his ſide; which one there preſent obſerving, cried out, that he tranſgreſſed the laws which he himſelf had made. Whereupon *Diocles* drawing his ſword, anſwered, that he would confirm them with his blood, and ran himſelf through in the court. After his death divine honours were paid to him, and a temple erected to his memory, which was afterwards pulled down by *Dionyſius* when he ſurrounded the city with a new wall (28).

(28) *Diodor. Sicul. l.* xiii. *c.* 4.

to

a to forbear ſending any troops into *Sicily*. But the *Carthaginians* returning a doubtful anſwer to this embaſſy, the *Syracuſians* had put themſelves in a poſture of defence, and were prepared to give the enemy a warm reception. The *Agrigentines* eſpecially, expecting this great ſtorm would firſt diſcharge itſelf upon them, had carefully provided all things neceſſary for the ſuſtaining of a long ſiege, following therein the directions of *Dexippus* the *Lacedæmonian*, an officer of great courage and experience. *Hannibal* on his arrival before the city, ſent embaſſadors to the *Agrigentines*, inviting them either to join him, or ſtand neuter, declaring he would be well ſatisfied with either, and forbear all hoſtilities if they only agreed to a treaty of amity and friendſhip. But both propoſals being rejected, *Imilcar* and *Hannibal*, after having b viewed the walls, and found a place, where they thought it would be no hard matter to make a breach, began to batter them with incredible fury. But the defence was no leſs vigorous than the attack; the beſieged, in the firſt ſally they made, burnt all the enemy's engines, deſtroyed the towers they had raiſed againſt the city, and after having made a great ſlaughter in the camp, returned in good order into the city. Hereupon *Hannibal* commanded all the tombs and ſtately monuments, ſtanding round the city, to be demoliſhed, and mounts to be raiſed with the rubbiſh as high as the walls. Soon after the plague broke out in the army, and in a ſhort time carried off a great number of the ſoldiers, and the general himſelf. The *Carthaginian* ſoothſayers interpreted this diſaſter as a puniſhment inflicted by the gods in revenge of the c injuries done to the dead. Wherefore *Imilcar*, in whom the whole power was now ſ veſted, ordered ſupplications to be made according to the practice of *Carthage*, and a boy to be ſacrificed to *Saturn* in compliance with a cuſtom which had long obtained among the *Carthaginians*; by his orders *Neptune* likewiſe was appeaſed, and ſeveral prieſts thrown into the ſea, as the moſt pleaſing victims to that deity. *Imilcar* having, as he imagined, by theſe cruelties atoned for the ſacrileges of *Hannibal*, and pacified the gods, the aſſaults were renewed with more vigor than ever, and the city reduced to great ſtraits.

Agrigentum *beſieged.*

In the mean time the *Syracuſians* having raiſed an army of above thirty thouſand foot, and five thouſand horſe, ſent them to the relief of the beſieged under the com- d mand of one *Daphneus*. *Imilcar*, upon intelligence of their approach, detached all the *Iberians* and *Campanians* with forty thouſand *Carthaginians*, enjoining them to engage the enemy in the plains of the river *Himera*. Purſuant to his orders the *Syracuſians* were attacked a few hours after they had paſſed the river, as they were advancing in good order through thoſe large plains towards *Agrigentum*. The diſpute was ſharp, and the victory a long time doubtful, the enemies being far ſuperior in number to the *Syracuſians*. But at length the latter carried the day, and purſued the *Carthaginians*, with great ſlaughter, to the very walls of *Agrigentum*. Upon the approach of the *Syracuſians*, that body which was carrying on the ſiege, abandoning their poſts, ſaved themſelves by flight to *Imilcar*'s camp, which was e pitched on the neighbouring hills. *Daphneus* purſued them in good order with a deſign to attack the camp; but finding it ſtrongly fortified, he thought it more adviſeable to guard all the avenues leading to it with his cavalry, and by that means oblige the enemy either to periſh with famine, or come out of their lines and venture an engagement. Accordingly all the paſſages being blocked up, and the convoys intercepted, that numerous army was ſoon brought to ſuch ſtraits, that the *Campanians* and other mercenaries began to mutiny, and going in a body to *Imilcar*'s tent, threatened to join the enemy if they had not their uſual allowance of bread. The general, with much ado, prevailed upon them to bear patiently their preſent want for a few days, aſſuring them they ſhould be very ſoon plentifully ſupplied f with all ſorts of proviſions. He had been informed that the *Syracuſians* were then loading many ſhips with corn to be ſent to *Agrigentum*, and did not the leaſt doubt but he ſhould intercept the convoy, the *Syracuſians* not ſuſpecting that he would attempt any thing by ſea. Accordingly he diſpatched meſſengers to *Motya* and *Panormus* where his fleet lay, enjoining the commanders to man the gallies with all poſſible expedition, and lie in wait, at an appointed place, for the ſhips that were to bring the proviſions. His orders were put in execution, and forty gallies being ſpeedily equipped, the *Syracuſian* fleet, conſiſting of threeſcore tranſports laden with corn, and all ſorts of proviſions, was intercepted. As this unexpected relief gave the *Carthaginians* freſh courage, ſo it greatly diſheartened the *Agrigentines*, who having already held out for the ſpace of eight months, were in great want of

all things, and without hopes of being relieved ſo quickly as their preſent neceſſity required. Eight hundred *Campanians*, who had formerly ſerved under *Hannibal*, but were now in the ſervice of the *Agrigentines*, obſerving the deſperate condition the city was reduced to, went all over in a body to the *Carthaginians*; *Dexippus* the *Lacedæmonian* was ſaid to have been bribed with fifteen talents by the *Carthaginians*, and to have adviſed the *Campanians* and other *Italian* mercenaries to deſert, ſince they were likely to be ſtarved in the city without the leaſt proſpect of rendering any ſervice to thoſe who had hired them. Thus the mercenaries falling off, and the inhabitants deſponding for want of neceſſaries, a council of war was ſummoned, when it was judged abſolutely impoſſible to hold out any longer, there not being proviſions enough in the public ſtores to ſupport the ſoldiery and people two days longer. Some were therefore for attacking the *Carthaginians* in their camp, others for abandoning the city, and conveying the inhabitants to ſome place of ſafety; this opinion prevailed, and the following night was fixed for their departure. This reſolution, when publicly known, threw the whole city into the utmoſt conſternation; lamentable outcries were heard in every houſe, and the grief and dread they were all ſeized with in ſeeing themſelves obliged to abandon their native country, their goods and eſtates, is not to be expreſſed. They were inconſolable in ſeeing themſelves ſtript at once of all their riches, but as life was ſtill dearer, and they expected no mercy from ſo cruel an enemy, they complied with the reſolution which had been taken in the council. What above all grieved them was the neceſſity they were under of leaving behind them the aged and ſick, who, they knew, would be treated by the enemy with the utmoſt cruelty. Many, not finding in their heart to abandon their ſick parents and relations, ſtayed behind to comfort them at their death, and then die by them. The reſt being guarded by the *Syracuſian* troops, marched out and arrived ſafe at *Gela*, where they were received with great kindneſs and humanity, and plentifully ſupplied with all neceſſaries at the expence of the public. The *Syracuſians* afterwards granted them the city of *Leontini*, and its rich territory.

The Agrigentines *abandon their city.*

THE *Syracuſian* army was no ſooner retired, but *Imilcar*, marching out of his trenches, entered the city, not without ſome fear and jealouſy, and put all thoſe he found in it to the ſword, not ſparing even ſuch as had fled to the temples. Among theſe was *Gellias* (X), a citizen famous for his wealth and integrity, who ſeeing that the *Carthaginians*, without reſpecting the gods, plundered their temples, and murdered thoſe who had taken ſanctuary in them, ſet fire to the temple of *Minerva*, and conſumed in the flames both himſelf and the immenſe riches of that ſtately edifice. However the booty which the enemy found in the place, was immenſely rich, ſuch as might be expected in one of the moſt opulent cities of *Sicily*, which contained two hundred thouſand inhabitants, and had never before been plundered, or even beſieged. An incredible number of pictures, vaſes, and ſtatues, done by the greateſt maſters of thoſe times, fell into the enemy's hands, the *Agrigentines* having an exquiſite taſte for the polite arts. Among other curioſities was the famous bull of *Phalaris*, which was ſent to *Carthage* (Y) [9].

[9] Idem, ibid.

(X) *Gellias* was the richeſt citizen of *Agrigentum*, and is ſaid to have built ſeveral rooms in his houſe of an extraordinary ſize for public entertainments, placing his ſervants at the gates, and chargeing them to invite all thoſe who went by to be his gueſts. Five hundred horſemen from *Gela* happening to paſs through *Agrigentum* in winter-time, he not only entertained them with great magnificence, but furniſhed them all on their departure, as it was rainy weather, with cloaks and coats out of his wardrobe. *Polyclitus* the hiſtorian, as quoted by *Diodorus*, tells us, that when he ſerved among the troops of *Agrigentum*, he ſaw a wine-cellar in his houſe, which contained three hundred great veſſels full of wine, each of which held an hundred *amphoræ*. This *Gellias*, as our author informs us, was of a very mean preſence, but was endowed with extraordinary parts. Being once ſent with the character of embaſſador to the *Centuripines*, when he appeared in the aſſembly, all who were preſent burſt out in a loud laugh; ſo ridiculous was his aſpect. But *Gellias* told them, that they ought not to be ſurprized at his mean figure and appearance, ſince the *Agrigentines* always ſent the moſt comely and handſome men to the nobleſt cities, but to thoſe that were inſignificant and of no account ſuch as himſelf (29).

(Y) *Timæus* endeavoured to prove in his hiſtory, as our author tells us, that there never had been any ſuch bull, and bitterly inveighed againſt thoſe hiſtorians who were ſo credulous as to believe ſuch a fable. But the truth of their accounts was afterwards made plain; for *Scipio Africanus*, when he razed *Carthage*, about two hundred and threeſcore years after the deſtruction of *Agrigentum*, found among other things this very bull, and reſtored it to the inhabitants of *Agrigentum*, where it was ſtill to be ſeen when *Diodorus* wrote his hiſtory, that is, in the reign of *Auguſtus* (30).

(29) *Diodorus Sicul.* l. xiii. c. 12. (30) *Idem, ibid.* c. 13.

Imilcar,

a *Imilcar* having thus gained the city after an eight months ſiege, a little before the winter ſolſtice, did not preſently raze it, but there took up his winter quarters to give his army the neceſſary refreſhment. In the mean time the deplorable fate of *Agrigentum* being publicly known, the whole iſland was ſtruck with terror, and many of the inhabitants, forſaking their native cities, fled to *Syracuſe*, or retired with their families and effects to *Italy*. Thoſe who took ſanctuary in *Syracuſe*, were treated with extraordinary kindneſs, and the chief men among them made free of the city. Among them were many *Agrigentines*, who filled the city with their complaints againſt the *Syracuſian* commanders, as if they had betrayed *Agrigentum* into the enemy's hands. This raiſed ſuch diſturbances in *Syracuſe* as gave *Dionyſius* a fair opportunity of ſeizing
b on the ſovereign power, and depriving the inhabitants of that liberty which they had long abuſed, and by degrees turned into an unbridled licentiouſneſs. The power of the populace was ſo great, that the moſt worthy citizens had either abandoned their native country, or led at home a private life, through fear of giving them any jealouſy, or incurring their diſpleaſure. The eminent ſervices of their beſt commanders were often rewarded with death or baniſhment, the capricious multitude being led by their groundleſs ſuſpicions to treat as enemies even thoſe to whom they were indebted for their lives and ſafety. But *Dionyſius* found means to curb their inſolence, and puniſh both their cruelty towards ſtrangers, and their ingratitude towards their own citizens.

c *Dionyſius* was a native of *Syracuſe*, born, according to ſome, of a noble and illuſtrious family; according to others of a mean extraction. He was one of thoſe who accompanied *Hermocrates*, when he attempted to return to *Syracuſe* by force of arms, after he had been baniſhed through the intrigues of his enemies. *Hermocrates* was killed in the attempt, and many of his friends afterward publicly executed. *Dionyſius* was dangerouſly wounded, and the report of his death, purpoſely ſpread abroad by his relations, ſaved his life. When the war we are now ſpeaking of, broke out, he was by the interceſſion of his friends recalled, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf at the battle fought near *Agrigentum*, in a very particular manner. When the *Agrigentines* charged the *Syracuſian* officers with treachery, as if they had been gained over by the
d *Carthaginians* with bribes to betray their country, *Dionyſius* backed their accuſations, and even impeached the magiſtrates as keeping a ſecret intelligence with the enemy, and attempting to introduce an oligarchy. His ſpeech, which was entirely levelled againſt the wealthy and powerful citizens, and therefore agreeable to the humour of the people, ſet all the aſſembly in a flame; the people, already incenſed againſt their commanders, being more exaſperated by the ſpeech of *Dionyſius*, forthwith deprived them of their commands, and named others in their room, among whom was *Dionyſius*, now as much eſteemed and favoured by the populace, as he had been lately perſecuted and hated. Having gained this ſtep to preferment, he began to conſider with himſelf how he might have his collegues turned out, and the whole command
e of the army lodged in himſelf. With this view he never joined in any council of war with the other commanders, nor imparted to them his reſolutions, giving out that he durſt not truſt them, and that they had more at heart their own intereſt, than the welfare of their country. While he was thus by degrees paving his way to the throne, the moſt prudent among the citizens, being well appriſed of his wicked deſigns, complained of his proceedings to the ſenate and magiſtrates, who fined him as a diſturber of the public peace. According to the laws the fine was to be paid before he could ſpeak in public, and *Dionyſius* was not in a condition to diſcharge it. Hereupon *Philiſtus*, the hiſtorian, a man of great wealth, not only paid the fine for him, but encouraged him to ſpeak his mind freely, as it became a zealous citizen to do,
f offering to pay all the fines they ſhould lay upon him. *Dionyſius*, being thus ſupported by the wealth of a rich citizen, and the favour of the people, as he was an eloquent ſpeaker, bitterly inveighed againſt all thoſe, who on account of their power or intereſt were in a condition to obſtruct his deſigns, and by degrees brought them into diſgrace with the people [q].

Dionyſius *ſtirs up the people.*

Is choſen one of the generals.

Another ſcheme, which he formed, was attended with all the ſucceſs he could have wiſhed, and greatly ſtrengthened his party. There were at that time a great many *Syracuſian* exiles diſperſed up and down *Sicily*, whom the faction of the nobility had baniſhed at different times, and under various pretences. Theſe *Dionyſius* looked

Gets the Syracuſian exiles recalled.

[q] Diodor. ibid. Aristot. Polit. l. v. c. 6.

upon

upon as the moſt proper tools for the execution of his deſigns; for he did not doubt a
but their gratitude towards him, and their hatred againſt thoſe, who had occaſioned
their misfortunes, would unalterably attach them to his party and intereſt. Where-
fore in one of the aſſemblies, that were then frequently held to deliberate on the
ſtate of affairs, he applied with his uſual addreſs to the people in behalf of the exiles.
A decree had paſſed for the raiſing a numerous body of troops to oppoſe the progreſs
of the *Carthaginians*, and the people were very uneaſy on account of the expence
which the new levies would amount to. *Dionyſius* took advantage of this favourable
conjuncture and diſpoſition of the people. He repreſented that it was abſurd and
impolitic to bring troops from *Italy* and *Peloponneſus* at a vaſt charge, when they b
might be ſupplied with excellent forces, without being at any expence at all; that
if they recalled their own countrymen, who were diſperſed all over *Sicily*, they would
by that kindneſs oblige them to ſacrifice willingly their lives in defence of thoſe
who reſtored them to their former condition, *&c.* His ſpeech had ſuch an effect
on the people, that a decree was immediately paſſed in favour of the exiles. Many
plainly perceived what he had in view, but none durſt contradict him, knowing
that he had gained ſuch an aſcendant over the people, that their oppoſition would
not only prove ineffectual, but incenſe the multitude againſt them, and raiſe the re-
putation of *Dionyſius*, to whom alone the exiles would be indebted for their return.
The decree was no ſooner publiſhed, but the exiles flocked from all parts to
Syracuſe [r]. c

Gains the ſoldiery.

IN the mean time the inhabitants of *Gela*, falling out among themſelves, im-
plored the protection of *Syracuſe*, leſt the common enemy ſhould take advantage of
their diſagreement, and by the aſſiſtance of one party poſſeſs themſelves of the city.
Dionyſius immediately marched thither with two thouſand foot, and four hundred
horſe, and finding the city in an uproar occaſioned by the unjuſt pretenſions of the
nobility over the people, he ſided with the latter, and cauſed thoſe to be put to
death, whom the people condemned in their aſſembly. Their eſtates he confiſcated
and ſold, and with the money ariſing from the ſale paid the ſoldiers, who were there
in garriſon under *Dexippus*, their arrears, diſtributing the overplus among the troops
that came with him from *Syracuſe*. At the ſame time he aſſured them all, that their d
pay ſhould be doubled, which gained him the hearts of the ſoldiery. The *Geleans*
treated him with the higheſt marks of diſtinction, and even ſent embaſſadors to *Sy-
racuſe* to return their thanks for the important ſervice that city had done them in ſend-
ing thither *Dionyſius*.

DURING his ſtay at *Gela* he endeavoured to gain over to his views *Dexippus*; but
not being able to perſuade the *Lacedæmonian* to come into his meaſures, he marched
back to *Syracuſe* with all his forces, promiſing to return ſoon with a more numerous
army. He arrived at *Syracuſe* juſt as the people were coming out of the theatre,
who thronging about him enquired what news he brought concerning the *Cartha-
ginians*. He anſwered with a ſad and dejected air, that the city had not ſo much cauſe e
to be afraid of them, as of her own officers and magiſtrates, who, inſtead of making
the neceſſary preparations againſt the approach of ſo formidable an enemy, lulled the
people aſleep with trivial amuſements and idle ſhews, and ſuffered the troops to
want neceſſaries, converting their pay to their private uſes; that he had long ſuſpected,
but now ſaw plainly what they aimed at; that *Imilcar* had ſent an officer to him under
pretence of redeeming ſome captives, but in truth to perſuade him not to pry too
narrowly into the conduct of his collegues, and if he would not enter into their mea-
ſures, at leaſt not to obſtruct them; that he was come determined to lay down his
commiſſion, that he might leave no room for injurious ſuſpicions of his acting in con-
cert with traitors, who baſely ſold their country. f

Made generaliſſimo.

THIS ſpeech being divulged about the city, and among the troops, the very next
day an aſſembly was convened, when *Dionyſius* renewed his complaints againſt the
generals, and was heard with univerſal applauſe. At length ſome in the aſſembly
cried out, that it was neceſſary to appoint him generaliſſimo, and that the thing
ought not to be put off till the enemy was battering the walls; that the greatneſs of the
war required ſuch a commander, and that *Gelon* was choſen generaliſſimo on the like
occaſion, and defeated the *Carthaginian* army conſiſting of three hundred thouſand
men. As for the traitors, their cauſe might be referred to another day, but the pre-

[r] Idem, ibid.

ſent

a ſent affair would admit of no delay. Nor was it deferred in effect, for the people, who, as the hiſtorian obſerves, are always apt to cloſe with the worſt advice, elected that inſtant *Dionyſius* commander in chief with an abſolute and unbounded power.

Procures a guard.

ALL things ſucceeding thus according to his wiſh, he cauſed a decree to be paſſed, ordering that for the future the ſoldiers pay ſhould be doubled, alledging that they would be thereby encouraged to fight more chearfully in defence of their country. When the aſſembly broke up, the *Syracuſians* upon ſecond thoughts began to repent of what they had done, being ſenſible they had acted imprudently in putting the whole power into the hands of one man, which was in effect giving themſelves a b maſter, who might, if he pleaſed, lord it over them without controll. *Dionyſius* therefore to prevent the change of the people's minds, began to contrive how he might procure a guard for his perſon; if he could but gain this point, he concluded he might eaſily uſurp the ſovereignty. With this view he commanded all that were able to bear arms, and under forty years of age, to march with thirty days proviſions to the city of *Leontini*, which belonged to the *Syracuſians*, and was full of foreigners and exiles, perſons very fit for the execution of his deſign. He encamped the firſt night on the plains of *Leontini*, where he cauſed a great noiſe and clamour to be made in the dead of the night by his ſervants and attendants, as if his enemies had attempted to aſſaſſinate him in his tent. In this alarm he fled to the caſtle of *Leon-* c *tini*, where he paſſed the reſt of the night, after having cauſed a great many fires to be lighted, and drawn off with him ſuch of the troops as he moſt confided in. At break of day he acquainted the people of *Leontini* with the danger he pretended to have been in, and feigning to be ſtill under great apprehenſion, he demanded leave to chuſe himſelf a guard of ſix hundred men for the ſecurity of his perſon. His demand ſeemed very reaſonable, and was accordingly complied with. He choſe out a thouſand men for his guard upon the ſpot, armed them compleatly, and encouraged them with great promiſes. He alſo attached the mercenaries to his intereſt in a peculiar manner by addreſſing them with great freedom and affability. He then made ſeveral alterations and removals in the troops, giving commiſſions to ſuch as he d could rely upon, and turning out thoſe whom he diſtruſted. Among the latter was *Dexippus* the *Lacedæmonian*, whom he ſent back into *Greece*, not doubting but the *Syracuſians* would chuſe him for their general, if they ſhould attempt the recovery of their liberty; for he was an officer of great experience, and could not by any offers be prevailed upon to fall in with *Dionyſius*. At the ſame time he ſent orders to the gariſon of *Gela* to join him, and aſſembled from all quarters fugitives, exiles, debtors, and criminals [s].

Seizes on the citadel, and declares himſelf king of Syracuſe. *Year of the flood*, 2600. *Before Chriſt* 404.

WITH this train he returned to *Syracuſe*, which trembled at his approach. But the people were no longer in a condition to oppoſe his deſigns, or diſpute his autho- rity; the city being full of mercenaries, who were in arms, and the *Carthaginians* e with a mighty army on the frontiers. The firſt thing he did after his return to *Syra- cuſe* was to poſſeſs himſelf of the citadel, where the arms and proviſions were lodged; which he no ſooner ſaw himſelf maſter of, than bidding defiance to his oppoſers, he publicly declared himſelf king of *Syracuſe* in the twenty-fifth year of his age. To ſtrengthen himſelf the more in the tyranny, he married the daughter of *Her- mocrates*, whoſe family was the moſt powerful of *Syracuſe*, and gave his own ſiſter in marriage to *Polyxenus*, brother-in-law to *Hermocrates*. Afterwards he called an aſſembly, in which he cauſed *Daphneus* and *Demarchus*, who had been the moſt active in oppoſing him, to be condemned. Thus *Dionyſius* from a ſimple notary, as *Diodorus* informs us, raiſed himſelf to the ſovereignty of the greateſt and moſt f opulent city of *Sicily* [t].

Gela beſieged by the Carthaginians.

IN the mean time the *Carthaginians* under the command of *Imilcar*, having on the return of the ſpring razed the city of *Agrigentum*, marched with all their forces againſt *Gela*, and ſitting down before that place, fortified their camp with a deep ditch and a wall, not doubting but *Dionyſius* would come to the relief of the beſieged with a powerful army. The *Geleans* in the beginning of the ſiege were for ſending their wives and children to ſome place of ſafety; but not one of them could be prevailed upon to retire, they all proteſting that they would undergo the ſame fate as their huſbands and parents. This reſolution encouraged

[s] Idem, ibid. & ARISTIDES in Panathen. [t] Idem, ibid.

the *Geleans* to exert themſelves in the defence of perſons ſo dear to them, and to whom they were ſo dear. They made ſeveral ſallies, and cut great numbers of the enemy in pieces. No ſooner was a breach opened in the wall, but the inhabitants repaired it, being indefatigable night and day on the ramparts, where their wives and children chearfully ſhared with them the labour and danger. Thus they held out a long time, though their city was but very indifferently fortified, againſt an army of above three hundred thouſand men, without receiving any aid from their allies. At length *Dionyſius* advanced to their relief at the head of fifty thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe; but after ſome unſucceſsful attempts, not caring to put all to the iſſue of a battle, he perſuaded the inhabitants to abandon their country, as the only means to ſave their lives, and covered their retreat with the forces he had brought to relieve the place. The *Carthaginians* immediately entered the city, and either put to the ſword or crucified all thoſe they found in it. From *Gela* they advanced to *Camarina*, whither the *Geleans* had retired; and *Dionyſius*, being informed of their march, obliged the *Camarineans* likewiſe to remove from their native city, and withdraw with their wives and children to *Syracuſe*. The moving ſight of aged perſons, matrons, and tender infants, hurried on beyond their ſtrength from two ſeveral cities in one and the ſame country, and ſtript of all their wealth and poſſeſſions, raiſed compaſſion in the breaſts of *Dionyſius*'s ſoldiers, and incenſed them againſt the tyrant. They ſuſpected him to act in concert with the *Carthaginians*; the more becauſe they did not offer to purſue him, and none of his mercenaries had been killed in the attacks he made on the enemy's camp before *Gela*. The *Italians* therefore left his camp in a body, and marched homewards through the heart of the country. The *Syracuſian* cavalry, after having attempted to kill him on the march, clapt ſpurs to their horſes, and rode full gallop to *Syracuſe*, where they entered the citadel without oppoſition, the guards being quite ignorant of what had happened at *Gela* and *Camarina*. Upon their arrival they forced his palace, ranſacked his treaſures, carried off all his rich furniture, and abuſed his wife ſo cruelly, that through grief and ſhame ſhe poiſoned herſelf. In the mean time *Dionyſius*, ſuſpecting their deſign, followed them with all poſſible expedition, and having marched fifty miles without ever halting, arrived at midnight with an hundred horſe and five hundred foot at the gate of *Acradina*, which he found ſhut againſt him. He immediately cauſed the gate to be burnt down, and having thus opened himſelf a way into the city, he cut in pieces a body of the moſt wealthy and noble citizens, who, without waiting for the people, had haſtened to the defence of the gate. Being now maſter of the city, he ſcoured the ſtreets, putting all thoſe to the ſword that came in his way, and even entering the houſes of ſuch as he took to be his enemies, and cutting them off with their whole families. Next morning at break of day the whole body of his troops arrived; but the unhappy fugitives from *Gela* and *Camarina*, incenſed againſt the tyrant, retired to *Leontini*.

The Syracuſians *revolt from* Dionyſius.

He poſſeſſes himſelf of the city.

A peace between the Carthaginians *and* Dionyſius.

In the mean time a plague breaking out in the *Carthaginian* camp, *Imilcar*, not finding himſelf in a condition to carry on the war, ſent a herald to *Syracuſe* to offer terms of peace to the conquered. His unexpected arrival was very acceptable to *Dionyſius*, and a peace was immediately ſtruck up upon the following terms: That the *Carthaginians*, beſides their ancient acquiſitions in *Sicily*, ſhould ſtill poſſeſs the countries of the *Sicani*, and the diſmantled cities of *Selinus*, *Agrigentum*, and *Himera* with their territories; that the *Geleans* and *Camarincans* ſhould be ſuffered to return to their reſpective countries, and live there, paying an annual tribute to the *Carthaginians*; that the *Leontines*, *Meſſenians*, and all the other inhabitants of *Sicily* ſhould live according to their own laws, and enjoy their liberties except the *Syracuſians*, who ſhould continue ſubject to *Dionyſius*. Theſe articles being agreed to by both parties, *Imilcar* embarked his troops, and ſet ſail for *Carthage*, after having loſt above the half of his army by the plague, which afterwards made a dreadful havock in *Africa* [u].

Dionyſius, foreſeeing that the *Syracuſians* would not fail to take advantage of the peace with the *Carthaginians* to attempt the recovery of their liberty, neglected nothing on his ſide in ſupport of his power. He fortified the iſland, which was very ſtrong by nature, and divided it from the reſt of the city with a high and thick wall, which was at due diſtances flanked with ſtrong towers. He built likewiſe at

[u] Diodor. Sicul. ibid.

a vaſt

a a vaſt expence a caſtle, which commanded the city, to ſerve him for a retreat in caſe of any ſudden commotion. As to the lands, he choſe the moſt ferrile for himſelf and his friends, the reſt he equally diſtributed among the citizens, including in that number the ſlaves, whom he made free, and called *Neopolites*, or new citizens. In the ſame manner he divided the houſes, except thoſe in the iſland, which he beſtowed on his mercenaries, and ſuch friends as he could confide in [w].

HAVING taken theſe precautions for his own ſecurity, and thinking his authority ſufficiently eſtabliſhed, he began to think of extending his dominions, and ſubjecting ſeveral free ſtates of *Sicily*, which had ſided with the *Carthaginians*. He marched firſt againſt the city of *Herbeſſus*; but while he was employed in the ſiege of b that place, the *Syracuſians*, who had been liſted for that expedition, ſeeing their ſwords reſtored to them, thought it their duty to employ them in the recovery of their liberty. One of the tyrant's officers, endeavouring to prevent their meeting together in private cabals, was killed on the ſpot, and his death ſerved as a ſignal for the reſt to take up arms and join in the common cauſe. They ſent immediately to *Ætna* for the horſe, for they had retired thither, and poſſeſſed themſelves of that caſtle when *Dionyſius* firſt uſurped the ſovereignty. *Dionyſius* alarmed at theſe commotions broke up the ſiege, and haſtening to *Syracuſe*, made himſelf maſter of that city before the news of the revolt in the army had reached it. The revolters, being joined by the cavalry from *Ætna*, followed him cloſe, and encamping on c *Epipolæ*, cut off all communication with the country. At the ſame time they diſpatched meſſengers to *Rhegium* and *Meſſina*, ſolliciting their aid by ſea for the recovery of their liberty. The meſſengers were kindly received in both places, and fourſcore gallies well manned ſent with all poſſible expedition to ſupport ſo good a cauſe. Being thus reinforced, they promiſed by the common crier, a great reward to any one that ſhould kill the tyrant, and the freedom of the city to all foreigners, who ſhould abandon him and come over to them. A great number of *Dionyſius*'s mercenaries allured by theſe promiſes forſook him, and were immediately made free of *Syracuſe*, and beſides rewarded with large ſums, which ſo encouraged them, that in a few days the tyrant ſaw himſelf quite abandoned by d thoſe, in whom he chiefly confided. And now the *Syracuſians* having prepared engines for the battering down of the wall, with repeated aſſaults ſo haraſſed thoſe few that ſtill kept with the tyrant, that they were ſoon reduced to the utmoſt extremity. In this deſperate condition *Dionyſius* aſſembled his friends, to conſult with them rather by what kind of death he ſhould put an end to his career; than by what means he might ſave his life, or maintain the ſovereignty. They were divided in their opinions. *Heloris* adviſed him to lay violent hands on himſelf before he was forced to reſign the ſovereign power, telling him, that the royal title would be the greateſt ornament of his ſepulchre. *Polyxenus* would have had him attempt to break through the enemy's camp, on the ſwifteſt horſe he had, and e retiring to thoſe places, which were ſubject to the *Carthaginians*, implore the aſſiſtance of the *Campanians*, whom *Imilcar* had left to defend his conqueſts in *Sicily*. But *Philiſtus* the hiſtorian oppoſed this advice, telling *Dionyſius* that he ought not to fly from the crown, but hold it to the laſt gaſp with both his hands. *Dionyſius* cloſed with this advice, and reſolved to part with his life, rather than with the power he had acquired. However, to gain time, he ſent deputies to the *Syracuſians*, demanding permiſſion to depart the city with his friends and adherents; which was granted; and five ſhips were allowed him to tranſport his men and effects. In the mean time he ſent privately diſpatches to the *Campanians*, who garriſoned the places in the poſſeſſion of the *Carthaginians* with great offers, if f they would haſten to his relief [x].

The Syracuſians *revolt.*

Dionyſius *beſieged in the iſland.*

And reduced to great ſtraits.

THE *Syracuſians*, believing they had now got the better of the tyrant; and truſting to the treaty, diſarmed part of their troops, and ſuffered the others to rove about in the fields, as if there were nothing further to be feared. In the mean time the *Campanians*, encouraged by *Dionyſius*'s generous promiſes, arrived unexpectedly at *Syracuſe*, and having killed all who oppoſed them, broke through into the port, where he was ſhut up. At the ſame time three hundred mercenaries more came to his aſſiſtance. The face of affairs was then entirely altered; and *Dionyſius*, taking advantage of the conſternation and deſtraction that reigned in the

[w] Idem, ibid. [x] Idem, l. 14. c. 3.

enemy's

enemy's camp, made a vigorous ſally, and drove them as far as that part of the city, which was called *Neapolis*. The ſlaughter was not great, *Dionyſius* to ingratiate himſelf with the *Syracuſians* having given orders to ſpare thoſe that fled. With the ſame view he cauſed the dead to be buried, which had ſo good an effect on the minds of the ſimple populace, that above ſeven thouſand of them joined him. But the *Syracuſian* cavalry could not by any offers be prevailed upon to ſide with him; wherefore ſeeing all loſt they retired anew to their ſtrong caſtle of *Ætna*, waiting there for another opportunity of pulling down the tyrant. *Dionyſius* ſent frequent meſſages to them, exhorting them to lay aſide their animoſities, and return to their country; but the only anſwer they returned was, that they had rather live free in exile, than in their own country ſubject to a tyrant. All the reſt returned home, and again acknowledged *Dionyſius* for their ſovereign, who treated them for ſome time with great kindneſs and humanity. When all things were again quiet, he diſcharged the *Campanians* with great rewards, not daring to truſt their fickle and unconſtant humour. Theſe arriving at the city of *Entella* prevailed with the citizens to receive them within their walls; which favour they requited by murdering in the night all the townſmen, and poſſeſſing themſelves of the city, they married the wives of the deceaſed and maintained themſelves for many years in poſſeſſion of the place.

He diſarms the Syracuſians.

Dionyſius being now convinced by experience, that he could not by any means truſt the *Syracuſians*, reſolved to diſarm them all, and becauſe that, if done with open violence, might occaſion great commotions, he waited till moſt part of the inhabitants had left the city, and were employed abroad in gathering in their harveſt. He then ſearched narrowly every houſe, and ſeized on all the arms he could find. Afterwards he encloſed the cidadel with another wall, fitted out a powerful fleet, hired a great many foreigners, and took all poſſible meaſures to ſecure himſelf againſt the attempts of the *Syracuſians*.

HAVING ſufficiently provided for his ſafety at home, he began to extend his conqueſts abroad, not only with a view of enlarging his dominions, and encreaſing his revenues, but in order to divert his ſubjects from the ſenſe of the evils attending ſlavery by employing them in military expeditions, to which the hopes of riches and plunder would ſtir them up. Having therefore muſtered his troops he took the field, and in the very firſt campaign poſſeſſed himſelf of *Naxos*, *Catana*, *Leontini*, *Ætna*, *Enna*, and other cities. Some of them he treated with great clemency to gain the eſteem and affection of the people, others he plundered, and ſold the inhabitants for ſlaves, to ſtrike terror into the country.

THESE conqueſts alarmed the neighbouring cities, that ſaw themſelves threatened with the ſame danger. *Rhegium*, ſituate on the oppoſite coaſt of the ſtrait which divides *Sicily* from *Italy*, taking umbrage at the great naval preparations carried on at *Syracuſe*, entered into an alliance with *Meſſana*, on the *Silician* ſide of the ſtrait, and having raiſed a conſiderable army, ſent a meſſenger to the *Syracuſians*, acquainting them that if they were deſirous of ſhaking off the yoke they groaned under, they ſhould be aſſiſted with a numerous fleet and powerful army. The *Syracuſians* readily promiſed to perform their part; but while the joint forces of *Meſſana* and *Rhegium* were upon the point of marching againſt the tyrant, diſputes ariſing among the troops and officers of the two armies, the enterprize was droped, and the mighty preparations for war ended in a treaty of peace and alliance between *Dionyſius* and the two cities.

Prepares to make war on the Carthaginians.

Dionyſius had concluded the late peace with the *Carthaginians*, with no other view but to gain time to eſtabliſh his authority: He therefore no ſooner ſaw himſelf firmly ſeated on the throne, but he began to make the neceſſary preparations for renewing the war, deſigning nothing leſs than to drive them quite out of *Sicily*. As he was very ſenſible how formidable the power of the *Carthaginians* was at that time, he made preparations ſuitable to the undertaking he was going upon. His firſt care was to bring to *Syracuſe* from all parts of *Sicily*, *Greece* and *Italy* great numbers of workmen, whom he employed in forging all ſorts of arms. Not only the porches of the temples, but the ſchools, walks, piazza's about the forum, and every public place, nay even private houſes were filled with workmen. The great wages, which *Dionyſius* paid them, induced the beſt artificers in every profeſſion to quit their own country, and flock to *Syracuſe*. *Dionyſius* himſelf was continually among them encouraging them with great rewards to diſpatch the work in hand. Such as diſtinguiſhed

a guiſhed themſelves by their ingenuity or application, were ſure to receive ſome particular marks of his favour. He even invited them to dine with him, and took pleaſure in entertaining them with all the freedom and kindneſs of a friend. The artificers thus encouraged were indefatigable, ſtriving to outvie one another; inſomuch that in a ſhort time an hundred and forty thouſand compleat ſuits of armour were finiſhed. He then applied himſelf entirely to the fitting out of a fleet, capable of diſputing with the *Carthaginians* the ſovereignty of the ſea. The timber for building his gallies he brought at a great expence from *Italy*, where it was drawn on carriages to the ſea-ſide, and then ſhipped for *Syracuſe*. Having provided the neceſſary materials, he employed ſuch a vaſt number of workmen, that a fleet of two hundred ſail was ſoon ready to put to ſea; to theſe he added an hundred
b and ten old gallies, which he cauſed to be made as ſerviceable as the new ones. The preparations he made both by ſea and land were ſo great and expenſive, that one would have taken them, as our author obſerves, to have been the utmoſt effort of the whole iſland. The fleet was manned with an equal numbers of citizens and foreigners. *Syracuſe* and the cities in its dependence ſupplied him with great part of his land-forces: many came from *Italy* and *Greece*, the great pay he offered inducing them to flock over in crowds, and liſt in his ſervice. Being ſenſible of what importance it is for a general to gain the affection of his troops, he applied himſelf in a particular manner to oblige all, eſpecially the *Syracuſians*. With this view he
c entirely changed his behaviour for ſome time; kindneſs, civility, a diſpoſition to do good, and an inſinuating condeſcenſion, took place of that imperious air, and inhumane temper, which had rendered him ſo odious.

Dionyſius ſeeing his great preparations now compleat, and the army in a condition to take the field, he aſſembled the *Syracuſians*, and acquainted them with his deſign, which was, he ſaid, to make war upon the moſt implacable enemy the *Greeks* had; he repreſented to them in a pathetic ſpeech, the many calamities, which the *Carthaginians* had brought upon *Sicily*, adding that the plague, which had lately waſted *Carthage*, offered them a fair opportunity of being revenged on them for the inhuman cruelties they had practiſed on their countrymen. The aſſembly readily concurred in his opinion; the ancient hatred they bore the *Carthagi-*
d *nians*, their rage againſt them for having brought their city under the power of a tyrant, and the hopes they entertained of finding ſome opportunity of recovering their former liberty, united them in their ſuffrages, and war was unanimouſly reſolved on. Upon the breaking up of the aſſembly, *Dionyſius* granted leave to the people to ſeize on all the goods and eſtates of the *Carthaginians*, who upon the faith of treaties had ſettled at *Syracuſe*, and there carried on a conſiderable trade [r].

Dionyſius finding the *Syracuſians* no leſs deſirous of the war than himſelf, diſpatched an herald to *Carthage*, with a letter to the ſenate and people, notifying to them, that if they did not forthwith withdraw their garriſons from all the *Greek* cities in *Sicily*, the people of *Syracuſe* would treat them as enemies. This letter, being read
e firſt in the ſenate, and afterwards in the aſſembly of the people, occaſioned a general alarm at *Carthage*, which the plague had reduced to a miſerable condition. However, they were not diſmayed, but ſent officers into all parts with conſiderable ſums to raiſe troops with the utmoſt diligence, and appointed *Imilcar* commander in chief of all their forces.

Dionyſius *declares war againſt the* Carthaginians.

Dionyſius on his ſide loſt no time; without waiting for the anſwer of the *Carthaginians* he took the field, and his army was daily increaſed by the arrival of new troops, which, out of hatred to the *Carthaginians*, flocked to him from all parts: It amounted to fourſcore thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe. The fleet conſiſted of two hundred long gallies, and five hundred tranſports, laden with warlike engines, and all ſorts of proviſions. He opened the campaign with the
f ſiege of *Motya*, where the *Carthaginians* kept all their ſtores and proviſions. This city ſtood near mount *Eryx* in a ſmall iſland about a mile from the ſhore, to which it was joined by a ſmall neck of land; this the beſieged immediately cut off to prevent the approaches of the enemy on that ſide. *Dionyſius* after having taken a view of the place with his ingineers, commanded the canal between the city and the ſhore, to be filled up with rubbiſh, and his gallies to anchor at the mouth

Motya *beſieged.*

[r] Idem, ibid. c. 7.

of the harbour. Having given theſe orders he left his brother *Leptines*, commander in chief of the fleet, to carry on the ſiege, while he with his land-forces went to reduce the cities in alliance with the *Carthaginians*, which, terrified at the approach of ſo great an army, all ſubmitted except five, *viz.* *Aneyra*, *Solas*, *Egeſta*, *Panormus* and *Entella*. The two laſt he beſieged, but not being able to reduce them in ſo ſhort a time as he expected, he returned with his whole army to *Motya*, not doubting, but all other places would ſurrender aſſoon as they ſaw him maſter of this [z]. a

In the mean time *Imilcar*, who was buſy in raiſing men and making other preparations for the war in *Sicily*, ordered his admiral to ſet ſail from *Carthage* with ten gallies, and making ſtrait to *Syracuſe*, to deſtroy all the veſſels he ſhould find in that harbour. What he propoſed by this was to divide the enemy's forces, and oblige *Dionyſius* to ſend part of his fleet to the defence of *Syracuſe*. The admiral, purſuant to his orders, entered the harbour in the night, and having ſunk moſt of the ſhips he found there, ſailed back to *Carthage* without the loſs of a ſingle man. b

Dionyſius on his return to *Motya* having ſet more hands at work ſpeedily filled up the canal with heaps of ſtone and rubbiſh, ſo that he could make his approaches as on the dry land. He then brought forward his engines, battered the place with his rams, advanced to the walls towers ſix ſtories high rolled upon wheels, and from thence galled the beſieged with continual vollies of arrows and ſtones diſcharged from his catapults, an engine at that time of late invention. The place was attacked and defended with the utmoſt vigor. After the aggreſſors had opened ſeveral breaches in the walls, and entered the city ſword in hand, the beſieged ſtill perſiſted in defending the narrow ſtreets and paſſages with incredible valour, ſo that they were drove from ſtreet to ſtreet, till being quite tired out and overpowered with numbers they were all cut in pieces. The ſoldiers, enraged at ſo obſtinate a defence, put all to the ſword without diſtinction of ſex or age, thoſe only excepted, who took ſanctuary in the temples. The city was given up to be plundered, *Dionyſius* being glad to have ſuch an opportunity of gaining the affection of the troops by the allurement of gain and booty. He rewarded one *Archylus*, who firſt mounted the wall, with an hundred mina's, and all the reſt in proportion to their merit. Such of the *Motyans* as were left alive he ſold for ſlaves, but commanded *Diamenes* and all the *Greeks*, who had joined the *Carthaginians*, to be crucified. Having thus reduced the ſtrongeſt city in *Sicily* ſubject to *Carthage*, and placed a numerous garriſon in it under the command of one *Bito* a *Syracuſian*, and ordered *Leptines* with an hundred and twenty gallies to watch the *Carthaginians* at ſea, ſummer now drawing to an end, he returned with his army to *Syracuſe*. c *And taken.* d

Great preparations of the Carthaginians *againſt* Dionyſius.

In the mean time the *Carthaginians* having certain intelligence of the ſtrength of *Dionyſius*, reſolved to ſurpaſs him in numbers both of men and ſhips; and accordingly having made an extraordinary effort, they raiſed an army of three hundred thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe. Their fleet, under the command of *Mago*, conſiſted of four hundred gallies, and upwards of ſix hundred ſhips of burden laden with proviſions and engines of war. The troops being imbarqued, and the fleet ready to ſet ſail, *Imilcar* delivered his orders to the commanders of the fleet ſealed up, enjoining them not to open them till they were out at ſea, and then to obſerve them with all ſtrictneſs. This precaution he took (and it is the firſt time we find it uſed) to prevent ſpies from informing the enemy of his deſigns. The orders were, that they ſhould make ſtrait to *Panormus*, which was appointed the place of the general rendezvous, and thither they ſteered their courſe with a fair wind. But the tranſports having outſailed the gallies, were attacked off the coaſt of *Panormus* by *Leptines*, who ſunk fifty of them, in which five thouſand men and two hundred chariots were loſt; the reſt tacking about had the good luck to eſcape. Aſſoon as the gallies appeared *Leptines* retired, and *Imilcar*, having landed his troops, marched directly againſt the enemy, commanding the fleet to ſail along the coaſt near the army. On his march he took *Eryx* by treachery, and haſtening from thence to *Motya*, reduced that important place, before *Dionyſius*, who was then beſieging *Egeſta*, could ſend any forces to its relief. The *Syracuſians* and their confederates were for venturing e f

Imilcar *landing in* Sicily *takes* Eryx *and* Motya

[z] Idem, ibid.

a battle,

a a battle, but *Dionyſius* thought it more adviſeable to retire to *Syracuſe*, and abandon all the open country to the mercy of the *Carthaginians*, who, flushed with their ſucceſs, marched ſtrait to *Meſſana*. *Imilcar* was deſirous to poſſeſs himſelf of that city on account of its ſituation; for being once maſter of it, he could eaſily intercept all ſuccours ſent to the enemy either from *Italy* or *Greece*; and beſides the haven was capable of receiving his whole fleet, which conſiſted of five hundred ſail and upwards. When the inhabitants heard of the approach of the enemy, they could not agree among themſelves about the meaſures to be taken on that occaſion. Some alarmed at the great ſtrength of the *Carthaginians*, and ſeeing themſelves deſerted by their confederates, were for ſubmitting to the enemy; others were reſolved to hold
b out to the laſt, and chearfully ſacrifice their lives in the defence of their liberties. They were encouraged to this reſolution by an ancient prophecy, whereby it was foretold, *that the* Carthaginians *ſhould be one day carriers of water in that city*. This they interpreted as if the *Carthaginians* ſhould be ſlaves in *Meſſana*, and therefore, having ſent away their wives and children with all their treaſures to the neighbouring cities, they began to make the neceſſary preparations. But in the mean time the *Carthaginian* fleet having, by the favour of a ſtrong gale, entered the harbour, and with a great number of engines battered down the walls on that ſide, the inhabitants haſtened in crouds to defend the breaches, leaving the other parts of the wall quite unguarded. *Imilcar* took advantage of this confuſion, and attacking the city
c on the land ſide entered it without oppoſition. All thoſe, who were on the ramparts, died valiantly on the ſpot; the others either fled to the neighbouring cities, or threw themſelves into the ſea, and made their eſcape to the oppoſite ſhore of *Italy*. *Imilcar* entering *Meſſana* with his whole army, and conſidering that it was too far diſtant from the cities held by the *Carthaginians*, ordered his ſoldiers to raze it to the ground, and his orders were executed with ſuch ſeverity, that there was not one houſe left ſtanding in the whole city; nay our hiſtorian tells, that after the departure of the *Carthaginians* it was hard to tell where *Meſſana* had ſtood, the very rubbiſh being carried away and thrown into the ſea, which diſcovered the implacable hatred *Imilcar* bore to the *Greeks*.

Meſſina taken by the Carthaginians.

And razed to the ground.

d THE fame of theſe ſucceſſes being ſpread all over the iſland, moſt of the inhabitants, who hated *Dionyſius* in their hearts, and had only been reconciled to him in appearance and out of fear, took this opportunity to quit his party and join the *Carthaginians*. He raiſed new forces, and giving the ſlaves their liberty, manned with them threeſcore gallies. His whole army amounted to thirty thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe, and his fleet to an hundred and eighty gallies. With theſe he took the field, and removed about twenty miles from *Syracuſe*. *Imilcar* upon advice of his march advanced to meet him, his land-army being attended by the fleet, which kept near the coaſt. When the *Carthaginians* arrived at *Naxos*, they could not continue any longer their march by the ſea-ſide, but were obliged to take
e a long compaſs round mount *Ætna*, which by a violent eruption had covered all the neighbouring country with burning aſhes. *Imilcar* therefore ordered *Mago* to ſail to *Catana*, and there wait till he, marching through the heart of the country, ſhould rejoin him with the land-forces. *Dionyſius*, appriſed of this, haſtened with all ſpeed to *Catana* with a deſign to attack *Mago*, before *Imilcar*'s army came up; he hoped that his land-forces drawn up on the ſhore would greatly encourage his own mariners and diſcourage the enemy's: beſides, if his fleet were worſted, both ſhips and men had a place of ſafety to retire to.

HAVING therefore drawn up his land forces on the ſhore, he ſent out *Leptines* with the whole fleet againſt the enemy, commanding him to engage in cloſe order, and
f not to break his line upon any account whatſoever. The *Carthaginians* ſeeing the *Greek* troops drawn up on the ſhore, and the navy advancing in good order againſt them, were ſtruck with terror, and began to make to the ſhore with a deſign to ſave themſelves over land and join *Imilcar*; but recollecting that this was equally, if not more dangerous, they reſolved to try their fortune by ſea; and accordingly drawing themſelves up in a line, they waited for the enemy. *Leptines* inconſiderately advancing with thirty of his beſt gallies, contrary to the expreſs command of *Dionyſius*, ſunk ſeveral of the enemy's ſhips, but was himſelf ſurrounded, and after having fought for ſome hours hand to hand with the enemy as if in a battle on land, was obliged to fly. The flight of the admiral diſheartened the *Syracuſians*, and gave the enemy freſh courage; the former fled to the ſhore where their land-forces were drawn up,

A fight at ſea between Mago and Leptines.

Leptines defeated.

but

but were cloſely purſued by the *Carthaginians*. Many abandoning their ſhips threw themſelves into the ſea, hoping to ſave their lives by ſwimming to the ſhore; but the *Carthaginian* tranſports, which lay near the ſhore, having manned their boats, made a dreadful havock of thoſe unhappy men, when they were not in a condition to make any reſiſtance. The land-army ſaw them periſh without being able to give them the leaſt relief. In this engagement above an hundred of the *Syracuſian* gallies were either ſunk or taken, and more than twenty thouſand of their men killed in the battle or purſuit. a

Dionyſius *marches back to* Syracuſe.

UPON this misfortune the land-forces under the command of *Dionyſius*, ſolicited their generals to lead them againſt *Imilcar*, alledging that their unexpected arrival would ſtrike terror into the enemy, and give them a fair opportunity of retrieving their late loſs, while the enemy's troops were fatigued with their long and haſty march. This propoſal pleaſed *Dionyſius* at firſt; but while he was preparing to march, ſome of his friends remonſtrating to him, that *Mago* in the mean time with his victorious fleet might poſſeſs himſelf of *Syracuſe*, he altered his reſolution and haſtened with his whole army to the defence of that metropolis. Many of the *Sicilians*, being unwilling to undergo the fatigues and hardſhips of a ſiege, deſerted, and either joined the enemy, or withdrew to their reſpective homes [a]. b

Syracuſe *beſieged.*

Imilcar in two days march arrived at *Catana*, where he halted ſome time to refreſh his troops, and then, animated with the good ſucceſs that attended his arms, marched ſtrait to *Syracuſe* with a deſign to beſiege it; while his fleet, under the command of *Mago*, ſailed along the coaſt carrying great plenty of proviſions for the ſubſiſtance of ſo numerous an army. The arrival of the enemy threw the city into the utmoſt conſternation. Above two hundred gallies, adorned with the ſpoils of the enemy, entered in a kind of triumph the great haven of *Syracuſe*, and were followed by a thouſand tranſports; ſo that the harbour, capacious as it was, could hardly contain ſo great a navy. The fleet had ſcarce caſt anchor, when the army appeared on the other ſide, conſiſting of three hundred thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe. *Imilcar* took up his quarters in the temple of *Jupiter*, and the reſt of the army encamped round it, about twelve furlongs from the city. The next morning the *Carthaginian* general advancing with his army in battalia to the very walls of the city, offered the inhabitants battle. But as they were not ſo imprudent as to accept the challenge, he returned to his camp, well ſatisfied at his having extorted from the *Syracuſians* a tacit confeſſion of their own weakneſs and his ſuperiority. At the ſame time he ordered an hundred of his beſt gallies to enter the two other harbours, *viz.* the *Little Port* and that of *Trogilus*, to ſtrike more terror into the *Syracuſians*, and convince them that the *Carthaginians* were likewiſe maſters at ſea. As he met with no oppoſition, he ſent out parties for thirty days together to lay waſte the country, cutting down groves, and deſtroying all before him. He took by aſſault the quarter of the town called *Acradina*, where he plundered the rich temples of *Ceres* and *Proſerpine*. He conſidered the city as a ſure prey, which could not poſſibly eſcape him; but at the ſame time foreſeeing that the ſiege would be long and tedious, he ſurrounded his camp with a trench, and encloſed it with ſtrong walls, after having demoliſhed for that purpoſe all the tombs, which ſtood round the city, and amongſt others that of *Gelon* and his wife *Demarata*, which was a monument of great magnificence. He built three forts near the ſea at equal diſtances from each other, one at *Plemmyrium*, another about the middle of the port, and the third near the temple of *Jupiter*, laying up in theſe great ſtores of proviſion. He ſent likewiſe tranſports to *Sardinia* and *Africa* to bring from thence corn and other neceſſaries. c d e

The Syracuſians *defeat the* Carthaginians *by ſea.*

IN the mean time *Polyxenus*, whom *Dionyſius* had diſpatched into *Italy* and *Greece* with great ſums of money to raiſe what forces he could, arrived with a fleet of thirty ſhips under the command of *Pharacidas* the *Lacedæmonian*. This reinforcement came very ſeaſonably, and ſomewhat raiſed the courage of the diſpirited *Syracuſians*, who ſpying a large veſſel laden with proviſions for the enemy, ventured out with five gallies and took it. As they were ſailing away with their prize, the *Carthaginians* gave them chaſe with forty ſail, againſt which they advanced with their whole fleet, and engaging them took the admiral galley, and twenty-four more, damaged others, and purſued the reſt to the place, where their whole fleet rode, offering them battle a ſecond time. The *Carthaginians*, diſcouraged with this unexpected f

[a] Idem, ibid.

a overthrow, kept within the harbour, though their fleet was three times more numerous than the enemy's who challenged them [b].

THE *Syracuſians*, animated by this ſucceſs, which could only be aſcribed to their own valour, for both *Dionyſius* and *Leptines* were then abſent, began to encourage each other to ſhake off the ſhameful yoke of ſervitude, and reſume their ancient liberty. What exploits, ſaid they, have we atchieved under the conduct of the tyrant? Have we not been always ſhamefully overcome by the *Carthaginians?* But now, that we did not fight under the unlucky auſpices of *Dionyſius*, we have gained a glorious victory, and are returned conquerors. Why then do we not exert the ſame courage againſt a domeſtic tyrant, which we have ſhewn againſt a foreign enemy: We have b again got ſwords in our hands; let us imploy them againſt him who has injured us more than the *Carthaginians* themſelves. While theſe ſpeeches were whiſpered about the town, *Dionyſius*, who had been out at ſea with a ſmall ſquadron to procure proviſions, landed at the port, and having ſummoned an aſſembly he congratulated the *Syracuſians* on their late victory, promiſing in a ſhort time to put an end to the war, and deliver them from their preſent calamities. When the aſſembly was ready to break up, one *Theodorus*, a *Syracuſian* of great authority among the nobility, and who had done eminent ſervices to his country, ſtood up and boldly ſpoke thus: "Although *Dionyſius* has advanced many falſhoods in his ſpeech, yet "what he ſaid in the cloſe of it, *viz.* that he would put a ſpeedy end to the war, c "he may truly perform, if he himſelf, who has always been overcome, reſigns "the command, and reſtores us to our liberty. For none of us care to venture "our lives in the field againſt a foreign enemy, while we know, that notwithſtanding our victory, we are to be treated like ſlaves by a domeſtic tyrant. "If the *Carthaginians* prevail, by paying an annual tribute, we ſhall be allowed to "enjoy our liberties; but if *Dionyſius* ſhould conquer, he would not fail to rob our "temples, plunder our houſes, ſeize our eſtates, take away our lives, and deprive "us of all that is moſt dear to us. Let us therefore get rid of the tyrant within "our walls before we attempt to drive away a leſs dangerous enemy without. Shall "we, who have lately engaged thouſands and put them to flight, be now afraid d "of one tyrant? We have arms in our hands, and againſt whom can we better "employ them than againſt one who has reduced us to ſuch a deplorable condition, "that we are pityed even by our enemies? If *Dionyſius* conſents to abdicate the "tyranny, and retire, let us open our gates to him and his followers. But if he "refuſes to reſign his uſurped authority, let him know by experience how powerful "is the love of liberty in the breaſts of brave and valiant men."

Deſigns to depoſe Dionyſius.

WHEN *Theodorus* had ended his ſpeech, the *Syracuſians*, much perplext in their minds, and not knowing what to reſolve on, looked earneſtly on their allies, eſpecially on the *Spartans* there preſent; when *Pharacidas*, who commanded the *Lacedæmonian* fleet, roſe up. Every one expected that a citizen of *Sparta* would declare e in favour of liberty; but they were diſappointed in their hopes, for he told them, that he had been ſent by his republic to aſſiſt the *Syracuſians* and *Dionyſius* againſt the *Carthaginians*, and not to make war upon *Dionyſius*, or ſubvert his authority. This unexpected anſwer put a ſtop to any further attempts of the *Syracuſians*; and the tyrant's mercenaries arriving at the ſame time, the aſſembly broke up. However *Dionyſius* was under no ſmall apprehenſion, and from that time left no ſtone unturned to ingratiate himſelf with the people, affecting on all occaſions to treat them with great kindneſs and familiarity [c].

Polyxenus, who had married *Theſta*, *Dionyſius*'s ſiſter, declared againſt him on this occaſion, and not thinking himſelf ſafe in *Sicily*, privately withdrew into *Italy*. f When *Dionyſius* was informed of his flight, he ſent for his ſiſter, and bitterly reproached her for not giving him notice of her husband's retreat, ſince ſhe could not be ignorant of it. *Theſta* reply'd without expreſſing the leaſt fear or concern, Have I appeared to be ſo bad a wife to you, and ſo mean-ſpirited as to have abandoned my husband in his flight? No, I was quite unacquainted with his deſign; but if he had imparted it to me, I ſhould not have diſcovered it to you, but ſhared with him his dangers and misfortunes, reckoning myſelf more happy in being called the wife of *Polyxenus* the exile, than the ſiſter of *Dionyſius* the tyrant. *Dionyſius*, though highly incenſed againſt his ſiſter, yet could not help commending the affection

[b] Idem, ibid. [c] Idem, ibid.

ſhe ſhewed for her husband; and the *Syracuſians* were ſo charmed with the love ſhe a
ſhewed for her country on this and all other occaſions, that after the tyranny was ſuppreſſed, the ſame honours, equipage, and train, which ſhe had before, were continued to her, during her life. After her death the whole city attended her funeral, which was performed, at the expence of the public, with extraordinary pomp and ſplendor [d].

A plague in the Carthaginian *army.*

BUT to return to the *Carthaginians*; their ſucceſſes were not laſting. They had committed an irretrievable error in not attacking *Syracuſe* upon their arrival, when the ſight of a mighty fleet and a formidable army had occaſioned an univerſal conſternation in the city; and now a plague breaking out in their camp, prevented them from making any attempts towards the reduction of the place. This infec- b
tion was looked upon as a puniſhment inflicted upon them by the gods for plundering the temples, and demoliſhing the tombs round the city, but was in effect occaſioned by the unwholeſome exhalations of the fens and marſhes joining their camp; for the *Athenians*, who ſpared both temples and tombs, had been, not long before, afflicted with the ſame calamity. The plague began among the *Africans*, and ſoon ſpread through the whole army. Care was taken at firſt to interr the dead, but their numbers increaſing daily, they were left unburied, and this, as it was then the midſt of ſummer, and the heat that year exceſſive, aggravated the evil beyond meaſure. This infection was attended with very uncommon ſymptoms, ſuch as violent dyſenteries, raging fevers, acute pains in all the parts of the body, *&c.* ſome were even ſeized with madneſs and fury, falling upon all thoſe that came in their way, and c
tearing them to pieces. The plague was ſo violent, that in a ſhort time it ſwept away above an hundred thouſand men, all remedies proving unſucceſsful by reaſon of the incredible violence of the diſtemper, and the quick diſpatch it made of ſuch as were ſeized with it.

Dionyſius reſolved not to let ſlip ſo favourable an opportunity of attacking the enemy. Having therefore manned fourſcore gallies, he ordered *Pharacidas* and *Leptines* to fall upon the enemy's fleet at break of day, while he attacked the land-forces in the camp. With this view having commanded his troops to be ready to march by midnight, he ſet out at the head of ten thouſand choſen men at the time appointed, and without being diſcovered arrived at the enemy's camp. He then d
detached a ſtrong body of cavalry, and a thouſand of the mercenary foot with orders to fall upon that part of the camp which lay at the greateſt diſtance, pretending that the enemy there kept no guard. But his real deſign was to get rid of that body of mercenaries, they having in the late diſturbances ſeemed to favour the faction which oppoſed him. Accordingly he gave private inſtructions to the officers of the horſe to retire aſſoon as the infantry was engaged; his orders were obeyed, and the mercenaries, being ſurrounded on all ſides, were cut off all to a man. Upon the return of the cavalry, *Dionyſius* at the ſame time attacked the camp, and the forts which the enemy had built near the ſhore. Two of the forts were taken at the firſt onſet, which gave the *Syracuſians* an opportunity of entering the great haven with e
all their fleet, and falling furiouſly on the enemy's gallies anchored there. The *Carthaginians* in the camp made at firſt a vigorous reſiſtance, but ſeeing the two forts, which defended the harbour, poſſeſſed by the enemy, and their navy in imminent danger of being utterly deſtroyed, many of them abandoning the defence of the camp, haſtened to the ſhore to the relief of their campanions on board the veſſels. This occaſioned a great confuſion in the army, which *Dionyſius* taking advantage of, broke into the camp, and made a dreadful havock, putting all to the ſword who oppoſed him. The ſurprize, terror, and even haſte they were in to put themſelves into a poſture of defence, threw them into greater confuſion and diſorder. They knew not on what ſide to ſend relief, all being equally in danger. Many of their veſſels f
were ſunk, others quite diſabled, and a great many burnt and taken. The inhabitants of *Syracuſe* crouded on the walls and eminences were eye-witneſſes of that ſcene of horror, and lifting up their hands to heaven, thanked the tutelary gods of the city for revenging in ſo ſignal a manner the many ſacrileges, which the *Carthaginians* had committed ſince their arrival in *Sicily*. The ſlaughter in the camp and on board the veſſels was great and dreadful, and ended only when night obliged the conquerors to retire. *Dionyſius* encamped at the temple of *Jupiter*, near the enemy,

Dionyſius forces the Carthaginian *camp and burns their fleet.*

[d] PLUTARCH. in Dion.

with

a with a deſign to renew the fight early next morning. But *Imilcar*, taking the opportunity of this ſhort reſpite, ſent embaſſadors privately to *Dionyſius*, offering him three hundred talents, if he would permit the remains of his ſhattered army to withdraw unmoleſted. *Dionyſius* was unwilling utterly to deſtroy the *Carthaginians*, leſt the *Syracuſians*, when free from the apprehenſion of ſo formidable an enemy, ſhould ſeek to regain their ancient liberty; but on the other ſide he knew, that neither the *Syracuſians* nor their confederates would ſuffer him to grant the enemy ſuch terms. He therefore anſwered, that it was not in his power to permit them all to retire, but that he would allow *Imilcar* with all the citizens of *Carthage* to depart in the night upon his paying three hundred talents. This being agreed on, *Dionyſius* b retired with his forces into the city, whither *Imilcar* privately ſent him the promiſed ſum, and then began to make the neceſſary preparations for his departure. The *Carthaginians* were put on board forty gallies and ready to ſet ſail, when the *Corinthians*, who ſerved under *Dionyſius*, diſcovering from the noiſe and motion of the veſſels that *Imilcar* was making off, ſent to acquaint the tyrant with their flight, who immediately ordered ſome gallies to be manned, as if he deſigned to prevent their retreat. But as his orders were but ſlowly executed, the *Corinthians* without his command purſued them, and ſunk ſeveral veſſels in the rear. *Dionyſius* then marched out with his troops againſt thoſe, whom *Imilcar* had left behind to the mercy of the conqueror; but before his arrival the *Sicilians* in the *Carthaginian* ſervice had retired to their reſpec- c tive countries; the reſt ſeeing themſelves abandoned by the *Sicilians*, and betrayed by the *Carthaginians*, at the approach of *Dionyſius*'s army betook themſelves to flight; but being cloſely purſued were either cut in pieces, or taken priſoners. Only the *Iberians* kept together in a body, and ſent a herald to capitulate with *Dionyſius*, who took them into his ſervice. Such was the fate of the *Carthaginians* in *Sicily*, which ſhews, ſays our hiſtorian, that thoſe, who are too much elated with power and ſucceſs, may ſoon be forced to confeſs their weakneſs and vanity. Thoſe haughty conquerors, maſters of almoſt all *Sicily*, who looked upon *Syracuſe* as their own, and entered at firſt triumphant into the harbour, inſulting the citizens, are now reduced to fly ſhamefully in the night, dragging away with them the ſad ruins and d miſerable remains of their ſhattered fleet and army, after having left an hundred and fifty thouſand men lying unburied in the enemy's country [c].

Dionyſius grants the Carthaginians leave to retire.

Imilcar upon his arrival at *Carthage*, which he found overwhelmed with grief and deſpair, went directly to his own houſe, and ſhutting the doors againſt the citizens, and even his own children, laid violent hands on himſelf, to ſhew that he did not ſurvive his countrymen, who periſhed in *Sicily*, out of a fondneſs for life, but merely to preſerve the troops, which had eſcaped the plague, from the fury of the enemy, to which his more early death would have expoſed them. When it was publicly known in *Africa* that *Imilcar* had ſaved only the citizens of *Carthage*, leaving the confederates behind to the mercy of the enemy, the cities and ſtates, which had e ſent them auxiliaries, were incenſed to ſuch a degree, that taking up arms they marched directly to *Carthage*, being two hundred thouſand men and upwards. But as they wanted a leader of experience, and had neither warlike engines nor proviſions to ſupport ſo numerous an army, they ſoon diſperſed, and retiring to their reſpective countries freed *Carthage* from a dreadful alarm.

Imilcar lays violent hands on himſelf.

The *Carthaginians* being thus intirely defeated in *Sicily*, all thoſe who had abandoned their country through dread of ſo formidable an enemy returned to their ancient habitations. *Dionyſius* cauſed the city of *Meſſana* to be rebuilt, and peopled it with a thouſand *Locrians* and four thouſand *Medimneans*. This gave no ſmall jealouſy to the inhabitants of *Rhegium* in *Italy*, who receiving into their protection all thoſe that f were driven out by *Dionyſius*, or hated his government, formed a conſiderable army, which they ſent under the conduct of *Heloris* to beſiege *Meſſana*. But *Dionyſius* unexpectedly falling upon them, cut moſt of the *Rhegian* forces in pieces, and obliged the reſt to retire to their veſſels and abandon the iſland. He had ſcarce obtained this victory over the *Rhegians*, but *Mago* the *Carthaginian*, whom *Imilcar* had left to ſettle the affairs of *Carthage* in *Sicily*, appeared before *Meſſana* at the head of a numerous army; but was attended with no better ſucceſs, being in a pitched battle driven out of the field with the loſs of above eight hundred men. *Dionyſius*, animated by theſe two victories, reſolved to make an attempt upon *Rhegium*, and accordingly

The Rhegians *defeated by* Dionyſius.

And Mago *the* Carthaginian.

[c] Idem, ibid.

having

having manned an hundred gallies, arrived unperceived before the city, ſet fire to the gates, and in the confuſion, which his arrival occaſioned, was very near carrying the city by aſſault, the inhabitants being more intent upon extinguiſhing the fire than repulſing the enemy. But *Heloris* perceiving the danger the city was in, ordered the inhabitants to give over quenching the flames, and haſten to the walls; by which means the place was ſaved, for ſome of *Dionyſius*'s men had already by the help of their ſcaling ladders got into the city, but the reſt being timely prevented from following them, they were either put to the ſword, or made priſoners. *Dionyſius* being thus diſappointed in his deſign laid waſte the territory of *Rhegium*, and then retired to *Syracuſe*. a

Mago *concludes a peace with* Dionyſius

THE *Carthaginians*, however diſheartened by their late loſſes, yet could not forbear making new attempts upon *Sicily*. They ſent *Mago* fourſcore thouſand men, enjoining him to make war upon *Dionyſius*, and promiſing to ſend him ſoon new ſupplies both of men, money, and ſhips. But *Mago*, being ſoon reduced to great ſtraits for want of proviſions, ſent embaſſadors to *Dionyſius* to treat of a peace, which was concluded before either ſide had loſt one man. By this treaty *Taurominium*, a *Carthaginian* colony, was given up to *Dionyſius*, who driving from thence the ancient proprietors, placed the choiceſt of his mercenaries in their room. As for *Mago*, aſſoon as the treaty was ſigned, he returned to *Carthage*, leaving his allies in *Sicily* to ſhift for themſelves. b

Dionyſius *attacks* Rhegium.

AND now *Dionyſius* being under no apprehenſion of the *Carthaginians*, bent all his thoughts on the reduction of *Rhegium*, which was the key of *Italy*, with a deſign to bring under his power all the *Greek* cities there. He had then under his command an army of twenty thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe, beſides an hundred and twenty gallies well manned and equipt. With theſe he paſſed over into *Italy*, and having laid waſte the country of the *Locrians*, he advanced to *Rhegium*. But in the mean time the *Italians* being well appriſed of his deſigns, raiſed forces in all their cities, and having fitted out a fleet of threeſcore gallies, ſent them to the relief of *Rhegium*. They were met by a ſquadron of *Dionyſius*'s fleet conſiſting of fifty gallies; whereupon a ſharp engagement enſued, in which *Dionyſius* loſt ſeven gallies, and fifteen hundred men. The fleets were parted by a violent ſtorm, which driving many of the *Syracuſian* veſſels upon the *Rhegian* ſhore, the mariners were either cut in pieces by the inhabitants, or taken priſoners, *Dionyſius* himſelf having narrowly eſcaped in a ſmall veſſel, and with much ado landed at midnight at the port of *Meſſana*. c d

Stirs up the Lucanians *againſt the* Greeks *in* Italy.

THIS diſappointment did not make *Dionyſius* lay aſide his deſigns upon the *Greek* cities in *Italy*; he reinforced his army with new levies, equipt a greater number of ſhips, and made vaſt preparations both by ſea and land in order to renew the war. In the mean time he entered into an alliance with the *Lucanians*, engaging them with great promiſes to fall upon the *Greek* cities in *Italy*, hoping to find them thereby on his return ſo weakened that he might eaſily accompliſh his deſign. The *Lucanians*, agreeable to their engagement, entered the country of the *Thurians*, put all to fire and ſword, and having joined battle with the confederate *Greeks*, killed above ten thouſand of them on the ſpot. Thoſe, who eſcaped the ſlaughter, fled to a hill near the ſea-ſide, whence they diſcovered a ſquadron of ſhips making to the *Italian* ſhore, and hoping that they were ſent from *Rhegium* to their aſſiſtance, out of eagerneſs to ſave themſelves from the *Lucanians* who purſued them, leapt into the ſea and ſwam to the ſhips. But this fleet proved to be a ſquadron ſent by *Dionyſius* to the aſſiſtance of the *Lucanians* under the command of his brother *Leptines*. However that commander not only received them generouſly into his ſhips, but prevailed upon the *Lucanians* to accept for each man, they being a thouſand in all, a mina, and ſuffer them to return unmoleſted into their own country. This ſum, which was very conſiderable, *Leptines* himſelf diſburſed, being moved thereunto by his own generoſity and natural inclination to pity even an enemy in diſtreſs. Such a generous behaviour gained him the affection of all the *Greeks*, but highly diſpleaſed *Dionyſius*, who immediately diſcharged him, and appointed *Thearides*, his other brother, admiral in his room [f]. e f

Dionyſius *paſſes again into* Italy.

AND now *Dionyſius*, having made the neceſſary preparations for his expedition into *Italy*, ſet ſail from *Syracuſe* with an army of above twenty thouſand foot, and

[f] DIODOR. SICUL. ibid. c. 12.

three

a three thouſand horſe, and a fleet of forty long gallies, and three hundred tranſports, loaded with proviſions and all ſorts of warlike engines. The fifth day after his departure from *Syracuſe* he arrived at *Meſſana*, whence he ſent his brother *Thearides* to the *Lipari* iſlands upon advice brought him that ten ſhips of *Rhegium* were anchored there. *Thearides* found the ſhips, and returned with them and their crews to *Dionyſius*, who delivered the priſoners loaded with chains to the care and cuſtody of the magiſtrates of *Meſſana*, and then ſet ſail for *Italy*. The firſt place he attacked was *Caulonia* or *Caulum*, a ſtrong city in *Locris*, which, though battered night and day without intermiſſion, held out till the *Italians*, having raiſed an army of twenty thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe, drew near the city in order to relieve it. Theſe
b were commanded by *Heloris*, a native of *Syracuſe*, whence he had been baniſhed by *Dionyſius*, and therefore bore him an implacable hatred. *Heloris*, as he drew near the beſieged city, advanced with a detachment of five hundred choſen men to obſerve the ground on which the enemy was incamped. But *Dionyſius* upon advice of his approach, breaking up the ſiege, marched with all ſpeed againſt him, and arriving by break of day at the place where *Heloris* was encamped with his ſmall detachment, fell upon him with his whole army. *Heloris* kept his ground, in ſpite of the utmoſt efforts of an army ſo much ſuperior in number, till the reſt of his forces came up. But as they arrived by parties, every one making what haſte he could to relieve their general, they were after a long and obſtinate diſpute put to flight. *Heloris* and
c his party ſtill kept their poſts, and were all killed on the ſpot. Thoſe, who eſcaped, fled to a neighbouring mountain, and there made a ſtand. But as they wanted water, and were hemmed in on all ſides by the enemy, they ſent an herald to *Dionyſius* offering to ſurrender provided he would allow them to retire unmoleſted; but he inſiſting upon their delivering themſelves up at diſcretion, they held out till they were ready to periſh with hunger and thirſt, and then complied with his propoſal. They were above ten thouſand, and expected no quarter from ſo cruel an enemy. But *Dionyſius*, contrary to their expectation, treated them with great humanity, diſcharging them all without ranſom, and ſuffering them to live in their reſpective countries according to their own laws. This, as our hiſtorian obſerves, was the only
d commendable action he ever performed in the whole courſe of his life. The captives on their return to their reſpective cities greatly extolled his clemency and good nature, and acknowledged his kindneſs to them by preſenting him with crowns of gold g.

Dionyſius having by this generous action acquired the good opinion of all the inhabitants of the country, and from enemies made them his friends and allies, he turned his arms again upon the city of *Rhegium*. He was highly incenſed againſt the *Rhegians* on account of their having refuſed to give him the daughter of one of their citizens in marriage, and much more for the inſolent anſwer, with which their refuſal was attended (Z). The beſieged finding themſelves abandoned by their allies, whom *Dionyſius* had gained over by his late kindneſs, and expecting no
e quarter if the city ſhould be taken by ſtorm, ſent embaſſadors to treat of a ſurrender. *Dionyſius* offered them peace upon condition that they paid him three hundred talents, delivered up all their veſſels, which were ſeventy in number, and put an hundred hoſtages into his hands. Theſe terms the inhabitants agreed to, and the ſiege was raiſed. It was not out of kindneſs or good nature he acted in this manner, but with a view to deprive them of their fleet, knowing that it would be impoſſible for the *Rhegians* to hold out, if they received no aſſiſtance by ſea. He therefore put off from day to day his march, waiting for ſome colourable pretence to

Rhegium *beſieged.*

g Idem, ibid.

(Z) *Dionyſius* in the beginning of his reign did all that lay in his power to oblige the two powerful cities of *Rhegium* and *Meſſana*, leſt they ſhould enter into an alliance with the *Syracuſians*, among whom his authority was not then well eſtabliſhed. The inhabitants of *Meſſana* he preſented with ſome lands in their neighbourhood, which lay very conveniently for them. To give the people of *Rhegium* an inſtance of his eſteem and regard for them, he ſent embaſſadors to deſire them to give him the daughter of one of their citizens in marriage. Upon the arrival of the embaſſadors the people of *Rhegium*, having called a council to take his demand into conſideration, took a reſolution not to contract any alliance with a tyrant, and for their final anſwer charged the embaſſadors to acquaint the tyrant, that they had only the hangman's daughter to give him. This groſs abuſe *Dionyſius* never put up, but continually ſtudied how to revenge it (13).

(31) *Idem, ibid. c.* 12.

break the treaty lately concluded with the *Rhegians*. With this view having drawn a
all his forces together as if he intended to leave *Italy*, he deſired the *Rhegians* to
ſupply his army with proviſions, promiſing to defray the charges they ſhould be at
aſſoon as he got to *Syracuſe*. His deſign in this was, that if they refuſed to ſupply
him he might have a pretence to attack their city anew; and if they complied with
his demand, after their proviſions were all ſpent, he might eaſily poſſeſs himſelf of
the place. The *Rhegians*, not ſuſpecting his deſign, ſupplied him for ſome days
very plentifully. But as he put off his departure from day to day, ſometimes pre-
tending ſickneſs, at other times alledging other frivolous excuſes, they at length ſaw
into his real deſign, and forbore ſending him any further proviſions. Hereupon
Dionyſius, pretending to be highly affronted, ſent them back their hoſtages, and be- b
ſieged them again with all his forces. Both parties acted with the utmoſt vigor.
The deſire of revenge on one ſide, and the fear of inhuman cruelties on the other,
animated the troops. The *Rhegians* were under the command of *Phyto*, an officer
of long experience and extraordinary valor. He made frequent ſallies, in one of
which *Dionyſius*, while he was encouraging his troops to ſtand their ground, was ſo
dangerouſly wounded that his life was deſpaired of. However he recovered, and
renewed the ſiege with more fury than ever, the walls trembling all round the city at
the repeated ſhocks of almoſt innumerable warlike engines, no otherwiſe, as our
hiſtorian expreſſes it, than as if they had been ſhaken by a dreadful earthquake.
But notwithſtanding the utmoſt efforts of the aggreſſors, the ſiege went on very c
ſlowly, their works being often demoliſhed, and their engines burnt by the beſieged,
who in each ſally gained very conſiderable advantages. Thus they held out for the
ſpace of eleven months againſt the whole force of *Dionyſius*, but were at length for
want of proviſions reduced to the utmoſt extremity. A buſhel of wheat was ſold for
five mina's, (that is 15 *l.* 12 *s.* 6 *d.*) and the famine was ſo great, that after they had
conſumed all their horſes and beaſts of burden, they ſupported themſelves with boiled
skins and leather; which alſo failing, they daily went out of the town to feed, like
beaſts, on the graſs that grew under the walls. But *Dionyſius*, to deprive them even
of this poor ſupport, ſent his horſes under a ſtrong guard to graze where they uſed
to feed. The beſieged being thus overcome by famine were at length forced to ſur- d
Rhegium *taken.* render at diſcretion. *Dionyſius* himſelf when he entered the city was ſtruck with
terror, finding every-where heaps of dead bodies lying in the ſtreets, and thoſe who
ſurvived rather skeletons than men. However he got together about ſix thouſand
priſoners, whom he ſent to *Syracuſe*, where ſuch as were not able to redeem them-
ſelves with a mina, were ſold for ſlaves. *Dionyſius* vented his rage and revenge
chiefly on the brave *Phyto*, who had made ſo gallant a defence; he cauſed his ſon
to be thrown headlong into the ſea and drowned. The next day he ordered *Phyto*
to be loaded with chains, and faſtened to the top of one of his higheſt engines, that
he might be expoſed to the view of the whole army. In that condition he ſent one
of his guards to tell him that his ſon had been drowned the day before; *Then the ſon*, e
replied Phyto, *is by one day happier than the father*. He afterwards cauſed him to be
whipt through the city, and undergo innumerable other cruelties, whilſt a crier
walking before him proclaimed, that *the perfidious traitor was treated in that manner
for having ſtirred up the people of* Rhegium *to war*. But *Phyto* with an undaunted
courage cried out, that *he thus ſuffered becauſe he would not betray his country to a
tyrant*. His heroic behaviour, and the indignities he ſuffered, raiſed compaſſion even
in the breaſt of the tyrant's ſoldiers, who began to mutiny, and would have reſcued
him, had not *Dionyſius* immediately ordered him to be thrown into the ſea. Thus
ſuffered a man, whoſe probity, courage, and diſintereſted zeal for the good of his f
country, deſerved a more glorious end. His death was lamented by all the *Greeks*,
and became the ſubject of many elegant and affecting elegies [h].

Dionyſius *addicted to poetry.* *Year of the flood*, 2602. *Before Chriſt* 387.

Dionyſius after the taking of *Rhegium* allowed both himſelf and his troops ſome
reſpite. In the intervals of leiſure he loved to unbend his mind with the ſtudy of the
liberal arts and ſciences, eſpecially of poetry, piquing himſelf upon the excellence
of his genius, and the elegancy of his performances. As he excelled all others in
power, ſo, in his own conceit, he ſurpaſſed them in wit and humour, and was more
pleaſed to hear his poetical compoſures commended, than his victories and conqueſts.
The flatterers, who abounded in his as in all other courts, greatly contributed to

[h] Idem, ibid.

to

a the high opinion he had of himſelf, crying his poems up to the skies, and preferring them to the works of all who had wrote before him. He often uſed to invite the learned men and poets of that age to dine at his table, and on that occaſion never failed to entertain them with ſome new compoſition of his own, which always met with great approbation; all was great, noble, majeſtic and divine. *Philoxenus* was the only one who attempted to undeceive him in the favourable opinion he had of his own abilities, but narrowly eſcaped paying dear for his ſincerity. As *Philoxenus* was himſelf an excellent poet, *Dionyſius* one day after having read to him ſome of his verſes, preſſed him to give his opinion of them, which he doing with great freedom, *Dionyſius* aſcribing the liberty he had taken to envy, commanded his guards
b to carry the poet forthwith to the quarries, or common jail; however he was the next day, at the earneſt entreaties of all *Dionyſius*'s friends, ſet at liberty, and reſtored to favour. On this occaſion *Dionyſius*, as it were to ratify the pardon, made a noble entertainment, inviting to it all his own and the poet's friends. When the gueſts began to be merry, the prince did not fail to recite ſome verſes he had lately made, chuſing out ſome lines, which he had taken extraordinary pains in compoſing, and looked upon as maſter-ſtrokes, as was apparent from the ſelf-ſatisfaction he expreſſed in rehearſing them. As he ſet a great value on *Philoxenus*'s approbation, who was not apt to be laviſh of his praiſes, he deſired him again to diveſt himſelf of all envy, and ſpeak his real ſentiments. What had paſſed the day before might have
c ſerved as a leſſon for the poet; but he could not diſſemble, and therefore without making any anſwer to *Dionyſius*, he turned to the guards, who always ſtood round the table, and with a ſerious, but humourous air, deſired them to carry him back to the quarries. This pleaſantry *Dionyſius* took in good part, ſaying that the wit of the poet had atoned for his freedom. *Antiphon* finding that *Dionyſius* was pleaſed with witty expreſſions, told him ſeveral truths in a very humourous manner, which he took no offence at; but having one day provoked him with too biting a jeſt, he paid dear for it. The prince, in a converſation, asked which was the beſt kind of braſs, to which queſtion *Antiphon* anſwered, that the beſt braſs was that of which the ſtatues of *Harmodius* and *Ariſtogiton* were made. Theſe were two famous patriots,
d who had defended the liberty of their country againſt the tyranny of *Piſiſtratus*'s ſons [1].

Dionyſius, notwithſtanding all *Philoxenus* had ſaid to undeceive him, ſtill fancied himſelf the beſt poet of his age, and ſent his brother *Thearides* to the *Olympic* games to diſpute in his name the prizes of poetry and the chariot-races. When *Thearides* arrived at *Olympia*, the richneſs and number of his chariots, the extraordinary magnificence of his pavilion embroidered with gold and ſilver, and the ſumptuous apparel of his numerous attendants, attracted the eyes and admiration of all the ſpectators. Their ears were no leſs charmed at firſt when the poems of *Dionyſius* began to be read. He had choſen for that purpoſe perſons of ſweet and harmo-
e nious voices, who were heard far and diſtinctly, and knew how to give a juſt emphaſis to the verſes they repeated. But when that numerous aſſembly began to mind no more the delivery, but the ſenſe and compoſition, they all burſt out in a loud laugh, and hiſſed them off the ſtage, and even to expreſs their indignation, tore the rich pavilion in pieces. *Lyſias*, the celebrated orator, who was then at *Olympia*, undertook to prove, that it was inconſiſtent with the honour of *Greece*, and ſacredneſs of the ſports, to admit ſuch an impious tyrant to ſhare in thoſe diverſions. This ſpeech was ſtiled the *Olympic Oration*. When the races began, *Dionyſius*'s chariots were either by an headlong impetuoſity driven out of the place, or daſhed in pieces againſt one another. Neither did the veſſel, which carried *Thearides*
f and his retinue proſper better, being by a violent ſtorm driven on the coaſt of *Tarentum*, whence with much ado they got to *Syracuſe*. Upon their return they aſcribed all the misfortunes they had met with both by ſea and land to the badneſs of *Dionyſius*'s verſes. But that did not cure him of his folly, or, as the hiſtorian ſtiles it, of his madneſs for verſification; he entertained the ſame high opinion of his poetical vein, aſcribing ſuch injurious treatment to envy, and ſaying that they would one day admire what they then deſpiſed. He ſent his poems a ſecond time to *Olympia*, where they were treated with the ſame contempt as before; which threw him into a deep melancholy and kind of madneſs. This grew daily

[1] Idem, ibid. Plut. Moral.

upon

upon him, till at length he fancied that even his beſt friends were plotting againſt his life and reputation, crying out like a phrenetic, that every one envyed him, that both friends and foes conſpired to his ruin. In theſe fits of melancholy and madneſs he put many of his friends to death, and baniſhed others; among the latter were *Leptines* his brother, and *Philiſtus*, to whom he was chiefly indebted for his power. They retired to *Thurium* in *Italy*, whence they were ſoon recalled and reinſtated in their former places of power and authority [k]. a

To remove his melancholy for the ill ſucceſs of his verſes, he had again recourſe to arms, and formed a deſign of driving the *Carthaginians* quite out of *Sicily*. But as he wanted money for ſo expenſive an undertaking, he reſolved to attack *Epirus* and make himſelf maſter of the immenſe treaſures, which had been for many ages amaſſing in the temple of *Delphos*. With this view he ſettled powerful colonies in that part of *Italy* which faces *Greece*, and made an alliance with the *Illyrians*, ſending them two thouſand men, and a great quantity of arms to be employed againſt the *Moloſſians*, with whom they were then at war. But the *Illyrians* afterwards falling out with *Dionyſius* on account of his building the city of *Lyſſus* in the iſland of *Pharos*, he laid aſide for the preſent all thoughts of plundering the temple of *Delphos*, and purſued another project of the ſame kind, which he eaſily accompliſhed. For having fitted out threeſcore gallies under colour of clearing the ſeas of pyrates, he made a deſcent in *Hetruria*, and plundered a rich temple in the ſuburbs of *Agylla*, carrying away beſides the rich moveables and furniture above a thouſand talents in money. Five hundred talents more he raiſed by the ſale of the ſpoils, and with this money ſet on foot a numerous army, and made other preparations, as if he intended to attempt again the reduction of the *Greek* cities in *Italy*. But the *Carthaginians* ſuſpecting his real deſign, upon the firſt notice they had of theſe extraordinary preparations, ſent *Mago* over into *Sicily* with a powerful army. *Dionyſius* attacked him ſoon after he was landed, killed him with ten thouſand of his men, took five thouſand priſoners, and forced the reſt to ſave themſelves on a neighbouring hill, where he ſurrounded them on all ſides, and brought them to ſuch ſtraits that they were forced to ſue for a peace. *Dionyſius* anſwered the embaſſadors they ſent him with great haughtineſs, that there was only one way left for them to make peace with him, and that was, forthwith to evacuate *Sicily*, and to defray all the expences of the war. The *Carthaginians* pretended to accept the peace on the terms it was offered, but repreſenting that it was not in their power to deliver up the cities they poſſeſſed in *Sicily* without the expreſs orders of their republic, they obtained a truce, which was to laſt till the return of an expreſs ſent to *Carthage*. During this interval they buried *Mago* with great pomp and magnificence, and appointed his ſon to command the troops in his room. This new general, who was very young, but had on all occaſions given proofs of an extraordinary valor and prudence, in the time of the truce raiſed and diſciplined new troops, and improved ſo well the ſhort time which was allowed him, that at the return of the expreſs from *Carthage* he took the field, gave the enemy battle, and killed above fourteen thouſand *Syracuſians* on the ſpot, and among the reſt *Leptines*, *Dionyſius*'s brother, who was greatly regretted even by thoſe who hated the tyrant. He was a brave and experienced officer, and though ever faithful to *Dionyſius*, yet an enemy to all manner of oppreſſion. *Dionyſius* with the remains of his ſhattered army fled to *Syracuſe*, where he expected to be ſoon beſieged by the victorious enemy. But the *Carthaginian* general uſed his victory with great moderation, and inſtead of purſuing the routed enemy, retired to *Panormus*, whence he ſent embaſſadors to *Dionyſius* offering him terms of peace, which he readily embraced; and a treaty was concluded on the following conditions, *viz.* that both parties ſhould keep what they had at the breaking out of the war, ſave only that *Dionyſius* ſhould deliver up to the *Carthaginians* the city and territory of *Selinus*, and part of the territory of *Agrigentum*, and beſides pay a thouſand talents to defray the expences of the war [l]. b c d e f

Dionyſius makes war on the Carthaginians, and defeats them.

Dionyſius routed.

Peace concluded.

An account of Dionyſius's death.

A VICTORY of a very different kind made amends, or at leaſt leſſened his concern for the ill ſucceſs of his arms; he had cauſed a tragedy wrote by himſelf to be acted at *Athens* for the prize of poetry at the celebrated feaſt of *Bacchus*, and was proclaimed victor. As the *Athenians* were the beſt judges of this kind of literature, and noways biaſſed in favour of *Dionyſius*, who had on all occaſions aſſiſted the *La-*

[k] Idem, ibid. [l] Idem, l. xv. c. 2.

cedæmonians,

a *cedæmonians*, we cannot help thinking that the contemptuous ſentence paſſed upon his poems in the *Olympic* games was chiefly owing to the hatred and averſion, which the ſpectators bore him. But however that be, *Dionyſius* received the news of his victory with ſuch tranſports of joy as are not to be expreſſed; he amply rewarded the perſon that brought him the agreeable tidings, cauſed coſtly ſacrifices to be offered to the gods, and believing himſelf arrived at the higheſt pitch of glory, ſet no bounds to his generoſity; he entertained the whole city with extraordinary magnificence, and ſpent an immenſe treaſure in public feaſts and banquets, which laſted ſeveral days. On this occaſion *Dionyſius*, drinking to exceſs, and overcharging nature, a fault which he had never before been guilty of, was ſeized with violent pains, which
b were attended with uneaſy and reſtleſs nights. Having therefore asked of his phyſicians a ſoporative, they gave him ſo ſtrong a doſe as quite ſtupified his ſenſes, and laid him in a ſleep, out of which he never awaked. He had been formerly forewarned by an oracle, that he ſhould die when he had overcome thoſe who were better than himſelf. This prediction he applied to the *Carthaginians*, who were more powerful than himſelf; and therefore would never own that he had gained any victory over them, but uſed to ſay that the advantage, all things well conſidered, was pretty equal on both ſides. However he could not avoid his deſtiny, ſays the hiſtorian; for though he was but a bad poet, yet in the opinion of the *Athenians* he gained the victory over thoſe, who far excelled him in that art [m]. He died after he
c had reigned thirty-eight years.

His character. *Dionyſius* was, without all doubt, a prince of extraordinary abilities both in his political and military capacity, having raiſed himſelf, in ſpite of the utmoſt efforts of a powerful people, from a mean condition to ſo high a ſtation, and tranſmitted the ſovereignty to a ſucceſſor of his own iſſue and election, who, notwithſtanding the ſlenderneſs of his parts, held it for the ſpace of twelve years. This ſhews, that *Dionyſius* had eſtabliſhed his power and authority upon a ſolid foundation, which could not be effected in a city ſo fond of liberty without great prudence and forecaſt. But what abilities could atone for the vices, which rendered him the object of the public hatred? His ambition knew no bounds; his avarice ſpared not the moſt ſacred
d perſons or places; and his cruelty, when awaked by jealouſy or ſuſpicion, made no diſtinction between friend and foe. *His impiety.* He deſpiſed not only his fellow creatures, but the gods themſelves, glorying in his open and profeſſed impiety, whereof the ancients relate the following inſtances. On his return from *Locris*, where he had plundered the temple of *Proſerpine*, the wind being favourable, he turned to his friends, and with a contemptuous ſmile, *See*, ſaid he, *how the immortal gods favour the ſacrilegious* [n]. Being in great want of money to carry on the war againſt the *Carthaginians*, he rifled the temple of *Jupiter*, and amongſt other things ſtript the god of a robe of gold, which *Hiero* had preſented him with out of the ſpoils of the *Carthaginians*, ſaying that a robe of gold was too heavy in ſummer, and too cold in
e winter, and at the ſame time ordered one of wool to be thrown over the god's ſhoulders, adding, that ſuch an habit would be far more proper for all ſeaſons. He ordered the golden beard of *Æſculapius* to be taken off, ſaying it was very inconſiſtent for the ſon to have a beard, when the father had none; for *Apollo* is always repreſented as a beardleſs young man [o]. Several of the ſtatues of the gods held cups and crowns of gold in their hands, which he made no ſcruple to carry off, ſaying that the gods offered them to him, and that it was very ſimple to be continually importuning the gods for good things, and then refuſe them when they themſelves preſented them to their votaries. Theſe ſpoils were by his orders carried to the market-place, and there ſold by auction. But the very next day pretending to be
f ſorry for having plundered the temples, he cauſed a proclamation to be iſſued, commanding all thoſe, who had any thing in their cuſtody belonging to the immortal gods, to reſtore it to the temples within a limited time; but did not himſelf return the money to the buyers.

His ſuſpicious temper. THE amazing precautions, which he made uſe of to ſecure his life, ſhew both his ſuſpicious temper, and the inquietude to which he was abandoned. He never harangued the people but from the top of a high tower. Not daring to truſt his friends and neareſt relations, he committed the guard of his perſon to ſlaves and foreigners, and though ſurrounded with theſe, ſcarce ever ventured out of his palace [p].

[m] Idem, ibid. c. 8. [n] PLUT. in Dion. [o] CIC. de natur. Deor. l. xv. [p] CIC. Tuſc. quæſt. l. v.

A jeſt, that eſcaped his barber, who boaſted in a merry humour that he often held a razor at the king's throat, being related to *Dionyſius*, coſt the man his life; and from that time he employed his daughters, then very young, in that mean office. When they were grown up, he did not care to truſt them with razors or ſciſſars, but only allowed them nut-ſhells, and at laſt was reduced by his apprehenſions to do that office himſelf. He never went into the apartment of his wives before it was ſearched with the utmoſt care, leſt any weapons ſhould lie there concealed. His bed was ſurrounded with a deep and broad trench, and a drawbridge over it. After having faſtened the doors of his apartment with ſtrong bolts, he drew up the bridge, and then took ſome reſt; which was interrupted by the leaſt noiſe he heard either in the ſtreets or his palace. Neither his ſon nor his brother were admitted to his preſence without being ſearched by the guards, and obliged to change their garments [q]. Thus at the heighth of his grandeur he led a more miſerable life than the meaneſt of his ſlaves, as he himſelf ingenuouſly owned (A).

His good qualities.

Dionyſius was, without all doubt, an ambitious and inhuman tyrant; but at the ſame time had ſome good qualities, which ought not to be diſguiſed or miſrepreſented, the impartiality of an hiſtorian requiring that juſtice ſhould be done to the moſt wicked. The kindneſs and reſpect which he ever ſhewed for his two wives (B); the mildneſs with which he ſuffered the freedom of young *Dion* (C); the commendations he beſtowed on his own ſiſter *Theſta*, for the bold and generous anſwer ſhe made him on account of her husband's flight, as we have related above; his obliging and inſinuating behaviour towards the *Syracuſians* on ſeveral occaſions; and the familiarity, with which he condeſcended to converſe with the meaneſt citizens, and even workmen, convince us, that he had more equity, moderation and generoſity than is commonly aſcribed to him. In ſhort he was a tyrant, but not ſo inhuman as many, who have reigned ſince his time.

Dionyſius had three children by his wife *Doris* the *Locrian*, and four by *Ariſtomache*, the ſiſter of *Dion*, whom we ſhall have often occaſion to mention in the following

[q] CIC. off. l. ii. PLUT. in Dion.

(A) As one of his courtiers, named *Damocles*, was perpetually repeating that never man was happier than *Dionyſius*, and extolling the magnificence of his palaces, the extent of his dominions, the number of his troops, the richneſs of his treaſures, &c. *Dionyſius* asked him whether he would for a ſhort time have a taſte of his happineſs? *Damocles* accepted the offer with joy, and being invited to dinner by *Dionyſius*, was accordingly placed on a bed of gold covered with carpets of an ineſtimable value; the table was ſpread with dainties of all ſorts, and the moſt beautiful ſlaves in pompous habits ordered to wait on *Damocles*, and watch the leaſt ſignal to ſerve him. The courtier was tranſported with joy, and ſaid, that if he could always live in that manner he ſhould look upon himſelf as the happieſt of mortals. He had ſcarce ſpoke, when unfortunately caſting up his eyes, he beheld over his head a naked ſword hanging from the cieling by a ſingle horſe-hair. At this ſight he was immediately taken with a cold ſweat; every thing diſappeared in an inſtant, except the ſword; he could think of nothing elſe; and the danger, he was threatened with, throwing him into agonies of death, he deſired permiſſion to retire, declaring he would be happy no longer. A lively repreſentation of the unhappy life, which a tyrant muſt lead, when hated by his ſubjects (32).

(B) *Dionyſius* married two wives at the ſame time, *viz.* *Doris* and *Ariſtomache*; *Doris* was the daughter of one of the moſt illuſtrious citizens of *Locris* in *Italy*, whence he cauſed her to be brought in a quinqueremis, adorned in a moſt magnificent manner. *Ariſtomache* was the daughter of *Hipparinus*, the moſt wealthy and powerful citizen of *Syracuſe*, and ſiſter of the celebrated *Dion*. She was brought to the royal palace in a chariot drawn by four white horſes, which was at that time a mark of great diſtinction. The nuptials of both were ſolemnized the ſame day with univerſal rejoicings throughout the whole city. *Dionyſius* to remove all cauſes of diſcord ſhewed an equal affection for both. But the *Locrian* had the good fortune to bring him the firſt ſon, who ſucceeded him. *Ariſtomache* after ſome years bore him two ſons, *viz.* *Hipparinus* and *Niſæus*, and two daughters, *Sophroſine* and *Arete*. *Sophroſine* married *Dionyſius* the eldeſt ſon of the *Locrian*, and *Arete* firſt *Theorides* the brother of *Dionyſius*, and afterwards *Dion*.

(C) *Dion* was in great eſteem and favour with *Dionyſius*, to whom he was firſt introduced by his ſiſter *Ariſtomache*, but afterwards recommended by his own merit. Amongſt the other marks *Dionyſius* gave him of his confidence, he ordered his treaſurers to ſupply him with whatever money he ſhould demand, provided they informed him the ſame day they paid it. But *Dion*, notwithſtanding the kindneſs ſhewn him by the tyrant, uſed to ſpeak to him with a great deal of freedom. *Dionyſius* ridiculing one day the government of *Gelon*, and ſaying, in alluſion to his name, that he had been the laughing-ſtock of *Sicily*, that being the import of the *Greek* word Γέλως, all the courtiers highly applauded the wit of that conceit, or rather pun, flat and inſipid as it was. But *Dion* took it in a different manner, and had the freedom to tell *Dionyſius*, that he was in the wrong to talk in that manner of a prince, whoſe wiſe and equitable conduct had exhibited an excellent form of government, and given the *Syracuſians* a favourable opinion of monarchy. *You reign*, ſaid he, *and have been truſted for* Gelon's *ſake; but on your account no man will ever be truſted after you.* This *Dionyſius* took in good part, without ſhewing the leaſt reſentment (33).

(32) *Cic. Tuſ. queſt. l. v.* (33) *Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. & Plut. in Dion.*

reign.

a reign. When no hopes was left of *Dionyſius*'s life, *Dion* took upon him to ſpeak in favour of his children by *Ariſtomache*, inſinuating that it was juſt to prefer the iſſue of a *Syracuſian* to that of a ſtranger. But the phyſicians, deſirous to make their court to young *Dionyſius*, the ſon of *Doris*, who had been brought up for the throne, did not give the father time to alter his reſolution, diſpatching him in the manner we have related above; ſo that *Dionyſius*, ſirnamed the younger, peaceably aſcended his father's throne. After he had performed his father's funeral with the utmoſt mag- Dionyſius *the younger.*
nificence, he aſſembled the people, and promiſed to purſue, with regard to his ſub-
jects, quite different meaſures from thoſe which had been practiſed in the preceding reign. The gentle and humane diſpoſition of the young *Dionyſius* made the *Syracuſians*
b believe that they ſhould live happy under his government; whereas they were well appriſed, that if they attempted a change, the ſad conſequences of a civil war would involve the ſtate in endleſs calamities. On theſe conſiderations, notwithſtanding their paſſion for liberty, they ſuffered him to take quiet poſſeſſion of the throne, as of a lawful inheritance. He was of a quite different character from his father, being as *His character.*
peaceable and calm in his temper, as the other was active and enterprizing; which would have have been no diſadvantage to his ſubjects, had that mildneſs and moderation been the effect of a wiſe and judicious underſtanding, and not of a certain natural ſloth and indolence. He was naturally inclined to virtue, and averſe from all violence and cruelty, had a taſte for arts and ſciences, and took great delight in con-
c verſing with men of learning. Whence it is plain that he would have proved a good prince, had an early and proper care been taken to cultivate the happy diſpoſition which he brought into the world with him. But his father, to whom all merit, even in his own children, gave umbrage, ſtifled in him every noble and elevated ſentiment by a mean and obſcure education. He no ſooner aſcended the throne, but *Dion*, who was well acquainted with his temper and good diſpoſition, undertook Dion.
to correct the faults of his low education, and inſpire him with thoughts ſuitable to the high ſtation he was placed in. *Dion* was, as we have hinted already, the ſon of *Hipparinus*, the moſt illuſtrious citizen of *Syracuſe*, and brother of *Ariſtomache* the wife of *Dionyſius* the elder. In his early years he contracted an intimate acquaintance
d and friendſhip with *Plato* (D), and ſo improved by his leſſons, that that great philoſopher in one of his letters gives this glorious teſtimony of him; that he had never met with a young man, on whom his diſcourſes made ſo great an impreſſion, or who had embraced his principles with ſo much ardour. *Diodorus* ſpeaks of him as one of the greateſt men *Sicily* or any other country ever produced. And indeed it is not eaſy to find ſo many excellent qualities in one and the ſame perſon, as were centered in *Dion*. But to return to *Dionyſius*; in the very beginning of his reign, as he had been kept under great reſtraint by his father, he abandoned himſelf to all manner of diverſions and ſhameful pleaſures. He was ſcarce ſeated on the throne, when he made an entertainment, or rather a debauch, which continued for three months together, during all which time his palace, ſhut againſt all perſons
e of any ſobriety, was crouded with debauchees, and reſounded with nothing but low buffoonery, obſcene jeſts, lewd ſongs, dances, maſquerades, *&c.* As *Dion* believed that this was the effect of his bad education and intire ignorance of his duty, he rightly conceived, that the beſt remedy would be to introduce to him perſons of good ſenſe, virtue, and learning, whoſe agreeable converſation might at once inſtruct and divert him, for the young prince was endowed with good natural parts, and took delight in converſing with philoſophers. With this view *Dion* often talked to him of *Plato*, as the moſt profound of all the philoſophers, whoſe merit he was well acquainted with, and to whom he was indebted for all he knew. He enlarged
f on the elevation of his genius, the extent of his knowledge, the amiableneſs of his character, and the charms of his converſation. He repreſented him as the man moſt capable of any to form him in the arts of governing, upon which his own happineſs, and that of his ſubjects depended, *&c.* Theſe diſcourſes well timed inflamed the

(D) He was firſt acquainted with *Plato* at the court of *Dionyſius* the elder, who invited him into *Sicily*, and for ſome time profeſſed a great kindneſs for him. But at length taking offence at his freedom, he ordered him to be carried into the common market-place, and there ſold as a ſlave for five mina's. But ſome philoſophers of the ſame ſect redeemed him, and ſent him back to *Greece* with this friendly advice; that philoſophers ſhould very ſeldom converſe with tyrants, and when they did, they ſhould be of a winning behaviour (34).

(34) *Diodor. l.* xv. *c.* 2.

young

young prince with a deſire of ſeeing that celebrated philoſopher, and improving by his converſation. He wrote to him in the moſt obliging manner, inviting him to his court, and diſpatched expreſs after expreſs to haſten his journey. But *Plato*, mindful of the treatment he had met with at his father's court, could not prevail upon himſelf to comply with his invitation. All the *Pythagorean* philoſophers of *Sicily* and *Italy* joined their intreaties with the prince's; and *Dion* with repeated letters never ceaſed to importune him, till at length he promiſed to return into *Sicily*, and attend the young prince's education. a

Dionyſius *ſends for* Plato.

This reſolution highly diſpleaſed the reſt of the courtiers, who dreading the preſence of *Plato*, of which they foreſaw the conſequences, united againſt him as their common enemy. They were for the moſt part young unexperienced debauchees, perſons of no merit, and moſt abandoned characters. Wherefore they rightly judged, that if all things were to be meaſured according to the ſtandard of true merit, which was one of *Plato*'s maxims, they could lay no claim to any honors, nor expect any favour. They were not able to prevent *Plato*'s voyage, but raiſed a ſtrong battery to render it ineffectual, by perſuading *Dionyſius* to recall *Philiſtus* from baniſhment, who was an experienced officer, and a zealous aſſerter of tyranny. They hoped to find a counterpoiſe in him to *Plato* and all his philoſophy. For *Philiſtus* was not only a brave commander, but a man of extraordinary parts, and uncommon learning. He wrote the hiſtory of *Sicily*, as we have hinted elſewhere, and is honoured by *Tully* with the title of *Thucydides the Second* [r]. b c

Plato *arrives at* Syracuſe.

Plato on his arrival was received with the higheſt marks of honour and reſpect; at his landing he found one of the prince's chariots with horſes richly capariſoned ready to attend him; and the prince no ſooner heard that he was landed, but he commanded a ſolemn ſacrifice to be offered in thankſgiving to the gods for having ſent him a man of ſo great merit and wiſdom. *Plato* found *Dionyſius* in the moſt happy diſpoſition imaginable, and inflamed with an eager deſire of profiting by his precepts. The philoſopher by adapting himſelf with wonderful addreſs to the young prince's humour, and gaining his confidence and affection, in a very ſhort time wrought a ſurprizing change in his mind. He had abandoned himſelf till then to idleneſs, pleaſure and luxury, and was ignorant of all the duties of his character, the inevitable conſequence of a diſſolute life. But now, awaked, as it were, from a lethargy, he began to have ſome reliſh for virtue, and to taſte the refined pleaſure of a blameleſs life. The courtiers, who never fail to ape the prince, ſeemed to fall in with his inclinations, and laying aſide the frivolous amuſements of a court, applied themſelves to the ſtudy of philoſophy, as the only means to preferment. d

Conſpiracy of the courtiers againſt Dion.

Philiſtus and his party were greatly alarmed at the ſudden change they obſerved in *Dionyſius*, and judging from ſome expreſſions he let drop, that *Plato* might at laſt induce him to reſign the tyranny, uſed all poſſible means to work him out of favour. They began by turning into ridicule the retired life, which *Dionyſius* led with *Plato*. Nor was that all; they attempted to render the zeal of *Plato* and *Dion* ſuſpected, by giving out, that *Dion* made uſe of *Plato* as a proper tool to draw *Dionyſius* into a voluntary reſignation of the crown, that he might place it on the head of his nephew, the ſon of *Ariſtomache*. The *Athenians*, ſaid they, formerly invaded *Sicily* with a mighty fleet, and a formidable army, without being able to ſubvert the government of *Syracuſe*; and ſhall now an idle caviller from *Athens*, an unintelligible ſophiſt attain that point, and perſuade *Dionyſius* to renounce a real and ſubſtantial felicity, conſiſting in empire, riches, pleaſures, *&c.* for a pretended ſupreme good to be found in the academy? Such repeated diſcourſes raiſed in the mind of *Dionyſius* ſome ſuſpicion of *Dion*, as if he really deſigned to eſtabliſh his nephew in the ſovereignty. The fears of *Dionyſius* were carefully fomented by the enemies of *Dion*, who were perpetually adviſing the prince to take proper meaſures for the ſecurity of his life and throne. They even feigned a letter, which they ſhewed to *Dionyſius*, pretending that it had been wrote by *Dion* to the *Carthaginians*. As this letter contained ſeveral articles of treaſon, *Dionyſius* flew into a violent paſſion, and having concerted with *Philiſtus* what meaſures he ſhould take, by his advice diſſembling his reſentment, he led *Dion* alone to the ſea-ſide below the citadel, where he ſhewed him the letter, and accuſed him of entering into a league with his enemies the *Carthaginians*. *Dion* might have eaſily juſtified himſelf, but the king refuſed to hear e f

Dion *baniſhed.*

[r] DIODOR. SICUL. l. xiv. PLUT. in Dion. ATHEN. l. x. CIC. de orat. l. ii.

him,

a him, commanding him immediately to go on board a veſſel, which lay there ready with orders to carry him to the coaſt of *Italy* and leave him there.

Such an unjuſt treatment raiſed great clamours in *Syracuſe*, and the whole city declared againſt it. *Dionyſius*, who apprehended the conſequences of the public diſcontent, in order to appeaſe it in ſome degree, allowed *Dion*'s relations two veſſels to tranſport to him in *Peloponneſus*, whither he had retired, his riches and numerous retinue, for he lived with as much grandeur as a king [t]. Aſſoon as *Dion* was gone, *Dionyſius* made *Plato* change his habitation and remove into the citadel, in appearance to do him more honour, but in reality to aſſure himſelf of his perſon, and to prevent him from joining *Dion*. However he continued to ſhew him an extraordinary kind-
b neſs, and, out of a fooliſh jealouſy, offered him all his treaſures, provided he would prefer his friendſhip to that of *Dion*'s. In the mean time a war breaking out, *Dionyſius* reſtored *Plato* to his liberty, and even gave him leave to return home. At his departure, he would have loaded him with preſents, which *Plato* refuſed, only begging that he would recall *Dion*. *Dionyſius* promiſed to reſtore him the following ſpring; but did not keep his word, and only ſent him the revenues of his eſtate, deſiring *Plato*, in a letter he wrote to him, to excuſe his breach of promiſe, and to impute it to the war. He aſſured him, that aſſoon as he put an end to the war, *Dion* ſhould be recalled, upon condition that he did not meddle with public affairs, nor in the mean time leſſen him in the opinion of the *Greeks*. For *Dion* during his
c baniſhment viſited moſt of the cities of *Greece*, and was every-where received with extraordinary marks of diſtinction. The *Lacedæmonians* made him free of their city, without regard to the reſentment of *Dionyſius*, who at that very time aſſiſted them with a powerful ſupply in their war with the *Thebans*. *Athens*, which he choſe for the place of his reſidence, paid him the higheſt honours, all the inhabitants of that illuſtrious city ſtriving, as it were, to outdo each other in giving him inſtances of their eſteem and affection. This alarmed the tyrant's jealouſy, who put a ſtop to the remittance of *Dion*'s revenues, ordering them to be paid into his own treaſury [u]. Such a reſolution obliged *Dion*, who had hitherto lived quietly at *Athens*, to take another courſe, as we ſhall ſee anon.

d *Dionyſius* having put an end to the war he was engaged in, of which no particulars have been tranſmitted to us, was again inflamed with a deſire of ſeeing and hearing *Plato*, and accordingly prevailed upon *Architas* and the other *Pythagorean* philoſophers to write to him, and aſſure him that he might return with ſafety, and that upon his return the promiſes which had been made him ſhould be punctually performed. The philoſophers deputed *Archidemus* to *Plato*, and *Dionyſius* ſent at the ſame time two *Triremes* with ſeveral of his friends on board to ſollicit his compliance. He alſo wrote letters to him with his own hand, wherein he declared, that if he refuſed to return into *Sicily*, *Dion* ſhould receive no favours at his hands, but if he complied with his requeſt, the exile ſhould be immediately reſtored. *Plato* was
e very unwilling to truſt himſelf anew to the tyrant's mercy and fickle temper, but could not reſiſt the warm ſollicitations of *Dion*'s friends; he therefore ſet out for *Sicily* the third time, being then in the ſeventieth year of his age. *Dionyſius* received him with inexpreſſible joy, appointed him the beſt apartment of his palace, and ſuffered him to have free acceſs to him at all hours without being ſearched, a favour not granted to his beſt friends. The philoſopher ſeeing that *Dionyſius* repoſed an entire truſt in him, entered upon *Dion*'s affair with him, which was the chief motive of his voyage. But the tyrant put it off, and in the mean time endeavoured by heaping all manner of honours on *Plato* to leſſen his eſteem and regard for *Dion*. The philoſopher diſ-
f ſembled on his ſide, and though extremely offended at ſo notorious a breach of faith, carefully concealed his diſſatisfaction. However he could not give over ſolliciting in behalf of his friend, which at length ſo exaſperated the tyrant, that all on a ſudden he ordered *Plato* to remove from his apartment in the palace to another without the caſtle, where his guards were quartered (E). Theſe had long hated

Plato *returns to* Sicily.

Diſgraced by Dionyſius.

[t] Plut. in Dion. [u] Plut. ibid. Plat. epiſt. 7. [u] Plut. ibid.

(E) A few days before *Dionyſius* and *Plato* fell out, one *Helicon* of *Cyzicum*, a particular friend of *Plato*'s, foretold an eclipſe of the ſun, which happening according to his prediction, *Dionyſius* was ſo much ſurprized at it, that he made him a preſent of a talent. *Ariſtippus*, jeſting upon that occaſion, ſaid, that he likewiſe had ſomething very extraordinary to foretel, and being preſſed to explain himſelf, I propheſy, ſaid he, that it will not be long ere *Dionyſius* and *Plato*, who at preſent ſeem to be great friends, will be enemies (34).

(34) *Plut. in Dion.*

Plato becauſe he had adviſed *Dionyſius* to diſmiſs them, and live without any other guard but the love of his people. But *Dionyſius* reſtrained their fury, forbidding them on pain of death to moleſt his gueſt. When *Architas*, who was then prætor or chief magiſtrate of *Tarentum*, heard of the danger *Plato* was in, he immediately diſpatched embaſſadors to *Dionyſius* to remind him, that *Plato* came to *Syracuſe* only upon his promiſe, and on the promiſe of all the *Pythagorean* philoſophers, who had engaged for his ſafety, wherefore he could not detain him againſt his will, nor offer him any inſult, without a manifeſt breach of faith. This remonſtrance awaked a ſenſe of ſhame in the tyrant, who at length gave *Plato* leave to return into *Greece*. Upon his departure *Dionyſius*, throwing off all reſtraint, abandoned himſelf to the moſt ſhameful vices, ſetting no bounds to his avarice, cruelty, rapines, &c. [w]. a b

Dion *reſolves to deliver* Sicily.

NOT long after *Plato* had left *Sicily*, *Dionyſius* ordered all *Dion*'s lands and effects to be ſold, and applied the money to his own uſe: neither did he ſtop here, but gave his half-ſiſter *Arete*, whom *Dion* had married after the death of *Theorides*, in marriage to *Timocrates*, one of his friends and flatterers. So unworthy a treatment *Dion* could not brook, and therefore from that moment reſolved to attack the tyrant with open force, and revenge all the wrongs done him. *Plato*, out of a ſcrupulous regard to the duties of hoſpitality, did all that lay in his power to divert him from ſuch a reſolution; but on the other hand *Speuſippus*, *Plato*'s nephew, with whom *Dion* had contracted a particular friendſhip during his abode at *Athens*, encouraged him to purſue ſo noble a deſign, and reſtore *Sicily* to its ancient freedom. All the reſt of *Dion*'s friends were of the ſame opinion, and many of the chief citizens of *Syracuſe* continually importuned him to come thither, deſiring him not to be in pain for want of ſhips or forces, but to imbarque on the firſt veſſel he met with, and only lend his name to the friends of liberty. *Dion* did not delay any longer, but withdrawing from his retired life, undertook the delivery of his country, which implored his protection. No enterprize was ever formed with more boldneſs, or conducted with more prudence. He began to raiſe foreign troops privately by proper agents for the better concealment of his deſign. Many perſons of diſtinction, who were at the head of affairs, entered into his meaſures, and gave him notice of whatever was tranſacted in *Sicily*. But of the exiles, who were above a thouſand diſperſed up and down *Sicily* and *Greece*, only twenty-five joined him; ſo much were they awed by the dread of the tyrant. The iſland of *Zacynthus* was the place of the rendezvous, where the troops aſſembled to the number of about eight hundred, all tried on many occaſions, well diſciplined, and capable of animating with their example the forces, which *Dion* hoped to find in *Sicily*. When they were to ſet ſail, *Dion* acquainted them with his deſign, which till that time he had concealed from the common ſoldiers. The boldneſs of the undertaking occaſioned at firſt no ſmall conſternation; but *Dion* ſoon removed their fears by telling them that he did not lead them in this expedition as ſoldiers but as officers, to put them at the head of the *Syracuſians* and all the people of *Sicily*, who were ready to receive them with open arms. *Dion*, before he ſet out from *Zacynthus*, offered a ſolemn ſacrifice to *Apollo*, and gave a grand entertainment to his ſmall army, which was now impatient to proceed on their voyage, and begin the great work of delivering *Sicily* from tyranny and oppreſſion. The next day they imbarqued on board two trading veſſels, and put to ſea with loud ſhouts of joy, as if they had already dethroned the tyrant. Who could imagine, ſays our hiſtorian, that a man with two ſmall veſſels, ſhould ever dare to attack a prince, who had under his command four hundred gallies, an hundred thouſand foot, and ten thouſand horſe, with magazines of proviſions, and treaſures, ſufficient to pay and maintain them? But no force is able to defend a prince, who is not guarded by the affection of his people, as the event of this undertaking will ſhew [x]. c d e f

Dion *arrives in* Sicily.

Dion after having been twelve days at ſea arrived with his ſmall body of troops at cape *Pachynum*, where their pilot adviſed them to land immediately leſt they ſhould be overtaken by a violent hurricane, which threatened them. But *Dion*, not thinking it ſafe to land ſo near the enemy, ordered him to put to ſea again and double the cape, which they had no ſooner done, than a furious ſtorm attended with rain, thunder and lightning, drove them on the eaſtern coaſt of *Afric*, where they were in great danger of being daſhed to pieces againſt the rocks; but luckily for

[w] PLAT. epiſt. 7. PLUT. in Dion. & Moral. [x] DIODOR. SICUL. l. xvi. PLUT. in Dion.

them

a them the wind changing all on a ſudden, they ſtood out to ſea for *Sicily*, and with a favourable wind entered the port of *Minoa*, not far from *Agrigentum*. This city was then in the hands of the *Carthaginians*, and governed by one *Synalus*, or, as *Diodorus* calls him, *Paralus*, *Dion*'s particular friend. They were therefore kindly received, and would have ſtaid there ſome days to refreſh themſelves after the fatigues of their voyage, had they not received advice, that *Dionyſius* had ſome days before imbarqued for *Italy* attended with fourſcore gallies. *Dion*, to take advantage of his abſence, immediately ſet out for *Syracuſe*, and on his march prevailed upon the *Agrigentines*, *Geleans*, *Camarineans*, and other cities to join him. He no ſooner entered the *Syracuſian* territories, but multitudes flocked to him from all parts, every one looking upon him as the deliverer of their country. When he

And poſſeſſes himſelf of Syracuſe.

b arrived at the *Anapus* he ordered his troops to halt, and there offered a ſacrifice to the tutelary gods of *Syracuſe*; which being performed, he called an aſſembly of all the *Syracuſians* in his camp, and after having acquainted them with his deſign, which was to reſtore them to their liberty, and ſuppreſs tyranny, he deſired them to name a general, who ſhould be entruſted with the whole conduct of the enterprize. The multitude cried out with one voice, that *Dion* and his brother *Megacles* ſhould be generals, and inveſted them with abſolute power and command. The new generals without delay drew up their army in battalia, and marched ſtrait to the city, where they were received at the gates by the moſt conſiderable of the inha-

c bitants in white habits. As no body appeared to oppoſe them, they boldly entered the city, and marched through *Acradina* to the forum, where they encamped, being in all above fifty thouſand men. Here *Dion* ordered the trumpets to ſound to appeaſe the noiſe and tumult; and ſilence being made, an herald proclaimed, that Dion *and* Megacles *were come to aboliſh tyranny, and to free the people of* Syracuſe *and their allies from the yoke of the tyrant.* At theſe words the whole city reſounded with joyful ſhouts and acclamations for ſo ſudden and unexpected an happineſs. They had lived fifty years in ſlavery, and ſaw themſelves, by the valor of one man, reſtored to their liberty, when they leaſt expected ſo happy a change. Where-ever *Dion* paſſed, the citizens having ſet out on both ſides of the ſtreets tables and bowls, and prepared victims, as he came before their houſes, threw all ſorts of flowers

d upon him, addreſſing vows and prayers to him as to a god. *Dion* ſeeing himſelf maſter of the city, fell upon *Epipolæ* and took it by ſtorm, ſetting at liberty the citizens, who were priſoners in the fort. He then ſurrounded the citadel whither all the tyrant's friends and mercenaries had fled, with a ſtrong wall from ſea to ſea; ſo that they could receive no ſuccours by land, nor have any communication with the reſt of the city [y].

In the mean time *Dionyſius*, who was at *Caulonia* in *Italy*, receiving intelligence of what paſſed in *Syracuſe* (F), haſtened thither, and entered the citadel by ſea ſeven days after the arrival of *Dion*. He found his affairs in a deſperate condition, and therefore to gain time he ſent embaſſadors to *Dion* and the *Syracuſians*, offering to reſtore the democracy provided they would confer certain honours upon him in the

e republican ſtate; he deſired them to ſend deputies to treat with him, that he might put a ſpeedy end to the war. The *Syracuſians* immediately ſent ſome of their citizens to ſign an agreement with him upon the articles, which he had propoſed; but *Dionyſius* putting off the conferences from day to day, and obſerving that the *Syracuſians* in hopes of peace kept negligent guard, ſuddenly attacked the wall, with which they had incloſed the citadel, and made ſeveral breaches in it. So warm and unexpected an aſſault put the *Syracuſians* in great diſorder; however they maintained their ground, and fought with great reſolution. *Dion* diſtinguiſhed himſelf above all the reſt; for finding that his troops were very backward in engaging the tyrant's mercenaries, and believing example more powerful than words, he threw himſelf

Dionyſius's *troops defeated.*

[y] Plut. & Diodor. ibid.

(F) Aſſoon as *Dion* landed in *Sicily*, *Timocrates*, who had married *Dion*'s wife, and to whom *Dionyſius* had left the command of the city in his abſence, diſpatched a courier to him with advice of *Dion*'s arrival. But the courier being almoſt at his journey's end, was ſo fatigued, that he could not help ſtopping to take ſome ſleep. In the mean time a wolf ſmelling ſome meat he had in his wallet, came to the place, and carried off the bag, in which was the meat with the diſpatches. By this misfortune *Dionyſius* was prevented from receiving a timely account of *Dion*'s arrival (35).

(35) *Plut. ibid.*

violently

violently into the midſt of them, and after having made a great ſlaughter of the enemy, and broken their ranks, made way for his men to follow him. His ſhield being pierced through in many places, and the enemy diſcharging ſhowers of darts on him from all ſides, he was wounded in his right arm with a javelin, and fainting away through the extremity of the pain, was very near falling into the enemy's hands: but the *Syracuſians*, highly concerned for the ſafety of their general, charged the mercenaries in a full body, and reſcuing *Dion*, who was almoſt ſpent, put the enemy to flight. A great number of the tyrant's troops were ſlain on the ſpot, the reſt eſcaped with much ado into the citadel. The *Syracuſians*, having gained ſo glorious a victory, ſet up a trophy in defiance of the tyrant, rewarded their foreign troops with a conſiderable ſum of money, and preſented *Dion* with a crown of gold. On the other hand *Dionyſius*, having obtained leave to carry off his dead, cauſed them to be buried in purple robes; and paid them extraordinary honours; ſuch as ſurvived he rewarded with great generoſity, beſtowing upon them great part of his treaſures [z].

Ingratitude of the Syracuſians *towards* Dion.

Dionyſius after this defeat ſent embaſſadors anew to propoſe terms of peace; but *Dion* returned no other anſwer than this; *Let* Dionyſius *firſt abdicate the tyranny, and then we ſhall hear him.* *Dionyſius* was highly provoked at this haughty and peremptory anſwer, as he called it; but however, diſſembling his reſentment, he ſent other embaſſadors with a letter to *Dion* wrote with great art and addreſs, and wonderfully calculated to render him ſuſpected by the *Syracuſians*, as if he intended to ſeize on the ſovereignty himſelf. The *Syracuſians* were taken with this groſs bait, for *Dion* read the letter in the public aſſembly, and began to be jealous of his too great power. The arrival of *Heraclides* did not a little contribute to the ſhameful ſteps that ungrateful people took with regard to their deliverer and benefactor. *Heraclides* was one of the *Syracuſian* exiles, an excellent officer, and well known among the troops, which he had formerly commanded under *Dionyſius*; but at the ſame time he was very ambitious, and a ſecret enemy to *Dion*, with whom he had had ſome diſpute in *Peloponneſus*. He arrived at *Syracuſe* with ſeven triremes, and three other veſſels not with a deſign to join *Dion*, but to act ſeparately againſt the tyrant in hopes of having himſelf the glory of driving him out. His firſt endeavour was to ingratiate himſelf with the people, and for that he was wonderfully qualified by an open and inſinuating behaviour, whilſt *Dion*'s auſtere gravity was offenſive to the multitude, eſpecially as they were become more haughty and untractable by their late victory (G). *Heraclides* by courting them, and in every thing ſeconding their capricious humour, ſo won their affections in a ſhort time, that of their own accord they called an aſſembly, and appointed him commander in chief of the fleet. *Dion* having notice of theſe irregular proceedings haſtened to the aſſembly, and highly complained of the affront offered him, for they had conferred upon him the ſupreme command both of the fleet and army. His remonſtrances were of ſuch weight with the aſſembly, that they deprived *Heraclides* of the office, which they had juſt then honoured him with. When the aſſembly broke up, *Dion* ſent for him, and having gently reprimanded him for his ſtrange conduct in ſo delicate a conjuncture, when the leaſt diviſion among themſelves might be attended with the moſt fatal conſequences, he ſummoned a new aſſembly, and in the preſence of the multitude appointed him admiral, and allowed him ſuch a guard as he had himſelf. *Dion* imagined that by this obliging behaviour he ſhould get the better of his rival's ill-will. But *Heraclides* was not ſo eaſily to be gained; he aimed at the ſupreme command, and nothing leſs would ſatisfy his ambition; he expreſſed indeed a great many obligations to *Dion*, ſeemed to court his favour, and in his outward behaviour ſhewed a great readineſs to obey his orders. But in the mean time he influenced the people underhand againſt him, oppoſed his meaſures, and found fault with his whole conduct, as if he deſigned either to ſave the tyrant or protract the war. While *Heraclides* was thus diſpoſing the people to confer the ſupreme command upon himſelf, one thing happened,

[z] DIODOR. PLUT. ibid.

(G) *Dion* had ſomething rigid and auſtere in his temper, that made him leſs acceſſible and ſociable than he ſhould have been, and kept even men of merit and his beſt friends at a kind of diſtance. *Plato* and thoſe, who had his glory ſincerely at heart, often found fault with this his turn of mind, and adviſed him to correct it. But he, notwithſtanding their remonſtrances, ſeemed to pique himſelf upon the auſtere gravity, and inflexible ſeverity, with which he treated the people. That rough, and, as he called it, manly behaviour, created him many enemies, eſpecially among the populace.

which

a which greatly raiſed his reputation among the *Syracuſians*. *Philiſtus*, the tyrant's admiral, having put to ſea with ſixty gallies, *Heraclides* gave him chace with his ſmall ſquadron, obliged him to engage, and gained a complete victory. *Philiſtus* behaved with great perſonal bravery, but at laſt finding himſelf ſurrounded on all ſides by the *Syracuſians*, who were deſirous of taking him alive, he laid violent hands on himſelf, after having diſcharged the truſt repoſed in him in a diſtinguiſhed manner. The *Syracuſians* vented their rage upon his dead body, which they barbarouſly mangled, dragged through all the ſtreets of the city, and then threw it over the walls to rot without burial in the open fields. He was one of the tyrant's moſt truſty friends, and had on all occaſions given him ſignal proofs of his fidelity.

b Wherefore *Dionyſius* was ſo diſheartened with the loſs of ſo ſteady a friend and experienced officer, that he ſent embaſſadors to *Dion* offering to ſurrender the citadel with all the troops there in gariſon, and money to pay them for five months, upon condition that he were allowed to retire to *Italy*, and there enjoy during his life the revenue of certain lands, which he mentioned, in the neighbourhood of *Syracuſe*. *Dion*'s advice was that the terms ſhould be accepted; but the *Syracuſians*, hoping to take *Dionyſius* alive, would hearken to no propoſals. Wherefore *Dionyſius*, ſeeing all loſt, left the citadel in the hands of his eldeſt ſon *Apollocrates*, and taking the advantage of a favourable wind, put to ſea in a ſmall veſſel, and landed undiſcovered in *Italy* with his treaſures and moſt valuable effects [a].

Dionyſius *flies to* Italy.

c *Heraclides* was greatly blamed for having ſuffered him to eſcape; and therefore to regain the favour of the people, he propoſed a new diviſion of lands, inſinuating that they could never enjoy perfect liberty ſo long as there was ſo great an inequality in wealth and power. This motion was warmly oppoſed by *Dion*, which gave *Heraclides* an opportunity of rendering him ſuſpected to the people, as if he intended to keep them in ſubjection, and reduce them to the ſame ſtate of ſlavery in which they had been held by their tyrants. By thus pretending to eſpouſe the cauſe of liberty, he prevailed upon the aſſembly to reduce the pay of the foreign troops, to appoint new generals, himſelf among the reſt, and to make a new diviſion of lands. At the ſame time they privately ſolicited the foreign troops to abandon

Factions in Syracuſe.

d *Dion* and join them, promiſing to give them a ſhare in the government, as if they were natives and citizens. But they generouſly rejected the offer, declaring that they would ſtand by *Dion* to the laſt, and willingly ſacrifice their lives in defence of their general. The populace were ſo enraged at this anſwer, that they began to aſſemble in a tumultuous manner, and throw out threats both againſt *Dion* and his troops. Whereupon thoſe brave men placing *Dion* in their center began to march out of the city, proteſting that ſo long as one of them was alive no body ſhould hurt him. In this manner they withdrew without offering the leaſt violence to any of the citizens, but only reproaching them with ingratitude towards their deliverer and great benefactor. The *Syracuſians* deſpiſing their ſmall number, and aſcribing their mo-

e deration to fear and want of courage, began to attack them, not doubting but they ſhould put them all to the ſword before they got out of the city. *Dion* being thus reduced to the neceſſity of either deſtroying thoſe he was come to ſave, or being himſelf deſtroyed with ſo many brave men, begged them in the moſt tender and affectionate manner to hearken to reaſon, and not ſuffer themſelves to be impoſed upon by ambitious and ill-deſigning men, pointing with his hand at the citadel, which was full of enemies, who with great joy beheld all that paſſed. But finding them deaf to all his remonſtrances, he commanded his men to face about and march in cloſe order, as if they deſigned to fall upon the multitude; they obeyed his orders, and raiſing a great ſhout advanced againſt them, pretending to attack them with the

f utmoſt fury; the noiſe they made with their arms, according to *Dion*'s directions, ſo terrified the populace, that they betook themſelves to a diſorderly flight. *Dion* did not offer to purſue them, but haſtened his march towards the country of the *Leontines*. The *Syracuſians*, being on their return treated by their countrymen as cowards for having ſuffered ſo ſmall a body of men to make their eſcape, in order to retrieve their honour, marched out again in purſuit of *Dion*, and coming up with him as he was paſſing a river, ordered their cavalry to advance to the charge. But when they perceived that he was reſolved in earneſt to repel force by force, they were

Dion *obliged to quit* Syracuſe.

[a] Plut. & Diodor. ibid.

again ſeized with terror, and flying in a more ſhameful manner than before, made what haſte they could to regain the city [b]. a

THE *Leontines* not only received *Dion* with great marks of diſtinction, but made rich preſents to his ſoldiers, and declared them all free citizens. They likewiſe ſent embaſſadors to the *Syracuſians*, complaining of the ill treatment *Dion* and his men had met with at their hands, and reminding them of the ineſtimable favours they had received from ſo worthy a patriot. The *Syracuſians* replied that *Dion* had driven out one tyrant with a deſign to eſtabliſh another, and therefore ought to be treated in the ſame manner as their firſt tyrant had been, whom they had obliged to quit not only *Syracuſe* but the iſland.

IN the mean time the tyrant's troops in the citadel being reduced by famine to the utmoſt extremity, reſolved at laſt to ſurrender both the place and themſelves to the *Syracuſians*. Accordingly they ſent deputies to obtain for them the beſt terms they could; but while they were actually conferring with the townſmen, *Nypſius*, a general of experienced valour, and greatly attached to *Dionyſius*, appeared with a numerous ſquadron of gallies, and a great many tranſports laden with corn and all ſorts of proviſions. *Nypſius* anchored in the port of *Arethuſa*, and having landed the men he brought along with him, he called a council of war, wherein he made a ſpeech to the gariſon ſuitable to the preſent occaſion, and with hopes of ample rewards engaged them to promiſe that they would never ſubmit to the enemy upon any terms whatſoever. The *Syracuſians* no ſooner heard of this new ſupply, but they manned as many gallies as they had at hand, and attacking the enemy while they were unloading the corn and other proviſions, ſunk ſome of their ſhips, took others, and purſued the reſt to the ſhore. But this very victory was the occaſion of their ruin. For fighting the enemy, whom they looked upon as utterly undone, they gave themſelves up to feaſting, revelling, and all kind of debauchery; which general infatuation *Nypſius* did not fail to improve to his advantage. That brave commander, deſirous to repair his late loſs by ſome bold attempt, ordered his men to march out of the citadel, and aſſault the wall that incloſed it. They met with no oppoſition, the guards being every-where aſleep after their laſt night's debauch; having therefore in ſilence applied their ſcaling ladders, ſome of the moſt reſolute mounted the wall, killed the centinels, and opened the gates to their companions. Thus all the gariſon, conſiſting of ten thouſand well-diſciplined troops, entered the city, cut all thoſe to pieces who oppoſed them, and made ſuch a dreadful havock as can hardly be expreſſed. Many of the citizens were murdered in their beds, their houſes were plundered, and their wives and children taken out of their beds, and either cruelly butchered before their faces, or carried captives into the citadel, without regard to their tears, cries and lamentations. The ſlaughter was ſo great, that the ſtreets were every-where covered with dead bodies, and the private houſes ſwimming in blood. b c d

Syracuſe *taken by the gariſon of the citadel.*

THE citizens ſeeing themſelves in this deſperate condition knew not what to reſolve on. They were all well appriſed, that *Dion* was the only perſon who could adminiſter them any relief; but no one had courage enough to name him; ſo much were they aſhamed of their ingratitude towards their protector. As the danger increaſed every moment, and the enemy was preparing to ſet fire to the city, one boldly cried out, *Let us ſend for Dion.* His name was no ſooner heard but the whole multitude with ſhouts of joy approved the motion; and accordingly deputies were that inſtant diſpatched to *Leontini*, who arriving late in the evening threw themſelves at *Dion*'s feet, and with many tears acquainted him with the deplorable condition of *Syracuſe*. *Dion* no ſooner heard them than he aſſembled a council of war, and having introduced the *Syracuſian* deputies, he deſired them to lay before his officers the ſtate of their city, which they did in a very moving ſpeech, entreating *Dion* to forget the ill treatment he had received, the rather, becauſe that unfortunate people had already paid dear for it, and acknowledged the miſeries they ſuffered juſtly inflicted upon them for their ingratitude towards ſo loving a father of his country. Aſſoon as they had done, *Dion* roſe up, but inſtead of ſpeaking burſt into tears, and could not for ſome time utter one ſingle word; the foreign ſoldiers, who were moſtly *Peloponneſians*, called out to him to take courage, and expreſſed a generous compaſſion in ſeeing their leader ſo overwhelmed with grief. At length, having recovered himſelf, he addreſſed his troops and the people of *Leontini* in the following terms: Men of e f

Dion *recalled.*

[b] PLUT. in Dion. p. 972. 975. DIODOR. l. xvi.

Peloponn-

a *Peloponneſius*, and you, our allies, I have aſſembled you here that you may conſider what is proper to be done with regard to yourſelves; as for me I am already determined, and muſt not be wavering, when my country is in danger. If I cannot preſerve it, I will periſh with it, and be buried in its ruins. But for you, if you will be ſo generous as to forget the ill treatment you have received at our hands, and aſſiſt us once more, follow my example; but if your juſt complaints againſt the *Syracuſians* prevail with you to abandon them in their preſent diſtreſs, and ſuffer them to periſh; may the gods amply reward you for the affection and fidelity you have hitherto expreſſed for me. I only beg that you will remember *Dion*, who did not abandon you, when you were baſely treated by his country, nor his country, when
b fallen into misfortunes. He had no ſooner done ſpeaking, than the foreign troops with one voice entreated him to lead them on that moment againſt the enemy. The deputies, tranſported with joy, tenderly embraced them, praying the gods to ſecond their generous reſolution. Aſſoon as the tumult was appeaſed, *Dion* ordered them to refreſh themſelves and return with their arms to the ſame place, being reſolved to ſet out that very night on his march to *Syracuſe*.

The deplorable condition of Syracuſe.

In the mean time the ſoldiers of *Dionyſius*, after committing all ſorts of outrages in the city, had retired at night into the citadel. This ſhort reſpite gave *Dion*'s ene-mies new courage, who flattering themſelves, that the gariſon would not venture again out of the caſtle, began to exhort the *Syracuſians* to think no more of *Dion*,
c but to defend themſelves with their own valor. They ſo far prevailed, that new deputies were diſpatched from the chief commanders to ſtop his march; but his friends at the ſame time ſent ſome worthy citizens to intreat him not to hearken to the embaſſies of ſuch as were equally enemies to him and their country. *Dion* therefore purſued his march, but the oppoſite faction ſeized the gates with a deſign to diſpute his entrance. In the mean time *Nypſius*, well appriſed of the diviſions that reigned in the city, made another ſally from the citadel, and made ſuch a dreadful havock in all quarters of the city, that from the heaps of dead bodies, with which the ſtreets, the ſquares, and the forum, were ſtrewed, one would have believed that not a ſingle citizen had been left alive. They ſpared neither age nor ſex, but put all without
d diſtinction to the ſword. Nothing but murder and blood-ſhed was ſeen in every corner; and becauſe they were informed that *Dion* was haſtening to the relief of the city, they ſeemed determined to deſtroy it intirely before his arrival. For after they had murdered all the inhabitants they could light on, with burning torches, ſtraw, and other combuſtibles, they ſet fire to the houſes, ſo that many who had eſcaped the ſword were miſerably conſumed in the flames [c].

Dion relieves Syracuſe.

During this confuſion *Dion* unexpectedly arrived, and having detached his light-armed troops againſt the enemy to reanimate the citizens, who were ſtill alive, with their preſence, he drew up his heavy-armed infantry, and divided them into ſmall parties, that they might be able to attack in ſeveral places at once, and appear
e ſtronger and more formidable to the enemy. Having made the diſpoſitions, and invoked the gods, he marched acroſs the city againſt the enemy, being every-where welcomed with acclamations, ſhouts of joy, and ſongs of victory. There was not one in the city ſo fond of life as not to be more in pain for *Dion*'s ſafety than his own: They were all under the greateſt apprehenſions in ſeeing him march the foremoſt over blood, fire, and dead bodies, with which the public ſtreets were entirely covered. The enemy, hearing that *Dion* had entered the city, poſted themſelves in line of battle behind the ruins of the wall they had thrown down, determined at all events to maintain that poſt, leſt their communication with the city ſhould be cut off. It was with the greateſt difficulty that *Dion*'s men kept their ranks, being often obliged
f to march through the fire, and clouds of ſmoke, while the roofs and beams of the houſes half conſumed with the flames falling down broke their ranks. At length they arrived at the place where the enemy waited for them, and began the attack. The ſlaughter was great on both ſides, and the fight continued for ſeveral hours before *Dion*'s men could get over the ruins which covered the enemy; but at length the *Peloponneſians*, animating each other with mutual ſhouts, made ſuch a vigorous effort, that the enemy, though far ſuperior in number, was bore down and forced to give ground; the greateſt part of them fled into the citadel, and the reſt were cut in pieces by the victorious *Peloponneſians*. The city being thus delivered, *Dion*'s men,

[c] Plut. ibid.

inſtead of refreſhing themſelves after ſo great fatigues, ſpent all that night in extinguiſhing the fire, which they compaſſed not without great danger and difficulty [d]. a

THE next day *Heraclides*, and his uncle *Theodotus*, two of *Dion*'s greateſt enemies, put themſelves into his hands, confeſſing their injurious treatment of him, and conjuring him to forget their ungrateful behaviour, and reſtore them to his favour, of which they acknowledged themſelves unworthy. *Dion*'s friends adviſed him not to ſpare them, ſince they would not fail to raiſe new diſturbances in the city, and defeat in the end ſo glorious a victory. But *Dion* believing he could get the better of their ſtubborn and reſtleſs temper by force of kind uſage and obligations, generouſly pardoned them. *Heraclides* ſeemed to be affected with this kindneſs, for the ſame day b
he propoſed in the aſſembly that *Dion* ſhould be elected generaliſſimo with ſupreme power by ſea and land. But the ungrateful populace, whoſe darling *Heraclides* was, oppoſed this motion with all their power, and *Dion*, to avoid new diſturbances, gave up that point, ſuffering *Heraclides* to command in chief at ſea [e].

All things being now quiet, the *Syracuſians* under the direction of *Dion*, applied themſelves ſolely to the ſiege of the citadel, and in a ſhort time reduced the numerous gariſon to ſuch ſtraits, that *Apollocrates*, the tyrant's ſon, was obliged to capitulate. *Dion* allowed him to retire unmoleſted to his father in *Italy* with five gallies, and all his friends and relations. It is not eaſy to conceive the joy of the city upon his departure. The whole city crowded to the ſhore to gratify their eyes with ſuch an agreeable ſight, and to ſolemnize the happy day, on which, after ſo many years c
ſervitude, the *Syracuſians* could firſt ſtile themſelves again a free people.

The citadel ſurrenders.

ASSOON as *Apollocrates* ſet ſail, *Dion* entered the citadel at the head of his troops, and was met at the gate by his ſiſter *Ariſtomache* leading his ſon, and by his wife *Arete*, whom *Dionyſius*, as we have related above, had given in marriage to *Timocrates*. *Dion* embraced his ſiſter firſt and then his ſon; whereupon *Arete* drenched in tears was ready to ſwoon away, when *Ariſtomache* preſenting her to *Dion*; The tears, ſaid ſhe, you ſee her ſhed at the time your preſence reſtores us to life and joy, her ſilence and confuſion may well convince you, that you alone have always poſſeſſed her heart. Shall ſhe embrace you as her husband, or die at your feet abandoned by you for what ſhe has ſuffered againſt her will? At theſe words *Dion*, d
with his face bathed in tears, tenderly embraced her, gave her his ſon, and ſent her home to his houſe, whither he ſoon followed her, leaving the *Syracuſians* in poſſeſſion of the citadel, as a pledge of their liberty. After this *Dion* rewarded with a magnificence truly royal all thoſe who had contributed to his ſucceſs, according to their rank and merit, diſmiſſed his guards, and, though at the height of glory, lived like a private citizen.

AS the city was now in a profound tranquillity, *Dion* attempted to eſtabliſh in it a form of government, compoſed of the *Spartan* and *Cretan*, but wherein the *Ariſtocratical* was to prevail; the ſupreme authority, according to his plan, was to be veſted in a council, of which the members were to be choſen by the people and nobility. But this deſign was warmly oppoſed by *Heraclides*, who, ſtill turbulent and ſeditious, did not fail to ſtir up the people on that occaſion againſt *Dion*, as if he intended to abridge their power and ſubject them to the nobility. Hereupon *Dion*, finding that he oppoſed all wiſe councils, was at laſt prevailed upon to conſent to his death, and he was accordingly by *Dion*'s friends diſpatched in his own houſe. *Dion* publicly owned that he had been put to death by his order, and in an harangue to the people convinced them, that it was impoſſible for the city to be free from commotions and ſedition, while *Heraclides* lived. However after that murder *Dion* never enjoyed a happy hour, but lived in continual anguiſh and ſorrow, reproaching himſelf with having imbrued his hands in the blood of his fellow citizen (H). Not long f
after his ſon, for ſome unknown diſappointment, threw himſelf from the top of a houſe, and died of the fall. This increaſed *Dion*'s affliction; but neither his grief nor life laſted long, *Calippus* having, by the blackeſt treachery, deprived *Syracuſe* of the greateſt hero it ever produced.

[d] PLUT. & DIODOR. ibid. [e] PLUT. ibid.

(H) *Plutarch* tells us, that a dreadful ſpectre, which appeared to him in the night, filled him with terror and melancholy. The fantom ſeemed a woman of an enormous ſtature, and by her attire, air, and haggard looks, reſembled a fury.

Calippus

a *Calippus* was an *Athenian* by birth, and had contracted an intimate friendſhip with *Dion*, who lodged in his houſe at *Athens*, and ever after ranked him among his particular and intimate friends. Having attended *Dion* into *Sicily*, after the tyrant was driven out, he gave himſelf up to ambitious views, and began to entertain thoughts of making himſelf maſter of *Syracuſe*. But as he was well appriſed that he could not accompliſh his deſign ſo long as *Dion* was alive, he threw off all regard for the ſacred ties of friendſhip and hoſpitality, and determined to get rid of him. Notwithſtanding the care he uſed to conceal his wicked purpoſe, it came to the ears of *Dion*'s friends and relations (I), who all earneſtly exhorted him to prevent *Calippus*'s crime by inflicting upon him the puniſhment his baſe treachery deſerved. But he b could not be prevailed upon to take any ſuch reſolution, ſaying he had rather die a thouſand deaths, than live under the neceſſity of continual precautions, not only againſt his enemies, but the beſt of his friends. He could not even be induced to take a guard for the ſecurity of his perſon; *Calippus* therefore having one night entered his houſe with a band of *Zacynthian* ſoldiers, who were entirely devoted to his intereſt, murdered him without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition, and apprehending his wife and ſiſter, cauſed them to be carried to the public priſon [f].

Dion's death.

Calippus *or* Gylippus *makes himſelf maſter of* Syracuſe.

AFTER the death of *Dion*, *Calippus*, with the aſſiſtance of the *Zacynthian* troops, made himſelf maſter of *Syracuſe*, and practiſed there greater cruelties than any of the tyrants before him. *Plutarch* obſerves, that the ſucceſs he met with occaſioned great c complaints againſt the gods, for ſuffering ſo impious a wretch to raiſe himſelf to ſo exalted a ſtation by ſuch an execrable piece of treachery. But providence was not long without juſtifying itſelf, the traitor having ſoon undergone the puniſhment he deſerved. Having marched with his forces againſt *Catana*, *Syracuſe* revolted, and ſhook off ſo ſhameful a yoke. He then withdrew to *Meſſana*; but the inhabitants taking up arms ſhut their gates againſt him, and in a ſally cut off moſt of the *Zacynthian* troops, who had murdered *Dion*. No city in *Sicily* would admit ſuch an execrable monſter; whereupon he left the iſland and retired to *Rhegium*, where, after having led for ſome time a miſerable life, he was ſlain by *Leptines* and *Polyperchon* with the ſame dagger with which he had murdered *Dion* [g].

d As for *Ariſtomache* and *Arete* upon the downfall of *Calippus* they were ſet at liberty, and at firſt kindly entertained by *Icetas* of *Syracuſe*, one of *Dion*'s friends, who received them into his houſe. But *Icetas*, at laſt complying with the importunities of *Dion*'s enemies, provided a veſſel for them, and having put them on board under pretence of ſending them to *Peloponneſus*, ordered the commander of the ſhip to put them to death in the paſſage, and throw them into the ſea. His orders were put in execution; but *Icetes*, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, paid dear for ſuch an inhuman treatment.

New troubles in Syracuſe.

UPON *Dion*'s death the city was involved in greater miſeries than ever; *Calippus* uſurped the ſupreme power, but after ten months was driven out by *Hipparinus*, the brother of *Dionyſius*, who arriving unexpectedly with a numerous fleet, poſſeſſed him- e ſelf of the city, and held it for the ſpace of two years. *Syracuſe* and all *Sicily* being thus divided into parties and factions, *Dionyſius* taking advantage of theſe troubles, aſſembled ſome foreign troops, and having defeated *Nyſæus*, who was then governor of *Syracuſe*, reinſtated himſelf in the poſſeſſion of his dominions, ten years after he had been obliged to quit the throne. His paſt misfortunes, inſtead of ſoftening his fierce temper, ſerved only to inflame it, and render him more ſavage and brutal than ever. The better ſort of the citizens, not being able to brook ſo cruel a ſervitude, had recourſe to *Icetas*, who was by birth a *Syracuſian*, but at that time tyrant

Year of the flood 2654. *Before Chriſt* 350.

[f] PLUT. ibid. [g] Idem, ibid.

(I) Amongſt others, *Dion*'s ſiſter and wife having had notice of his wicked deſigns, loſt no time, but endeavoured to diſcover the truth by a very ſtrict enquiry. *Calippus*, finding that they ſuſpected him, went to them with tears in his eyes, and in appearance inconſolable, that any body ſhould ſuſpect him of ſuch a crime, or think him capable of ſo black a deſign. They inſiſted upon his taking the *Great Oath*, as it was called. The perſon, who ſwore, was wraped up in the purple mantle of the goddeſs *Proſerpine*, and holding a lighted torch in his hand, pronounced againſt himſelf the moſt dreadful execrations, wiſhing them to fall upon himſelf and his family, if he was guilty of the crime laid to his charge. This oath *Calippus* took, while he was watching every day an opportunity of putting in execution his black deſign (36).

(36) *Plut. ibid.*

of *Leontini*; they created him general of all their forces, abandoning themſelves to his conduct, not that they had any great opinion of his virtue, but becauſe they had no other reſource. In the mean time the *Carthaginians*, thinking this a very favourable opportunity to ſeize upon all *Sicily*, ſent a mighty fleet thither. In this extremity, the *Syracuſians* had recourſe to the *Corinthians*, from whom they were deſcended, and who of all the *Greek* nations were the moſt profeſſed enemies of tyranny, and moſt generous aſſerters of liberty. *Icetas*, who had nothing elſe in view but to make himſelf maſter of *Syracuſe*, and had already entered into a treaty with the *Carthaginians*, ſeemed to approve theſe meaſures, and even ſent his deputies along with thoſe of the *Syracuſians*; but in the mean time was contriving how he could prevent the *Corinthians* from ſending any forces into the iſland, which, according to his late treaty with the *Carthaginians*, was after the expulſion of *Dionyſius* to be divided between him and them. The *Syracuſian* embaſſadors met with a very kind reception at *Corinth*, where in a general aſſembly it was reſolved that ſuccours ſhould be ſent into *Sicily*, and that *Timoleon* ſhould be forthwith diſpatched to *Syracuſe*, and there take upon him the command of the *Syracuſian* forces againſt *Dionyſius* and the *Carthaginians* [h].

The Syracuſians *recur to the* Corinthians.

Timoleon *ſent into* Sicily.

Timoleon had led a retired life for twenty years, without ever interfering in public affairs, and expected nothing leſs than to be employed or even thought of on ſuch an occaſion. He was ſprung from one of the moſt illuſtrious families of *Corinth*, and had on all occaſions ſignalized himſelf in the defence of his country againſt the unjuſt pretenſions of foreign as well as domeſtic tyrants. He had an elder brother by name *Timophanes*, whom he tenderly loved, and had ſaved in a battle by covering him with his own body. But his country was ſtill dearer to him. *Timophanes* was ſuſpected to entertain thoughts of ſeizing on the ſovereignty, which *Timoleon* being informed of, uſed all poſſible means to divert him from ſo wicked an attempt. But finding all his endeavours ineffectual, and that neither kindneſs, friendſhip, affection, nor even menaces could prevail upon an heart abandoned to ambition, he cauſed his brother to be put to death in his preſence by two of his intimate friends. This action was admired and applauded by the principal citizens of *Corinth*; but highly blamed by others, who reproached him as an abominable parricide, who would not fail of drawing the vengeance of the gods upon himſelf and his country. His mother in the exceſs of her grief uttered the moſt dreadful curſes and imprecations againſt him; and when he came to comfort her, ſhe cauſed the doors to be ſhut againſt him, not being able to bear the ſight of one who had murdered her ſon. This ſtruck him with ſuch horror, that conſidering *Timophanes* no longer as a tyrant, but only as a brother, he reſolved to put an end to his unhappy life by abſtaining from all nouriſhment. But his friends having with the utmoſt difficulty diſſuaded him from this fatal reſolution, he condemned himſelf to paſs the reſt of his days in ſolitude. From that moment he renounced all public affairs, and for ſeveral years never came to the city, but wandered about in the moſt ſolitary and deſart places, abandoned to exceſſive grief and melancholy. After he had paſſed near twenty years in this condition, he returned to *Corinth*; but lived there quite private and retired, without concerning himſelf with the adminiſtration. As he had by the death of his brother given a remarkable inſtance of his averſion to tyranny and tyrants, the *Corinthians* choſe him as the moſt proper man to be ſent into *Sicily*, which at that time abounded with tyrants above all other countries, there being ſcarce a city in the whole iſland, which was not held in ſlavery by ſome unjuſt uſurper. It was not without great difficulty that *Timoleon* was prevailed upon to accept the command offered him; but at laſt his duty getting the better of his inclination, he complied with the requeſt of his friends, and began to raiſe forces for the intended expedition [i] (K).

a b c d e f

IN

[h] PLUT. in Timol. [i] PLUT. ibid.

(K) *Diodorus* varies in the circumſtances of this fact from *Plutarch*, whom we have followed. He tells us, that *Timoleon* having killed his brother in the public market-place with his own hand, a great tumult aroſe among the citizens, ſome being of opinion that he ſhould ſuffer according to law for having imbrued his hands in the blood of a citizen, and others crying him up as the deliverer of his country, and worthy of the greateſt rewards. To appeaſe this tumult an aſſembly was convened, and the caſe of *Timoleon* taken into conſideration. In the height of the debates the *Syracuſian* embaſſadors arrived, demanding a general to command their forces. Whereupon they unanimouſly agreed to ſend *Timoleon* into *Sicily*; but let him firſt know, that if he diſcharged with fidelity the truſt repoſed in him, he

a In the mean time *Icetas*, who intended to poſſeſs himſelf of *Syracuſe* under colour of aſſiſting the inhabitants againſt *Dionyſius*, foreſeeing that *Timoleon* would defeat his meaſures, diſpatched embaſſadors to the *Corinthians*, acquainting them, that the *Carthaginians*, appriſed of their deſign, were waiting to intercept their ſquadron with a great fleet; and that their ſlowneſs in ſending him ſuccours had obliged him to call in even the *Carthaginians* to his aid, and employ them againſt the tyrant; wherefore they might forbear making any farther levies, or exhauſting their treaſures in great but uſeleſs expences, ſince he could with the aſſiſtance of his allies the *Carthaginians* drive out *Dionyſius*, and reſtore *Syracuſe* to its ancient liberty. The ſpeech of the embaſſadors, and the letters which they delivered from *Icetas*, only b ſerved to haſten the departure of *Timoleon*, who was now fully convinced, that *Icetas* acted treacherouſly, and aſpired at the ſovereignty. He therefore immediately imbarqued his men, who were in all but a thouſand, on board ten gallies, and putting to ſea arrived ſafe on the coaſt of *Italy* (L); where news was brought him, that *Icetas* had defeated *Dionyſius*, and having made himſelf maſter of the greateſt part of the city, had obliged the tyrant to ſhut himſelf up in the citadel. At the ſame time *Timoleon* was informed, that *Icetas* had given orders to the *Carthaginians* to prevent his approach, and deſtroy his ſquadron aſſoon as it appeared on the coaſts of *Sicily*. This gave him great uneaſineſs; however he advanced with his ſmall fleet to *Rhegium*, where he found embaſſadors from *Icetas*, who were charged to ac- c quaint him, that he ſhould be kindly received at *Syracuſe*, provided he diſmiſſed his troops; but otherwiſe the *Syracuſians*, who were jealous of foreign forces, would not admit him into their city. At the ſame time twenty *Carthaginian* gallies arrived in the port of *Rhegium*, ſent by *Icetas* to prevent the *Corinthians* from approaching *Syracuſe*. In this nice conjuncture *Timoleon* demanded a conference with the embaſſadors, and the chief commanders of the *Carthaginian* ſquadron, in the preſence of the people of *Rhegium*. He pretended to be willing to return home, but ſaid, that he would firſt hear the *Rhegians*, and do it by their advice, that he might on his return to *Corinth* have wherewithal to juſtify his conduct. The magiſtrates of *Rhegium* were of intelligence with him, and deſired nothing more than to d ſee the *Corinthians* in poſſeſſion of *Sicily*. They ſummoned therefore an aſſembly, and ſhut the gates of the city, under pretence of preventing the citizens from going abroad, that they might apply themſelves only to the affair in hand.

Timoleon *deludes the* Carthaginians *and arrives in* Sicily.

The aſſembly being met, long ſpeeches were made, and debates carried on, in appearance with great warmth, on purpoſe to gain time. While the *Carthaginians* were buſy in the council, nine *Corinthian* gallies, according to the orders they had received from *Timoleon*, ſet ſail, and were ſuffered to paſs, the *Carthaginians* believing their departure had been agreed on between the officers of both parties, who were in the city. When *Timoleon* was privately informed that his gallies were at ſea, he ſlipt out of the aſſembly, and making to the gally that was left, imbarqued e and rejoined the reſt of his ſquadron. The *Carthaginians* thus deluded, purſued him; but as he had got far before them, the aſſembly not having broke up till it was dark, he arrived ſafe at *Taurominium*.

Icetas *defeated by* Timoleon.

Upon the unexpected news of *Timoleon*'s arrival in *Sicily*, *Icetas* put the *Carthaginians*, who had a fleet of an hundred and fifty gallies, in poſſeſſion of the harbour of *Syracuſe*, and diſpatched an expreſs to *Mago*, the *Carthaginian* general, deſiring him to advance with his whole army to the gates of the city. In the mean time *Timoleon*, leaving *Taurominium*, marched to *Adranum*, where he attacked a *Carthaginian* detachment commanded by *Icetas* in perſon, and put them to flight, though they were above four times his number. As victory naturally begets friends, not f only *Adranum*, but ſeveral other cities opened their gates to *Timoleon*, and joined him with all their forces. So that he now boldly advanced to the relief of *Syracuſe*. On

he ſhould be treated as one who had killed a tyrant; but if he did not anſwer their expectation, he ſhould on his return be condemned as the murderer of his brother (37).

(L) *Diodorus* tells us, that during the whole time *Timoleon* was at ſea, a light, like a burning torch, went before him in the night, till the fleet arrived ſafe on the coaſts of *Italy*; and adds, that before he ſet ſail, he had been told by the prieſts of *Ceres* and *Proſerpine*, that the goddeſſes had appeared to them, and promiſed to ſail along with him to the iſland that was conſecrated in a peculiar manner to them. This greatly encouraged *Timoleon*, who conſecrated the beſt gally of his ſquadron to the goddeſſes, calling it the ſacred ſhip of *Ceres* and *Proſerpine* (38).

(37) *Diodor. Sicul. l.* xvi. *c.* 10. (38) *Idem, ibid.*

his

his arrival he found the *Syracuſians* in a moſt deplorable condition, *Icetas* being maſter of the city, the *Carthaginians* of the port, and *Dionyſius* of the citadel. The latter, ſeeing himſelf beſieged on all ſides without any hopes of relief, ſent privately embaſſadors to *Timoleon*, offering to put the citadel, which he could no longer defend, into his hands, upon condition he would ſuffer him to retire unmoleſted. *Timoleon*, taking the advantage of ſuch an offer, willingly agreed to the terms, and detached *Euclid* and *Telemachus*, with four hundred men, to take poſſeſſion of that important place. *Dionyſius* received them within the walls, and delivered up to them not only all his warlike ſtores and proviſions, but even the rich moveables of his palace, with ſeventy thouſand compleat ſuits of armour, and two thouſand regular troops, which *Timoleon* incorporated among his *Corinthians*. After this *Dionyſius*, taking with him ſome of his friends and part of his treaſures, imbarqued on a ſmall veſſel, and repaired unperceived by the troops of *Icetas*, to the camp of *Timoleon*. There he appeared for the firſt time as a private man and a ſuppliant, after he had been, near twelve years, lord of one of the moſt wealthy kingdoms then known. *Timoleon* ſent him to *Corinth* with one galley only, and without a convoy; however he eſcaped the *Carthaginian* veſſels which lay in wait for him, and arrived ſafe. He was at firſt greatly pitied by the *Corinthians*, but his manner of life ſoon changed their compaſſion into contempt. He paſſed whole days in perfumers ſhops, or with actreſſes and ſingers, diſputing with them on the rules of muſic, and the harmony of airs. Some believed, that he behaved thus out of policy, not to give umbrage to the *Corinthians*, or betray any thought of recovering his dominions. Some writers tell us, that the extreme poverty, to which he was reduced, obliged him to open a ſchool at *Corinth*, where, ſays *Tully* [k], he exerciſed that tyranny over children, which he could no longer practice over men. *Dionyſius* thus reduced to beggary, and of a powerful king become a contemptible ſchool-maſter, ought to warn all perſons in exalted ſtations not to rely too much on proſperity, or think the gifts of fortune, as *Valerius Maximus* expreſſes it, entailed upon any of the human race [l]. *Philip* king of *Macedon* meeting one day *Dionyſius* in the ſtreets at *Corinth*, asked him, how he came to loſe ſo powerful a kingdom as had been left him by his father; *Dionyſius* anſwered, that his father indeed had left him a rich kingdom, but not the fortune, which had preſerved both him and his kingdom [m].

Dionyſius *ſurrenders himſelf to* Timoleon.

Icetas *beſieges the citadel of* Syracuſe.

BUT to return to *Syracuſe*; after the retreat of *Dionyſius*, *Icetas* laid ſiege to the citadel, which was defended only by four hundred *Corinthians* left there by *Timoleon* under the command of one *Leon*, an experienced and brave officer. *Timoleon*, who had withdrawn to *Catana*, ſent the gariſon frequent ſupplies of proviſions; but they were for the moſt part intercepted by *Icetas*, who kept the place cloſely blocked up on all ſides. When they were reduced to the laſt extremity, *Timoleon* found means to relieve them by conveying into the place, in ſpite of all oppoſition, a great quantity of corn. Whereupon *Icetas* and *Mago*, being well appriſed, that they could not become maſters of the citadel ſo long as *Timoleon* was in that neighbourhood, reſolved to leave part of the army in *Syracuſe*, and with the reſt either drive *Timoleon* from *Catana*, or block him up in that city. They were ſcarce gone when *Leon*, who commanded in the citadel, obſerving that thoſe, who were left to continue the ſiege, were very remiſs in their duty, made a ſudden ſally, killed a great many of them, put the reſt to flight, and having poſſeſſed himſelf of the quarter of the city called *Acradina*, fortified it, and by works of communication joined it to the citadel. This bad news ſoon brought back *Mago* and *Icetas*, but they could not drive the enemy from *Acradina*. In the mean time a ſupply of two thouſand foot and two hundred horſe ſent from *Corinth* landed ſafe in *Sicily*, having deceived the vigilance of the *Carthaginian* ſquadron poſted to intercept them. *Timoleon*, encouraged with this new reinforcement, marched againſt *Meſſana*, and having made himſelf maſter of that city, advanced to *Syracuſe*. As he approached the city, his firſt care was to ſend emiſſaries into the enemy's camp, and artfully ſpread among the *Syracuſians* and other *Greeks*, who ſerved under *Icetas* and *Mago*, that *Timoleon*'s only deſign was to reſtore them to their ancient liberty, that it was ſhameful for *Greeks* to fight under the ſtandards of a tyrant, and that if they joined *Timoleon*, the war would be ſoon at an end, and not only peace but liberty reſtored to the whole iſland. Such diſcourſes being ſpread through the whole camp, and even reaching

[k] CIC. Tuſ. Quæſt. l. iii. [l] VAL. MAX. l. vi. [m] DEMET. Phalier de Eloc. 11. l. viii.

Mago's

a *Mago*'s ears, whoſe army was moſtly compoſed of mercenary *Greeks*, that general began to be very uneaſy, and as he wanted only a pretence to retire, he gave out that his forces were going to betray him, and, without hearkening to the entreaties and warm remonſtrances of *Icetas*, he weighed anchor and ſet ſail for *Africa*, ſhamefully abandoning the conqueſt of *Sicily*. On his arrival at *Carthage* he laid violent hands on himſelf to prevent the puniſhment, which his cowardice deſerved [a]. Mago *returns to* Carthage.

THE next day *Timoleon* appeared before the city with his army in line of battle, and aſſaulted it in three different quarters with ſuch vigor, that the troops of *Icetas* were every-where driven from the walls, and that part of the city, which they held, taken by ſtorm. *Timoleon* no ſooner ſaw himſelf maſter of *Syracuſe*, and all the b forts, which had been built by the tyrants, but he cauſed a proclamation to be made by ſound of trumpet, inviting all the citizens to come the next day with neceſſary tools, and demoliſh with their own hands the citadel and other caſtles, which he called the *neſts of tyrants*. The *Syracuſians*, looking upon that day as the firſt of their true liberty, crowded in multitudes to the citadel, which they ſoon demoliſhed together with the forts and the tyrants palaces, breaking open at the ſame time their tombs, and overturning every monument of tyranny. The citadel being quite razed, *Timoleon* cauſed public edifices to be erected, in the ſpot where it ſtood, for the adminiſtration of juſtice. He found the city in a moſt miſerable condition, for many having periſhed in the wars and ſeditions, and others fled to avoid the evils c attending tyranny, that once ſo wealthy and populous place was become almoſt a deſart; inſomuch that the horſes grazed on the graſs that grew in the very market-place. The other cities of *Sicily* were in the ſame manner abandoned and deſolate. *Timoleon* therefore wrote to *Corinth*, deſiring the magiſtrates to ſend a new colony to repeople *Syracuſe*, which could no otherwiſe recover its former ſplendor. The *Corinthians*, pitying the ſad condition of a city, which they themſelves had founded, ſent to all the ſacred games of *Greece* and public aſſemblies, and cauſed proclamations to be made by heralds, declaring that the *Corinthians*, having aboliſhed the tyranny of *Syracuſe*, and expelled the tyrants, reſtored *Syracuſe* to its former liberty, and invited all thoſe, who had withdrawn from their native country, to repair thither d again and take poſſeſſion anew of their lands and eſtates. At the ſame time they diſpatched couriers into *Aſia* and the neighbouring iſlands, whither great numbers of fugitives had retired, exhorting them to haſten to *Corinth*, where they ſhould be ſupplied with veſſels, and at the expence of the public conveyed to their own country [b]. Timoleon *master of* Syracuſe.

WHEN it was publicly known, that *Syracuſe* was delivered from the oppreſſion of tyrants, and that *Corinth* received all the fugitives in order to tranſport them to their native city, great numbers flocked thither from all parts; but as they were not ſufficient to repeople that great city, they intreated the *Corinthians* and other cities of *Greece* to ſpare them ſome of their inhabitants, and their requeſt being granted, e they imbarqued for *Syracuſe*, being in all above ten thouſand. At the ſame time great multitudes of people from *Italy* and other parts of *Sicily* joined *Timoleon*, who diſtributed the lands among them gratis, but ſold the houſes, and with the money ariſing from the ſale eſtabliſhed a fund for the ſupport of the poor and needy. Syracuſe *repeopled by the* Corinthians.

Timoleon having thus raiſed *Syracuſe* in a manner from the grave, undertook the delivery of all *Sicily*, and the extirpating of tyrants and tyranny from the other cities. He began with *Icetas* tyrant of *Leontini*, whom he compelled to renounce his alliance with the *Carthaginians*, demoliſh his forts, and reſign the ſovereignty. *Leptines* tyrant of *Engya* and *Apollonia*, being cloſely beſieged, ſurrendered himſelf to the conqueror, who ſpared his life, and ſent him with ſeveral other tyrants to f *Corinth*, where he led a private life. Afterwards he poſſeſſed himſelf of *Entella*, and put to death all thoſe who adhered to the *Carthaginians*. The fame of his victories being now ſpread all over the iſland, the *Greek* cities every-where ſubmitted to him, and were by him reſtored to the full enjoyment of their rights and privileges. Many cities likewiſe of the *Sicani* and *Siculi*, ſubject to the *Carthaginians*, ſent embaſſadors to him, deſiring to be admitted among his confederates.

Timoleon, having thus cleared *Sicily* of the many tyrants, who held the people in ſubjection, and ſet the whole iſland at liberty, returned to *Syracuſe*, where in conjunction with *Cephalus* and *Dionyſius*, two legiſlators ſent from *Corinth*, he inſtituted

[a] DIODOR. SICUL. l. xvi. c. 11. & 12. PLUT. in Timol. [b] PLUT. in Timol.

ſuch laws as were moſt proper for the democracy. Among other wiſe inſtitutions, a
he appointed a chief magiſtrate to be choſen yearly, whom the *Syracuſians* called the *Amphipolus of Jupiter Olympius*; and the firſt *Amphipolus* was *Callimenes*. Hence aroſe the cuſtom among the *Syracuſians* to compute their years by the reſpective governments of theſe magiſtrates, which cuſtom continued in the time of *Diodorus Siculus*, that is, in the reign of *Auguſtus*, above three hundred years after the office of *Amphipolus* was firſt introduced [p].

Timoleon *makes war upon the* Carthaginians.

Timoleon, having thus reformed the government of *Syracuſe*, and by many wiſe laws ſettled the city in peace and tranquillity, began to entertain thoughts of driving the *Carthaginians* quite out of the iſland. With this view he ſent a ſtrong detach- b
ment under the command of *Dinarchus* and *Demaratus* into the neighbouring countries ſubject to the *Carthaginians*, enjoining them to plunder all thoſe cities, which refuſed to renounce their alliance with *Carthage*, and join them. By this means he got a vaſt ſum of money, which ſerved to pay his ſoldiers their arrears, and make the neceſſary preparations for the war he deſigned. The *Carthaginians*, ſuſpecting his deſign, ſent over into *Sicily Aſdrubal* and *Hamilcar*, two experienced commanders, with an army of ſeventy thouſand men, two hundred ſhips of war, and a thouſand tranſports laden with warlike engines, armed chariots, horſes, and all ſorts of proviſions. They no ſooner landed at *Lilybæum*, but *Timoleon* advanced againſt him, though his army conſiſted only of ſeven thouſand men. On his march one of his mercenaries, by name *Thracius*, cried out, that *Timoleon* was not in his right ſenſes, c
elſe with ſuch an handful of men he would never attempt to oppoſe ſo numerous an army, that he was leading them to certain and unavoidable deſtruction, and that, if he was not diſtracted, he could propoſe nothing elſe than the ſacrificing of their lives, perhaps becauſe he was not able to pay them their arrears. By this ſpeech he prevailed upon a thouſand of the mercenaries to return to *Syracuſe*, and not follow *Timoleon* in ſo deſperate an expedition. This did not diſhearten *Timoleon*, who, having by fair words and large promiſes brought back the other mercenaries to their duty, continued his march to the banks of the river *Cremiſſus*, where the

The Carthaginians *defeated.*

enemy was encamped. His unexpected arrival occaſioned no ſmall confuſion in the *Carthaginian* army, which he improving to his advantage attacked them with d
great vigor and reſolution. Ten thouſand of the enemies forces, who had already paſſed the river, were defeated and put to flight, before the reſt could come up to their aſſiſtance. But in the mean time the whole army having gained the oppoſite bank, the battle was renewed, and the victory a long time doubtful; but while the *Carthaginians* were fighting with great reſolution, and endeavouring to hem in and ſurround on all ſides *Timoleon*'s ſmall army, there aroſe on a ſudden a violent ſtorm of hail, thunder and lightening, which beating on the faces of the *Carthaginians* put them into ſuch confuſion, that they were not able to ſtand their ground any longer. Aſſoon as they began to retire, the *Greeks*, encouraging one another with ſhouts of joy, preſſed them ſo vigorouſly, that the whole army was driven e
into the river, where great numbers of them were drowned in that throng and confuſion. The ſacred cohort or brigade, as the *Carthaginians* called it, which conſiſted of two thouſand five hundred citizens of *Carthage*, all men of experienced courage and valour, fought with great reſolution, and ſtood their ground till they were all cut off to a man. Of the reſt ten thouſand were ſlain, and above fifteen thouſand taken priſoners; all their baggage and proviſion with two hundred chariots, a thouſand coats of mail, and ten thouſand ſhields fell into the enemy's hands, and were either ſent to *Corinth* and there dedicated to *Neptune*, or hung up in the temples of *Syracuſe*. The ſpoil, which was exceeding rich, and conſiſted of gold and ſilver plate, and other furniture of great value, he divided among the ſoldiers, f
retaining nothing for himſelf but the glory of ſo famous a victory.

Timoleon after this victory returned to *Syracuſe*, where he was received with all poſſible demonſtrations of joy, and attended to his houſe by the magiſtrates and chief citizens, the people, as he paſſed through the ſtreets, throwing flowers upon him, and paying him ſuch honours as were due to heroes or demi-gods. Soon after his arrival he baniſhed the thouſand mercenaries, who had deſerted him, ordering them to leave *Syracuſe* before ſun-ſet. This was all the puniſhment he inflicted upon them [q].

[p] PLUT. ibid. & DIODOR. SICUL. l. xvi. c. 12. [q] PLUT. & DIODOR. ubi ſupra.

ASSOON

a Assoon as the news of this overthrow reached *Carthage*, the people there were ſeized with ſuch terror, that they immediately diſpatched embaſſadors into *Sicily*, with orders to ſtrike up a peace upon any terms whatſoever. As ſeveral new tyrants had already ſtarted up and formed a powerful alliance againſt *Timoleon*, he thought it adviſeable to conclude a peace with the *Carthaginians*, and turn his arms againſt thoſe unjuſt uſurpers. A peace was accordingly ſettled on the following terms: that all the *Greek* cities ſhould be ſet free; that the river *Halycus*, or, as *Diodorus* calls it, the *Lycus*, ſhould be the boundary between the territories of both parties; that the natives of the cities ſubject to the *Carthaginians* ſhould be allowed to withdraw, if they pleaſed, to *Syracuſe*, with their families and effects; and laſtly, that b *Carthage* ſhould not for the future give any aſſiſtance to the tyrants againſt the *Syracuſians*. *Peace concluded with the Carthaginians.*

Timoleon, having now nothing to fear from the *Carthaginians*, marched againſt the tyrants, determined to root them quite out of the iſland. *Icetas* had already taken the field, but was eaſily routed by *Timoleon*, who following his victory, made him, his ſon *Eupolemus*, and the general of his horſe priſoners, and put them all to death. His wife and daughter fell likewiſe into his hands, and were ſent to *Syracuſe*, where they were ſentenced to die, and executed accordingly, the people of *Syracuſe* thus revenging the death of *Dion*'s wife and ſiſter, whom *Icetas* had cauſed to be thrown into the ſea, as we have related above. *Mamercus*, tyrant of *Catana*, c *Hippon* tyrant of *Meſſana*, and all the other tyrants of *Sicily*, met with the like fate, being firſt overcome by *Timoleon*, and then put to death by thoſe whom they had tyrannically oppreſſed. Thus *Timoleon*, having intirely purged *Sicily* of the tyrants, who had long infeſted it, given *Syracuſe* wiſe laws, every-where re-eſtabliſhed peace and tranquillity, repeopled the cities, and ſupplied them with means to recover their ancient ſplendor, reſigned his authority to live in retirement. The *Syracuſians* had out of gratitude beſtowed upon him the beſt houſe in the city, and another very magnificent and pleaſant one in the country, whither he retired with his wife and children, whom he had ſent for from *Corinth*. In this retirement he paſſed the remainder of his life, enjoying the ſatisfaction of ſeeing ſo many cities, and ſuch d numbers of people, indebted to him for their happineſs. He was tried in his old age with a very ſenſible affliction, which was the loſs of his ſight. In this condition the *Syracuſians* gave him great inſtances of their gratitude, paying him frequent viſits, and carrying all ſtrangers of diſtinction to viſit their benefactor and deliverer. When they had any important affair to be examined in the aſſembly of the people, they never failed to invite him thither, and religiouſly to follow his advice. He generally came in a chariot, and was attended from the gates of the city to the place of the aſſembly by the whole city, and reconducted in the ſame manner beyond the gates with loud ſhouts and acclamations. He lived in this retirement eight years, and was after his death honoured as a god. He was buried with great pomp *Timoleon dies.* e and magnificence, the people of *Syracuſe* having decreed, that two hundred mina's ſhould be laid out on that occaſion; but the tears that were ſhed, and the bleſſings uttered by every body in honour of his memory, were the chief ornament of his funeral. It was alſo enacted by a ſpecial decree, that annually, on the day of his death, public ſports ſhould be celebrated with horſe-races and gymnaſtic games; and that whenever the people of *Syracuſe* ſhould be engaged in a war with the *Barbarians*, they ſhould ſend to *Corinth* for a general [r].

The *Syracuſians* enjoyed for the ſpace of twenty years the fruits of *Timoleon*'s victories. But it was impoſſible that a nation, which neither knew how to govern, nor how to obey, ſhould be long free from tumults and ſedition. Great diſturbances f daily ariſing, the citizens were again involved in the ſame calamities, from which *Timoleon* had with ſo much trouble delivered them. A new tyrant ſtarted up among *The parents of Agathocles.* them, who exceeded all thoſe who had gone before him in cruelty, and all other vices. This was *Agathocles*, of whoſe birth and parentage *Diodorus* gives us the following account. He was the ſon of one *Carſinus*, who, being baniſhed from *Rhegium*, his native city, ſettled at *Thermæ* in *Sicily* at that time ſubject to the *Carthaginians*. There he married a woman of the place, who being troubled with ſtrange dreams while ſhe was with child of *Agathocles*, imparted them to ſome *Carthaginians* who were going to *Delphos*, deſiring them to conſult the oracle in her name

[r] Plut. & Diodor. ibid.

about

about the child ſhe was big with. The *Carthaginians* complied with her requeſt, a
and the oracle returned this anſwer, that the child would bring dreadful calamities
upon the *Carthaginians*, and all *Sicily*. The father, terrified with this prediction,
expoſed the child, aſſoon as it was born, in the open fields, charging one of his
friends to watch it till it died. As the infant continued ſeveral days alive, the per-
ſon placed there to guard it, grew weary, and retired home; which the mother
having notice of, immediately repaired to the place, and carrying the child to the
His education. houſe of her brother *Heraclides*, entruſted it with him, calling it after her father's
name *Agathocles*. When he was ſeven years old, *Carſinus* was invited by *Heraclides*
to a ſolemn feaſt and ſacrifice, and on that occaſion ſeeing *Agathocles*, he was greatly
taken with his beauty, for he is ſaid to have been one of the handſomeſt men of his b
age. His wife, laying hold of that opportunity to put him in mind of his ſon,
told him, that the child he had expoſed would have proved as fine a child as that
he ſo much admired had he not been ſo barbarouſly murdered. At theſe words the
father burſt out in tears, and ſaid that he heartily repented what he had done. Here-
upon the mother ventured to diſcover to him the truth of the whole matter; whereat
he was greatly overjoyed; but ſoon after, out of fear of the *Carthaginians*, removed
with all his family to *Syracuſe*, where, as he was by trade a potter, he brought up
his ſon to the ſame buſineſs. After *Timoleon* had routed the *Carthaginians* on the banks
of the *Cremiſſus*, he promiſed to make all thoſe, who ſhould join him, free of
Syracuſe; and on this occaſion it was *Carſinus* and his ſon *Agathocles* were inrolled
among the *Syracuſian* citizens. *Carſinus* died ſoon after; but *Agathocles* being recom- c
mended by his beauty to one *Demas*, a rich, but voluptuous and lewd nobleman of
Syracuſe, he was plentifully ſupplied by him with money and whatever elſe he had
occaſion for. *Demas* was ſoon after created general of the *Agrigentines*, when he
did not forget his favourite, but advanced him to the dignity of a chiliarch, that is,
gave him the command of a thouſand men. He had ſome time before ſerved as a
common ſoldier, and was even then very remarkable for his dexterity in performing
the military evolutions, and the great ſtrength of his body, wearing in the military
exerciſes ſuch heavy armour as no other man in the whole army could bear. After he
was raiſed to the poſt of a chiliarch, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf on all occaſions above
the other commanders, being quite void of fear, and as ready to expoſe his own life d
to the greateſt dangers, as the lives of thoſe he commanded. In the mean time
His riſe. *Demas* dying, and leaving his whole eſtate to his wife, *Agathocles* married her, and by
that means became at once the moſt wealthy citizen in *Syracuſe* [1].

HE was not ſuffered long to enjoy his good fortune in *Syracuſe*, being driven from
thence by *Soſiſtratus*, who having uſurped the ſupreme power, and made himſelf
abſolute maſter of *Syracuſe*, baniſhed all thoſe who gave him any umbrage. *Aga-
thocles* retired to *Italy*, where he had acquired great reputation in the war, which the
Crotonians had waged with the *Brutians*. He ſettled at *Crotona*, where he was
kindly entertained; but forgetting the favours ſhewn him by the *Crotonians*, he
attempted to make himſelf lord of their city, and was on that account obliged to e
ſave himſelf by flight from the fury of the incenſed multitude. From *Crotona* he
withdrew to *Tarentum*, but was ſoon driven from that city too, being there con-
victed of the like practices. After this no city would receive him; whereupon
having got together a band of exiles and robbers, he plundered the country and
lived upon rapine. In the mean time *Soſiſtratus* having croſſed over into *Italy* and laid
ſiege to *Rhegium*, *Agathocles* attacked him unexpectedly, forced his camp, and obliged
him to imbarque his men and drop that enterprize. *Soſiſtratus* ſoon after this unſuc-
ceſsful expedition was forced to abdicate the ſovereignty, and quit *Syracuſe*. With
him were driven out above ſix hundred of the chief citizens, who were ſuſpected
by the populace to have formed a deſign of aboliſhing the democracy, and intro- f
ducing in its room oligarchy. *Soſiſtratus* and the exiles had recourſe to the *Carthagi-
nians*, who readily eſpouſed their cauſe. Hereupon the *Syracuſians* recalling *Aga-
thocles*, appointed him commander in chief of their forces, which truſt he diſcharged
with more valor than integrity; for having defeated the united forces of *Soſiſtratus*
and the *Carthaginians*, on which occaſion he received ſeven wounds, he began to
exerciſe a ſovereign power over his fellow citizens, and take ſuch meaſures as
plainly ſhewed that he aſpired to the monarchy. Wherefore the *Syracuſians*, not

[1] DIODOR. SICUL. l. xix. c. 1.

daring

a daring to truſt any of their own citizens, had recourſe anew to the *Corinthians*, who ſent them one *Aceſtorides* to take upon him the command of their forces. *Aceſtorides* was no ſooner veſted with this power, but he formed a deſign of diſpatching *Agathocles*, being ſenſible that *Syracuſe* could never enjoy a perfect tranquillity ſo long as *Agathocles* was alive. But as he was afraid his death might occaſion ſome diſturbance in the city, he commanded him to retire from *Syracuſe* in the cloſe of the evening, and placed on all the roads ſoldiers with private orders to put him to death in the night and bury his body. But *Agathocles* ſuſpecting ſome treachery, choſe a young man who reſembled him both in ſtature and features, and having privately delivered to him his horſe, arms and garment, ſent him before, enjoining him to keep
b the public road. He was ſcarce out of the gates, when the guards, miſtaking him for *Agathocles*, killed him and buried the body; nor were they undeceived till news was brought ſome time after, that *Agathocles*, who had eſcaped by private ways, was raiſing troops in the heart of *Sicily*. The *Syracuſians* were not a little alarmed when they heard that he was not only alive, but had already got together a conſiderable army, and was preparing to come againſt the city. They therefore ſent embaſſadors to him, and to avoid the evils of a civil war offered to recall him home, provided he diſbanded his forces. *Agathocles* agreed to the propoſal, and on his return being conducted by the citizens to the temple of *Ceres*, he ſwore there, according to cuſtom, in the moſt ſolemn manner, that he would do nothing to the prejudice
c of the democracy [t].

NOTWITHSTANDING the ſolemn oath he had taken, he no ſooner ſaw himſelf reſtored to his country and eſtate, but he began to court the favour of the populace, and eſpouſe their cauſe againſt the ſenate, which conſiſted of ſix hundred of the chief citizens, with no other view but to ſow diviſions and raiſe new diſturbances, by means of which he hoped to have an opportunity of overturning the government, and making himſelf maſter of the city. He pretended to protect the people againſt the oppreſſions and over-grown power of the ſenate, and was on that account, in ſpite of the ſenate, created commander in chief of the forces, which were then raiſing to be ſent againſt the city of *Erbita*, which had revolted from *Syracuſe*. *Agathocles*,
d ſeeing himſelf again at the head of an army, reſolved to get rid of all thoſe who were in a condition to thwart his deſigns. Having therefore appointed his troops to meet him early in the morning at a place near *Syracuſe* called *Timoleontium*, he there told them, that before they employed their arms againſt the inhabitants of *Erbita*, they muſt clear *Syracuſe* of the ſix hundred tyrants, who were far more dangerous enemies than either the inhabitants of *Erbita* or the *Carthaginians* themſelves; that *Syracuſe* could never enjoy a perfect tranquillity, ſo long as one of them was left alive; that it was not enough to diſpatch the tyrants, unleſs at the ſame time all thoſe who ſided with them, underwent the ſame fate. This was encouraging his ſoldiers, who were, for the moſt part, the ſcum of the populace, to murder the whole body of the nobility at once. For their further encouragement, he gave them
e leave to plunder the houſes, and ſeize on all the wealth of thoſe they ſhould put to death. When he had ended his ſpeech, the ſoldiery ſhewed an eager deſire to be led againſt the tyrants, as they called them, and to deliver *Syracuſe* from the oppreſſions it groaned under. *Agathocles* then entering the city, commanded the trumpets to ſound the charge; whereupon the ſoldiers falling upon all thoſe they met with, murdered them without diſtinction of rank, ſex, or age, plundered their houſes, and committed all ſorts of cruelties. In a few hours four thouſand and upwards were killed, and the ſtreets covered with dead bodies. But this was not enough for *Agathocles*; his deſign was not only to diſpatch the nobles, but to leave few of the other
f citizens alive to oppoſe him. Wherefore when the ſlaughter was once begun, he encouraged his men to purſue the bloody maſſacre, giving them free liberty to plunder, raviſh, murder, and commit what enormities they pleaſed for two whole days and nights. The third day he ſummoned an aſſembly of the few, who had outlived the general ſlaughter, and told them that for the violent diſtemper, with which the ſtate had been long affected, he had been obliged to adminiſter a no leſs violent remedy; that he had nothing elſe in view but to reſtore the democracy, and reſcue the city from the cruel oppreſſions of a few tyrannical magiſtrates, and that for the future he would lead a private life free from further cares and toils. This he did to have the

The cruelties of Agathocles *in* Syracuſe.

[t] DIODOR. SICUL. ibid. JUSTIN. l. xxii. VAL. MAX. l. vii.

crown placed upon his head, as it were, by force; for he knew that he had left none alive fit to govern, and on the other ſide was well aſſured, that thoſe who had aſſiſted him in ſpoiling and murdering their fellow citizens, would never ſuffer him to reſign his authority, having no hopes of impunity but in veſting him with the ſupreme power, at whoſe inſtigation they had committed ſo many enormities. He therefore had no ſooner ended his ſpeech, but they all with one voice proclaimed him king, and decreed that he ſhould thenceforth govern with an abſolute and uncontrolled power [u]. a

Agathocles proclaimed king.

BEING thus raiſed to the throne, the firſt law he enacted was, that all former debts ſhould be made void, and the lands equally divided among the rich and the poor. By this unjuſt decree he gained the affection of the common people, and ſo weakened the oppoſite party, that the very few nobles, who had outlived the general ſlaughter, were now upon a level with the meaneſt of the people. *Agathocles*, having thus triumphed over all his enemies, began to change his behaviour, and treat his ſubjects with a great deal of humanity and moderation, allowing every one to come freely into his preſence, and hearing patiently their complaints, which, when it lay in his power, he never failed to redreſs. He likewiſe publiſhed ſeveral wholeſome laws, ſeeking by all means to gain the love of his ſubjects, that he might be able to turn his arms againſt the other cities of *Sicily*, having a deſign to make himſelf maſter of the whole iſland. His ſubjects ſeemed diſpoſed to ſecond his ambitious views, which encouraged him to make war firſt on the neighbouring ſtates, and afterwards to carry his arms into the very heart of the iſland, which in the ſpace of two years he brought intirely under ſubjection, except a few cities that were held by the *Carthaginians* [w]. b c

Reduces the greateſt part of Sicily.

WHEN news was brought to *Carthage* of the progreſs *Agathocles* made in *Sicily*, *Amilcar* was immediately diſpatched with a numerous fleet and a mighty army to put a ſtop to his conqueſts. The fleet was diſperſed by a violent ſtorm, in which *Amilcar* loſt ſixty ſhips of war, and two hundred tranſports, with a great number of men. However being joined on his arrival by ſuch of the *Sicilians* as hated *Agathocles*, his army was in a few days increaſed to the number of forty thouſand foot, and five thouſand horſe. With theſe he took the field, and encamped near the city of *Himera*, where *Agathocles* attacked him, and with incredible bravery forced his trenches, and cut moſt of his forces in pieces. But while the *Syracuſians* were buſy in plundering the camp, a powerful ſupply arrived unexpectedly from *Carthage*, which revived the courage of thoſe who had fled, to ſuch a degree, that they returned to the charge, and finding the *Syracuſians* in diſorder, attacked them in front, while the new ſupplies fell on their rear. Thus was the fortune of the day changed, and *Agathocles*, who thought himſelf ſure of the victory, obliged to ſave himſelf firſt in *Gela*, and afterwards within the walls of his metropolis. Thither the *Carthaginians* purſued him, and laid cloſe ſiege to that important place, which, if they could have taken it, would have put them in poſſeſſion of the whole iſland. d e

Agathocles defeated by the Carthaginians.

Syracuſe beſieged.

Agathocles being reduced to ſuch ſtraits, and abandoned by all his allies in *Sicily* from their abhorrence of his enormous cruelties, formed a deſign of ſo bold, and, in appearance, ſo impracticable a nature, that nothing but the ſucceſs, with which it was attended, could juſtify the undertaking of it. This deſign was to transfer the war into *Africa*, and beſiege *Carthage* at a time when he himſelf was beſieged in his metropolis, which was the only city left him in *Sicily*. He communicated his deſign to no perſon whatſoever, but only told the *Syracuſians* in general terms, that he had found out an infallible way of freeing them from the impending calamities, and repairing all the loſſes they had ſuſtained to that day. He then choſe the moſt daring and intrepid among the ſoldiers and citizens of *Syracuſe*, ordering the foot to be ready with their arms at the firſt call, and the horſemen to carry each along with him, beſides his arms, a ſaddle and a bridle. He ſet at liberty all the ſlaves, who were able to bear arms, and incorporated them among his troops. Having embarqued all his forces, he appointed his brother *Antandrus* governor of *Syracuſe*, with forces and proviſions ſufficient to hold out a long ſiege, and taking with him his two ſons *Archagathus* and *Heraclides*, he went laſt on board himſelf. His fleet conſiſted of ſixty gallies, but the *Carthaginian* ſquadron, far more numerous than his, blocked up the mouth of the harbour, ſo that he was obliged to wait for f

[u] DIODOR. JUSTIN. ibid. [w] Idem, ibid.

ſome

a ſome favourable opportunity to ſet ſail. After he had attended a long time, and was ready to drop his deſign, a large fleet of tranſports appeared laden with corn and other proviſions for *Syracuſe*. To intercept theſe, the *Carthaginians* put to ſea, and *Agathocles* no ſooner ſaw the mouth of the harbour open, but he likewiſe hoiſted ſail. The *Carthaginians* at firſt imagined that the enemy's fleet was ſent to defend the tranſports, and therefore tacking about prepared to engage. But *Agathocles* continued his courſe towards *Africa*, being cloſely purſued by the *Carthaginians*, till night coming on they loſt ſight of him. In the mean time the tranſports, unexpectedly eſcaping the danger, plentifully ſupplied the city with corn and all other proviſions. The *Carthaginian* admiral finding that by purſuing two fleets at once
b he had miſſed them both, and that *Agathocles* did not return, reſolved to purſue him cloſe, and to prevent him from kindling the war in ſome other place. Having therefore failed ſix days and ſix nights ſteering his coaſt towards *Africa*, he at laſt came up with the *Syracuſian* fleet and engaged them. But as his men were quite tired out with rowing, the *Syracuſians* gained the victory, and having diſperſed the enemy's fleet, landed ſafe on the coaſt of *Africa* at a place called the quarries[x].

Agathocles *lands in* Africa. *Year of the flood* 2685. *Before Chriſt* 319.

Agathocles having thus landed his men in the heart of the enemies country, aſ-
c ſembled his troops, and acquainted them in a few words with his deſign, and the motives which had prompted him to it; he told them, that the only way to divert the enemy from the ſiege of *Syracuſe*, and drive them quite out of *Sicily*, was to carry the war into their own country; that he led men inured to the hardſhips of war againſt an enemy ſoftened and enervated by eaſe and luxury; that the natives of the country, who hated the *Carthaginians*, by whom they were treated rather like ſlaves than allies, would join them on the firſt news of their arrival; that the boldneſs of the attempt would ſtrike the *Carthaginians* with terror, who were altogether unprepared to engage an enemy at the very gates of their metropolis; finally, that from no other enterprize they could reap more advantage and glory than from this, which would put them in poſſeſſion of the whole wealth of *Carthage*, and tranſmit their names and fame to the lateſt poſterity. The ſoldiers fancied themſelves already maſters of *Africa*, and applauded this ſpeech with loud ſhouts of joy and acclama-
d tions. *Agathocles* finding his ſoldiers ſo well diſpoſed, reſolved to ſet fire to his fleet, and burn all his ſhips except one or two for the carrying of diſpatches. Many reaſons determined him to ſo bold, or, as our hiſtorian calls it, ſo deſperate an action. He had not one good harbour in *Africa*, where his ſhips could lie with ſafety; wherefore as the *Carthaginians* were maſters at ſea, they would not fail to poſſeſs themſelves of his whole fleet, which was no ways in a condition to cope with theirs. As he had but a ſmall army, if he divided it, leaving troops ſufficient to defend the ſhips, he would not be ſtrong enough to encounter the enemy, and thereby be deprived of all the advantages of this unexpected diverſion. But what chiefly inſpired him with this reſolution was, that the fleet being once deſtroyed, his men would be under
e a neceſſity of conquering, having no other hopes of ſafety remaining, ſave only in victory. Having therefore gained over beforehand ſuch of the officers as were entirely at his devotion, he aſſembled the ſoldiery, and appeared among them in his royal robes with a crown on his head, as if he were going to perform ſome religious ceremony. Then addreſſing himſelf to the aſſembly, he told them, that *Burns his ſhips.* when they left *Syracuſe*, and were warmly purſued by the enemy, in that fatal danger he applied himſelf to *Ceres* and *Proſerpine*, the tutelar goddeſſes of *Sicily*, and promiſed to burn all the veſſels of the fleet in their honour, if they delivered them from the enemy, and helped them to land ſafe in *Africa*. Aid me therefore, O fellow ſoldiers, ſaid he, to diſcharge this vow, for the goddeſſes can eaſily make us amends for this
f ſacrifice. Having uttered theſe words, he took a torch in his hand and led the way, flying on board his own ſhip, and ſetting it on fire. All the officers did the like, and were chearfully followed by the ſoldiers. The trumpets ſounded from every quarter, and the whole ſhore echoed with joyful ſhouts and loud acclamations. The ſoldiers had not been allowed time to reflect on what they were doing, being hurried on by a blind and impetuous ardor; but when they had leiſure to weigh every particular, and were appriſed of the danger they were in, being ſeparated from their own country by the vaſt ocean, and in the midſt of the enemy's, without the leaſt hopes or means of eſcaping, a ſad and melancholy ſilence ſucceeded that

[x] Diodorus. l. xx. c. 1. Justin. l. xxii.

tranſport

tranſport of joy, and thoſe acclamations, which but a moment before had been ſo general in the army [y]. a

HERE again *Agathocles* left no time for reflection, but to raiſe again the drooping ſpirits of his ſoldiers, he led them againſt an important place called the *Great City*, which was ſubject to *Carthage*. The country through which they marched offered the moſt agreeable proſpect imaginable. On either ſide were ſpacious meadows covered with flocks of all kinds of cattle, country-houſes built with extraordinary magnificence, delightful avenues planted with all ſorts of fruit-trees, delicious gardens of a prodigious extent, and kept with all poſſible care and elegance, *&c.* This proſpect re-animated the ſoldiers, who were again willing to run any danger in hopes of obtaining ſo pleaſant and wealthy a country as a reward b of their toils and labour. They marched full of courage to the *Great City*, took it by ſtorm, and enriched themſelves with the plunder, which was entirely abandoned to them. Thence they advanced to *Tunis*, which they likewiſe took ſword in hand and plundered. The ſoldiers were for garriſoning theſe two cities, that they might have ſome place to retire to in caſe of any misfortune; but *Agathocles*, that they might have no hopes of ſafety but in victory, cauſed them both to be levelled with the ground, and encamped in the open fields [z].

IN the mean time the news of this unexpected deſcent reaching *Carthage*, threw the whole city into the utmoſt terror and confuſion. They all concluded that their army before *Syracuſe* was entirely cut off, and their fleet loſt. The people haſtened with trembling hearts to the market place, while the ſenate aſſembled in a tumultuous manner to deliberate how they might ſave the city, which the victorious enemy was with long marches, advancing to beſiege. They had no army in readineſs to make head againſt the enemy, and their preſent danger did not allow them to wait till forces were levied among their allies. It was therefore reſolved after long debates, that the citizens ſhould be armed; and accordingly in a few days they had on foot an army of forty thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe, with two hundred armed chariots. They appointed *Hanno* and *Bomilcar* to command the forces notwithſtanding the ancient grudges that ſtill ſubſiſted between their families, hoping that they would ſtrive to outvie one another in the defence of their common d country, and by that means turn their private quarrels to the public advantage. The generals immediately took the field, and poſſeſſing themſelves of an eminence not far from the enemy, drew up their troops in battle array. *Agathocles* had only fourteen thouſand men, and was therefore not a little ſurprized when he ſaw ſo numerous an army ready to engage him. Howoever he diſſembled his fear, and in order to encourage his men, who were quite diſpirited, and under great apprehenſions of the enemies horſe and chariots, he let out ſeveral owls, which he had before prepared for that purpoſe. Theſe flying about the camp, and lighting on the ſoldiers ſhields, ſo raiſed their ſpirits, that of their own accord they began to advance againſt the enemy, not doubting but by the aſſiſtance of *Minerva*, to whom that bird was ſacred, and therefore looked upon by all the *Greeks* as a good omen, they e ſhould gain a complete victory. *Agathocles* willingly ſeconded their ardor, and putting himſelf at their head, charged the *Carthaginians* with incredible vigor. *Hanno* with the ſacred cohort, which conſiſted of the flower of the troops, ſuſtained a long time the fury of the *Greeks*, and even put them in diſorder, but being overwhelmed with ſhowers of darts, and covered with wounds, he fell fighting bravely to the laſt. *Bomilcar* underſtanding that his rival was ſlain, looked upon this as a favourable oppportunity of poſſeſſing himſelf of the ſovereignty, to which he had long aſpired. But as he was ſenſible that he could not accompliſh his deſign, if the army of *Agathocles* were deſtroyed, but might eaſily put it in exe- f cution if the enemy conquered, he reſolved to retire with the forces under his command, not doubting but he ſhould be able to get the better of *Agathocles* whenever he pleaſed. Accordingly acquainting his men with *Hanno*'s death, he ordered them to keep their ranks, and retire in good order to a neighbouring hill, as the only means to eſcape the fury of the victorious enemy. But as their retreat looked like a flight, the *Greeks* purſued them ſo cloſe, that they put them in diſorder, and gained a compleat victory. The ſacred cohort fought with great bravery, even after the death of *Hanno*, and couragiouſly advanced over the dead

The Carthaginians defeated by the treachery of Bomilcar.

[y] DIODOR. SICCUL. ibid. JUSTIN. l. 22. [z] Idem, ibid. Oros. *l.* 4. c. 6. POLYB. l. 22. ATHEN. l. 3. c. 2.

bodies

a bodies of their fellow ſoldiers, till they ſaw themſelves abandoned by the whole army, and in danger of being ſurrounded by the enemy. They then retired in good order, and gained and eminence, where they halted, and anew made head againſt thoſe who purſued them; but not being ſupported by *Bomilcar* they were either cut off, or forced to ſave themſelves by flight, after having diſtinguiſhed themſelves in a very eminent manner. Two hundred *Greeks* were ſlain in this battle, and a thouſand, or, according to ſome, ſix thouſand *Carthaginians*; ſo that the ſlaughter on neither ſide was conſiderable. *Agathocles*, after having purſued the enemy ſome time, returned and allowed his ſoldiers to plunder the *Carthaginian* camp, where they found twenty thouſand pair of fetters and manacles, which the b enemy had provided, not doubting but they ſhould take many priſoners [a].

THE *Carthaginians*, now giving all up for loſt, diſpatched meſſenger after meſſenger to *Hamilcar* in *Sicily*, with the news of what happened in *Africa*, and expreſs orders to haſten over to the relief of his country. When the meſſengers arrived, *Hamilcar* commanded them not once to mention the victory of *Agathocles*; but on the contrary to noiſe it abroad in the camp, that he had been entirely defeated, his forces all cut off, and his fleet taken by the *Carthaginians*. The ſenate of *Carthage* had ſent to *Amilcar* by the meſſengers all the beaks of the *Syracuſian* ſhips, that this report might more eaſily gain credit, for it was by their orders that he had cauſed it to be ſpread abroad. *Amilcar* therefore immediately diſpatched embaſc ſadors to *Syracuſe* with the beaks of the ſhips, ſummoning the governor and citizens to deliver up the city, ſince their army and fleet in *Africa* were utterly deſtroyed. This ſad news was commonly believed, and the whole city thrown into the utmoſt confuſion. But the leading men, to prevent the miſchiefs that might attend ſo general a conſternation, not only diſmiſſed the meſſengers without any anſwer, but drove out eight thouſand of their citizens, who ſeemed inclined to capitulate with the enemy. *Amilcar* entertained the exiles with great kindneſs, and underſtanding from them the miſerable condition the city was in, he reſolved to aſſault it on all quarters at once, but firſt ſent new deputies, promiſing to ſpare *Antandrus* and all thoſe who ſided with him, if he delivered the d city up into his hands. Hereupon a council of war was ſummoned, when *Antandrus*, who was very unlike his brother, was for capitulating: But *Eurymnon* the *Ætolian*, whom *Agathocles* had left to aſſiſt his brother with his advice, prevailed upon him and the reſt to hold out till they had certain intelligence of the truth. The aſſembly was ſcarce diſmiſſed, when a galley with thirty oars arrived from *Africa*, and brought the agreeable news of *Agathocles*'s victory, which immediately flew through the city, and reſtored life and reſolution to the inhabitants. *Hamilcar* made a laſt effort to ſtorm the city, but being repulſed with loſs, he raiſed the ſiege, and ſent five thouſand men to the relief of his diſtreſſed country. All his forces he thought it needleſs to ſend, and ſtill entertained hopes of obliging *Aga-*e *thocles* to quit *Africa*, and return to the defence of his own kingdom. He ſpent ſome time in reducing ſuch cities as ſided with the *Syracuſians*, and after having brought all their allies under ſubjection, he returned again to *Syracuſe*, hoping to ſurpriſe the city by attacking it in the night. But the *Syracuſians*, having timely notice of his deſign, made a ſally unexpectedly, routed his army, which was an hundred and twenty thouſand men ſtrong, and took *Hamilcar* himſelf priſoner. We are told that *Hamilcar* dreamt the night before that he ſhould ſup the next day in *Syracuſe*: his dream proved true, but the entertainment he met with was not much to his ſatisfaction; for thoſe, whoſe parents and relations he had barbarouſly murder-f ed, led him in chains about all the ſtreets of the city, and after having vented their rage on their miſerable captive by all ſorts of torments, ſtruck off his head and ſent it into *Africa*, a welcome preſent to *Agathocles*, who advancing to the enemies camp, and ſhewing them the head of their general, ſtruck them with ſuch terror that their commanders with the utmoſt difficulty kept them from abandoning the camp, and returning to *Carthage* [b].

The Carthaginians *defeated in* Sicily, *and* Hamilcar *killed.*

Agathocles had already reduced all the cities ſubject to the *Carthaginians*, and was preparing to beſiege *Carthage* itſelf. But before he ventured upon ſo difficult and hazardous an enterprize, he ſent embaſſadors to all the princes of *Africa*, inviting them to join in the common cauſe, and lend him their aſſiſtance in overturning that

[a] Diodor. & Juſtin. ibid. [b] Idem, ibid.

imperious republic, which with ſo much haughtineſs lorded it over them. His a
chief deſign was to gain over *Ophellas* prince of the *Cyreneans*, who had been one of *Alexander*'s captains, and at that time had on foot an army of ten thouſand regular troops, and was contriving how he might enlarge his dominions. The embaſſadors ſent to him were charged to flatter his ambition by promiſing him in their maſter's name, the ſovereignty of all *Africa*, which *Agathocles* had invaded with no other view but to oblige the *Carthaginians* to quit *Sicily*. *Ophellas* allured by this promiſe ſet out at the head of twenty thouſand men, and after two months march, moſtly through ſandy deſerts, joined at laſt *Agathocles*. As that prince did not ſcruple to commit the moſt enormous crimes to promote his intereſt, *Ophellas* had no ſooner put himſelf and his army in his power, than by the blackeſt perfidy b
he cauſed him to be murdered, and by fair words and large promiſes prevailed upon his army, now deſtitute of a leader, to ſerve under him, and be entirely at his devotion. Such of the *Cyreneans* as he found unfit to bear arms, for many of them had brought along with them their wives and children, he put on board ſome tranſports and ſent them to *Syracuſe*, where few of them arrived, moſt of the ſhips being caſt away near the *Pithecuſian* iſlands. *Agathocles* ſeeing himſelf now at the head of a numerous army aſſumed the title of king of *Africa*, and as *Carthage* was the only city, which ſtill held out, he inveſted it on all ſides, with a deſign to reduce it by famine [c].

Agathocles returns to Sicily.

While he was lying before *Carthage* news was brought him, that after the c
defeat of the *Carthaginians* in *Sicily*, and death of *Hamilcar*, moſt of the cities, whether ſubject to the *Carthaginians* or *Syracuſians*, had taken up arms and entered into an aſſociation in defence of their liberties. As his affairs in *Africa* were in a very flouriſhing condition, he thought he might ſafely return for a while into *Sicily*. Having therefore built ſome open veſſels with fifty oars apiece, and put two thouſand men on board, he ſet ſail for *Sicily*, leaving his ſon *Archagathus* commander in chief of his *African* army. The fame of his victories flew before him, and the news of his arrival ſtruck the confederates with ſuch terror, that many cities ſubmitted of their own accord; others were reduced by dint of arms, and in a ſhort time the whole iſland, except ſome few cities ſubject to the *Carthaginians*, acknow- d

Sets ſail again for Africa.

ledged the ſovereignty of *Agathocles*. Having thus ſettled affairs in *Sicily*, he returned to *Africa*, where he found the face of things quite changed by his abſence. His ſon *Archagathus* had loſt a battle, and his army was ready to revolt for want of proviſions; the *Carthaginians* had recovered their courage, and were encamped in an advantagious poſt, whence it was no eaſy matter to diſlodge them; all the avenues to the enemy's camp were guarded by ſtrong detachments, and no paſs was left open for the conveying of proviſions to *Agathocles*'s army, which was already in the utmoſt diſtreſs. In this critical juncture *Agathocles* attacked the enemy's camp, but was repulſed with the loſs of three thouſand men.

Is defeated.

After this unſucceſsful attempt, all the *Africans* in his army deſerted him. Where- e
upon not having a ſufficient force to contend with the *Carthaginians*, he reſolved to leave *Africa*. But as he could not poſſibly tranſport his army, both for want of ſhips, and becauſe the *Carthaginians* were maſters at ſea, he determined to ſlip away privately, taking along with him only a few of his friends, and his younger ſon *Heraclides*; for as *Archagathus* was a daring young man, he had always entertained ſome jealouſy of him. But *Archagathus* being appriſed of his deſign diſcovered it to the officers and commanders of the army, and theſe to the ſoldiery, who immediately running to their arms, ſeized on *Agathocles* and committed him to cuſtody. The army being now without a head, there was nothing in the camp but tumult and confuſion. The enſuing night a report being ſpread that the enemy f
was advancing to attack them, they were all ſeized with a panic fear, and having none to command them, every one was preparing to ſave himſelf by flight, though they knew not whither to fly. In this confuſion *Agathocles* with a ſmall attendance ſtole away, and embarking on board a ſmall veſſel put to ſea, leaving his children to the wild fury of the diſappointed ſoldiers, who immediately putting his two ſons to death, choſe leaders from among themſelves, and concluded a peace with the *Carthaginians*, upon the following terms: That the *Greeks* ſhould deliver up all the places they held in *Africa*, receiving for them three hundred

Deſerts his army in Africa.

[c] Diodor. l. 20. c. 3. Justin. l. 22.

talents;

a talents; that ſuch of them as were willing to ſerve under the *Carthaginians* ſhould be kindly treated, and receive the uſual pay; that the reſt ſhould be tranſported to *Sicily*, and have the city of *Selinus* for their habitation. Theſe articles were agreed to, and punctually obſerved by the *Carthaginians*. Our hiſtorian obſerves, that *Agathocles* loſt both his army and his children, the ſame month, and the ſame day of the month, on which he treacherouſly murdered *Ophellas*, and brought over to himſelf his army [d].

Agathocles was no ſooner landed in *Sicily*, but ſending for part of his forces he marched againſt the *Egeſtines*, who had revolted in his abſence, and having taken the town by ſtorm, he put all the inhabitants to death, without diſtinction of ſex or age. The nobles he cauſed to be firſt tortured with the moſt exquiſite torments rage b or malice could invent. When news was brought him of the death of his children in *Africa*, he ordered his brother *Antandrus*, governor of *Syracuſe*, to put all thoſe to death who were any ways related to ſuch of the *Syracuſians* as had attended him in the *Carthaginian* expedition. His orders were put in execution with ſuch cruelty that the ſea was died a great way with blood. Such an inhuman butchery had never before been heard off even in *Sicily*, all thoſe, who were related to any of the *African* army, from the great grand-father to the ſucking child, being barbarouſly murdered by the tyrant's orders [e]. *Cruelties in Sicily.*

THIS inhuman cruelty raiſed him many enemies, who joining *Dinocrates*, whom c the tyrant had baniſhed, reduced him to ſuch ſtraits, that he was fain to court the friendſhip of the *Carthaginians*, and purchaſe a peace with them at a very dear rate, for, he reſtored to them all the cities, which they had formerly poſſeſſed in *Sicily*. He even ſent embaſſadors to *Dinocrates* offering to reſign the ſovereignty, provided two ſtrong holds, which he named, were left in his hands for the greater ſecurity of his perſon. Theſe propoſals were rejected by *Dinocrates*, who aſpired himſelf to the ſupreme power, and had then under his command above twenty thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe, which he muſt have diſbanded, and ſubmitted to the democracy, if *Agathocles* had abdicated the tyranny. *Agathocles*, finding he could not upon any terms obtain a peace, reſolved to put all to the iſſue of a battle, and attacking *Dinocrates* in his camp put him to flight, and d gained a complete victory with five thouſand foot only, and eight hundred horſe. The remains of the ſhattered army retired to a neighbouring eminence, whence they ſent deputies to capitulate with the conqueror, who promiſed to ſpare their lives provided they delivered up their arms. But they were no ſooner diſarmed than the tyrant cauſed them to be hemmed in, and all to a man put to the ſword. As for *Dinocrates*, who was a man of the ſame ſtamp with himſelf, he received him into his friendſhip, and ever after entruſted him with his moſt weighty affairs. After this victory *Agathocles* in two years time brought the whole iſland under ſubjection, ſave thoſe cities only, which by the late treaty he had reſtored to the *Carthaginians* [f].

Agathocles, having nothing more to do in *Sicily*, paſſed over into *Italy*, where he e ſubdued the *Brutii*, rather by the terror of his name, than by force of arms. From *Italy* he paſſed over to the *Lipari* iſlands, and obliged the inhabitants, who lived in perfect peace and ſecurity, to pay him an hundred talents of gold. After he had received this ſum, which was all they had, he plundered the ſacred treaſure, ſtrip'd the temples, and then ſet ſail for *Syracuſe*, with eleven ſhips laden with the gold and ſpoils of the temples. But a violent ſtorm ariſing all the veſſels were caſt away, except one galley, on which he himſelf eſcaped to ſuffer a more miſerable end. He was poiſoned by one *Mænon*, whom he had unnaturally abuſed, at the inſtigation of his grandſon *Archagathus*. It was the tyrant's cuſtom always after his meals to prick his teeth with a quill, which *Mænon* having dip'd in poiſon, *His death.* f his teeth and gums putrified, and his whole body was tortured with moſt racking pains, in the height of which he was hurried away to the funeral pile, and burnt, while he was ſtill alive, in the twenty-eighth year of his reign, and ninety-fifth of his age. He was a man of great boldneſs and reſolution, but of a moſt cruel and ſavage temper; for he is ſaid to have put more perſons to death in the three laſt years of his life, than all the tyrants before him during the whole time of their reſpective reigns. He never forgot his mean extraction, but rather

[d] DIODOR. l. 20. c. 3. [e] Idem, ibid. [f] Idem, ibid. JUSTIN. l. 22. OROSIUS. l. 7. c. 6. ÆLIAN. var. Hiſt. l. 2.

gloried

gloried in the contemptible calling of a potter, which he had followed in his youth, ſaying that it ſet off with more luſtre, the high ſtation to which his own valour had advanced him; nay, even in public entertainments while his gueſts were ſerved in gold and ſilver plate, he uſed to eat in earthen ware, ſaying that though he wore a diadem, yet he was ſtill a potter (M). From the meanneſs of his condition *Polybius* endeavours to prove his capacity and talents, in oppoſition to *Timæus*, who tells us that his riſe was entirely owing to fortune, and not to any parts of his own. *Scipio Africanus* agrees with *Polybius*; for that illuſtrius *Roman* being asked who, in his opinion, were the moſt prudent in the conduct of their affairs, and moſt judiciouſly bold in the execution of their deſigns, anſwered, *Agathocles* and *Dionyſius* the elder [g]. The deſcent of *Agathocles* into *Africa* prompted *Scipio* to make the ſame attempt, wherefore in his anſwer to *Fabius*, who did not approve of his deſign, he did not forget to mention *Agathocles* as an inſtance in favour of his enterprize, and to ſhew that frequently there is no other way to get rid of an enemy, but by carrying the war into his country. But how great ſoever *Agathocles*'s parts may have been, they were far exceeded by his cruelties, which have rendered his memory execrable, and obſcured the glory of his greateſt conqueſts.

Meſſana ſeized by the Mamertini.

IT was after the death of *Agathocles* that the *Mamertini* treacherouſly ſeized on *Meſſana*, and by degrees poſſeſſed themſelves of a conſiderable part of the iſland. According to the *Latin* writers the *Mamertini* were originally *Campani*, and aſſumed the name of *Mamertini*, that is invincible warriors, from the word *Mamers* or *Mavors*, ſignifying *Mars* the god of war. As they were a bold and reſolute nation, they were invited into *Sicily* by *Agathocles* to aſſiſt him in his conqueſts. But being disbanded after his death they retired to *Meſſana*, with a deſign to return into their own country. The inhabitants of *Meſſana* admitted them into the city, and entertained them with great kindneſs, which was ill requited by them; for being charmed with an habitation, which greatly reſembled their native country, they reſolved to ſettle there, ſeize on the city, and form themſelves into a republic. Accordingly they fell unexpectedly upon the ancient inhabitants, put all the men to the ſword, and married their wives and daughters. Being maſters of the city, they not only maintained themſelves in their uſurpation, but reduced moſt of the neighbouring ſtates, and extended their dominions to the middle of the iſland. *Sicily* was at that time a prey to numberleſs tyrants, and the *Mamertini* were powerfully aſſiſted by the inhabitants of *Rhegium*, where a *Roman* legion had ſettled, by following their example in murdering the citizens who had called them to their aſſiſtance.

The diſtracted ſtate of Syracuſe.

BUT to return to *Syracuſe*, that unfortunate city underwent many revolutions after the death of *Agathocles*. *Mænon*, who had poiſoned him, uſurped the ſupreme authority, but being driven out by *Hycetas* he had recourſe to the *Carthaginians*, which gave riſe to a new war, wherein *Hycetas* having gained ſeveral victories over the joint forces of *Mænon* and the *Carthaginians*, he at laſt ſeized on that authority of which he had deprived his rival, and governed *Syracuſe* with an abſolute ſway, though he declined the title of king, contenting himſelf with that of prætor. In the ninth year of his command, the *Agrigentines* having revolted, he left *Syracuſe* and marched out againſt *Phintias* who was at the head of the rebels, and *Syracuſian* exiles. In his abſence one *Tænion* poſſeſſed himſelf of the ſovereign power, but being oppoſed by *Soſiſtrates*, who had the ſame aim, a civil war broke out within the very walls of the city; *Tænion* held the iſland, and his rival the other quarters of the city. In the mean time the *Carthaginians* taking advantage of theſe diviſions, reduced moſt of the cities ſubject to *Syracuſe*, and inveſted that capital itſelf with a mighty fleet, and an army of fifty thouſand men. A regard therefore to common good united the two competitors *Tænion* and *Soſiſtrates*. They were tired of a war, which could only end in their common ruin, and therefore joined together in inviting *Pyrrhus* king of *Epirus* to put an end to the troubles, which threatened

Pyrrhus invited into Sicily.

[g] POLYB. l. 15.

(M) This is elegantly expreſſed by *Auſonius* in the following verſes.

Fama eſt fictilibus cœnaſſe Agathoclea regem
Atque abacum Samio ſæpe oneraſſe luto.
Fercula gemmatis cum poneret horrida vaſis,
Et miſceret opes pauperiemque ſimul,
Quærenti cauſam reſpondit, Rex ego qui ſum
Siciniæ, figulo ſum genitore ſatus.
Fortunam reverenter habe, quicunque repente
Dives ab exili progrediere loco.

the

a the ſtate with utter deſtruction. Many reaſons prompted them to have recourſe to *Pyrrhus* rather than to any other of the many ſovereigns, who reigned at that time in *Europe* and *Aſia*. *Pyrrhus* had married *Laneſſa*, the daughter of *Agathocles*, and had by her a ſon, whom the *Syracuſians* thought it reaſonable to place on the throne of his grandfather, ſince they could not by any other means rid themſelves of their domeſtic tyrants. Beſides, he had already given ſignal proofs of his courage, and therefore ſeemed the beſt qualified of any to make head againſt the *Carthaginians*, and ſtop the great progreſs they were making towards the reduction of the whole iſland. The *Leontines* and *Agrigentines* joined with *Tœnion* and *Soſiſtrates* in preſſing the king of *Epirus* to come and take upon him the defence of their reſpective ſtates,
b offering to deliver up the cities into his hands. *Pyrrhus*, who wanted but an honourable pretence to withdraw from *Italy*, where he was engaged in a war with the *Romans*, willingly complied with the requeſt of the *Sicilians*, and leaving a ſtrong gariſon in *Tarentum*, imbarqued for *Sicily*, where he landed among the acclamations of a numberleſs multitude, which on the news of his approach had flocked to ſee him. *Tœnion* and *Soſiſtrates* immediately put him in poſſeſſion of the city, the fleet and public treaſure. All the cities on that coaſt followed the example of *Syracuſe*, the name of *Pyrrhus* reſounding every-where, as if victory had landed with him. His inſinuating and affable behaviour at firſt arrival gained him the hearts of all the *Sicilians*; and as he had an army of thirty thouſand foot, and five thouſand horſe, *His conqueſts.*
c with a fleet of two hundred ſail, he drove the *Carthaginians* from place to place till he diveſted them of all their acquiſitions in the iſland, except the two important places of *Eryx* and *Lilybæum*. The former he took by aſſault, and was himſelf the firſt man who mounted the wall after having killed a great many of the *Africans* with his own hand. The *Mamertini* likewiſe felt the effects of his courage, being defeated by him in a pitched battle, driven from all the places they poſſeſſed, and ſhut up within the walls of *Meſſana*. The *Carthaginians*, alarmed at the rapidity of his conqueſts, ſent embaſſadors to treat of a peace with him upon very advantagious terms; but he, puffed up with his great ſucceſs, anſwered them that the only means to obtain what they deſired was to abandon *Sicily*, and let the *Lybian*
d ſea be the boundary between *Carthage* and *Greece*. He depended ſo much on the reduction of the whole iſland, that he ſtiled his ſon by the daughter of *Agathocles* king of *Sicily*, and cauſed him to be acknowledged as ſuch by the *Syracuſians* and their confederates. Having thus put his ſon in poſſeſſion of the kingdom of *Sicily*, he began to entertain thoughts of paſſing over into *Africa*, and making war on the *Carthaginians* in their own territories, though they were ſtill maſters of *Lilybæum*, which was a key to the whole iſland. This deſign was noways agreeable to the *Sicilians*, who were ſenſible that they could not enjoy a perfect tranquillity ſo long as the *Carthaginians* had any footing in the iſland. Beſides, *Meſſana* was ſtill in the hands of the *Mamertini*, who, as they were a warlike people, would not fail to take ad-
e vantage of the king's abſence, and raiſe new diſturbances. They therefore did all that lay in their power to diſſuade him from his *African* expedition. But notwithſtanding their remonſtrances, he perſiſted in his new reſolution, and began to make the neceſſary preparations for the conqueſt of *Africa*, which he hoped to ſubdue with as little trouble as he had done *Sicily*[h].

Pyrrhus had ſhips enough of his own for this expedition, but as he wanted ſea- *He obliges the Sicilians.*
men, he obliged the maritime cities in his intereſt to furniſh him with ſailors and mariners, and even forced into the ſervice perſons of rank, who had any experience in maritime affairs. The cities complained of this violence, but he had no regard to their complaints. However the *Sicilians* bore theſe outrages with patience, as
f they carried ſome appearance of zeal for the public welfare. But the king, who could bear no contradiction, taking offence at their oppoſing his new ſcheme, began to treat them more like an arbitrary tyrant, than a prince, who was come to deliver them from the oppreſſions they groaned under; which ſoon drew upon him the hatred of the whole nation. In defiance of the cuſtoms of the country, he conferred the firſt dignities, and the governments of the cities, on foreigners, and continued them in their employments as long as he thought proper without any regard to the time preſcribed by law. As to judicial proceedings with reſpect to private property and other affairs of that nature, he either decided them by his own arbitrary ſentence,

[h] Plut. in Pyrrh. Pausan. l. i. Justin. l. xviii. Dion. Halic. in excerpt.

or left them to the determination of his courtiers, whoſe ſole views were to enrich themſelves. A conduct ſo different from that, by which he had at firſt ſucceeded ſo well in all his enterprizes, could not but eſtrange the minds of the people from him; and when he plainly ſaw that he was univerſally hated, and that the *Sicilians*, not able to brook his arbitrary government, were contriving how to ſhake off the yoke, he placed in moſt of the cities ſuch gariſons as he knew to be entirely at his devotion, under pretence that the *Carthaginians* were preparing to renew the war. He likewiſe ſeized the moſt powerful and illuſtrious citizens of each city, and charging them with treaſonable practices, either put them to death, or baniſhed them the iſland. Full of jealouſy, as all tyrants are, he would have forced *Soſiſtrates* to attend him into *Africa*, not thinking it ſafe to leave him in *Syracuſe*, during his abſence. But *Soſiſtrates*, to avoid complying with his commands, revolted from him and retired from his native city. As for *Toenion*, he was more complaiſant and continued with the king; but while he believed himſelf one of his chief favourites, he was by his order cruelly aſſaſſinated. *Toenion* had crowned him king of *Syracuſe* on his firſt landing, and contributed more than any other perſon to the reduction of *Sicily*; but all the important ſervices he had rendered the king were not ſufficient to exempt him from the cruel effects of his jealouſy. Such tyrannical proceedings put an end to the ſucceſs of *Pyrrhus* in *Sicily*. The averſion, which the cities conceived againſt him, was ſo great, that ſome of them entered into a league with the *Carthaginians*, and others with the *Mamertines* his avowed enemies. His troops were ſoon reduced to his *Epirot Phalanx*, the *Sicilians* daily deſerting in crowds, and encreaſing the enemies forces. When *Carthage* heard of this change, new troops were raiſed all over *Africa*, and a numerous army ſent into *Sicily* to recover the ancient conqueſts of the *African* republic; whilſt a mighty fleet cruiſed round the iſland to prevent *Pyrrhus* from making his eſcape [1].

He abandons Sicily *and returns to* Italy.

THIS was the ſituation of *Pyrrhus*'s affairs, when deputies came to him from the *Samnites*, *Tarentines*, *Brutians* and *Lucanians*, whom he had abandoned to purſue new conqueſts in *Sicily*. They repreſented to him the dangers they had been in, and the loſſes they had ſuſtained ſince his departure, and demonſtrated, that without his aſſiſtance their cities and liberties muſt fall a ſacrifice to the *Romans*, who had already diſpoſſeſſed them of all their lands, and ſhut them up within their walls. This embaſſy furniſhed him with an honourable pretence for his departure; he was glad to have an opportunity of making the world believe, that he had abandoned *Sicily* not out of fear of the enemy, but to comply with the requeſts of his allies. He therefore ſeemed at firſt to deliberate what part to chuſe, being, as it were, divided between *Sicily*, *Africa*, and *Italy*. But *Italy* prevailed, and he began to prepare for his voyage, from which his new ſubjects in *Sicily* did not offer to divert him. When he was on the point of ſetting ſail, he cried out at the ſight of that wealthy country which he was abandoning, *What a fine field of battle do we leave to the* Carthaginians *and* Romans! A prediction, which was ſoon fulfilled. He imbarqued on the ſhips which he had brought with him from *Italy*, but was met at ſea by the *Carthaginians*, who attacking him ſunk ſeventy of his gallies, and diſperſed or took the reſt, ſo that he ſaved himſelf in the ports of *Italy* with only twelve veſſels, the poor remains of a fleet of two hundred ſail. Nor was this all: The *Mamertines* no ſooner heard of his departure, but they detached a body of eighteen thouſand men to haraſs him after his landing. Theſe having paſſed the ſtreights before him, poſted themſelves in the road, which *Pyrrhus* muſt take in marching by land to *Tarentum*, and lying concealed among the woods and rocks attacked him unexpectedly and with great reſolution. But *Pyrrhus* behaved himſelf on this occaſion with his uſual bravery. The attack being made on his rear, he haſtened thither, and at the head of his men made a dreadful ſlaughter of the enemy, till a wound he received on the head obliged him to retire. But he ſoon returned to the charge with freſh fury. As he was ſuppoſed to be diſabled by his wound, a proud *Mamertine* of an extraordinary ſize, and ſhining in bright armour, advanced out of the ranks, and with a loud voice challenged the king of *Epirus*, if he was yet alive, to a ſingle combat. *Pyrrhus* immediately turned about, and making a dreadful appearance by reaſon of the blood which ran down his face, flew upon this new champion, and diſcharged ſuch a blow on his head, that he cleaved him in two, one part of his body falling to the right,

[1] PLUT. in Pyrrh. DION. HAL. apud Valeſ.

and

a and the other to the left. This feat, which has been ſince aſcribed to other warriors, perhaps with as much truth as to *Pyrrhus*, filled the *Mamertines* with terror, who ſuffered the *Epirots* to continue their march to *Tarentum* [k].

Upon the departure of *Pyrrhus*, *Hiero* was appointed to command the *Syracuſian* forces, and make head againſt the *Carthaginians*, who had regained moſt of the places which they poſſeſſed before the arrival of the *Epirots*. *Hiero* was the ſon of *Hierocles*, one of the deſcendants of *Gelon*, the firſt king of *Syracuſe*, of whoſe glorious reign and exploits we have already given a full account. His deſcent was not ſo honourable by the mother's ſide; for ſhe was a ſlave, and of a very mean extraction. Wherefore *Hierocles*, or as *Juſtin* calls him *Hieroclytus*, thinking it b beneath him to take care of the education of a ſon, who was the fruit of an unlawful intercourſe, cauſed him, according to the barbarous cuſtom of thoſe days, to be expoſed ſoon after his birth in a foreſt, where a ſwarm of bees is ſaid to have nouriſhed him ſome days with their honey. Upon the report of this prodigy, *Hierocles* conſulted the ſoothſayers, who told him, that this ſon of his would one day mount the throne of his anceſtors, and reſtore its family to its ancient ſplendor. The father being pleaſed with this anſwer, owned him, and cauſed him to be brought up in a manner ſuitable to his birth. When he came to man's eſtate, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his courage, prudence, and addreſs in all military exerciſes. He made his firſt campaigns under *Pyrrhus*, who had a great value for him, and honoured c him with ſuch rewards as generals uſed to beſtow on thoſe who excelled the reſt in valor. In his firſt campaign an eagle is ſaid to have perched upon his helmet, and an owl upon his lance; and theſe two birds, the former being the ſymbol of valor, the latter of wiſdom, ſeemed to confirm the firſt prediction. And indeed young *Hiero* did not bely thoſe prognoſtics, he ſo improved in the art of war under the direction of ſo great a maſter as the king of *Epirus*, that he was looked upon as the beſt commander in the army, when he was but twenty-five years of age. But his great moderation, affability, and engaging behaviour gained him more honour than his military exploits. He ſeemed to have been born for virtue, and to be governed by no other paſſion but the love of glory. *Juſtin* draws the following picture of this d brave youth. He was exceeding handſome, of a robuſt conſtitution, and an extraordinary ſtrength. His affability in converſation, equity in the management of affairs, and moderation in the government of the people, were ſuch, that he wanted nothing but a crown to be a great king. And this his great merit ſoon procured him as we ſhall ſee anon.

Hiero appointed general of the Syracuſians

His birth and education.

When *Pyrrhus* left *Sicily*, the city of *Syracuſe*, being deſtitute of a governor, fell into the greateſt diſorders. To put a ſtop to this confuſion, the troops choſe *Hiero* and *Artemidorus* for their commanders; and the two generals had nothing more at heart than to re-eſtabliſh good order in the capital. With this view they entred the city at the head of the army, and *Hiero* on this occaſion firſt diſcovered an e common talent and genius for governing. By the arts of inſinuation and addreſs, without ſhedding of blood, or hurting one ſingle citizen, he calmed the minds of the people, reconciled the factions, and ſo gained the hearts of all, that the *Syracuſians*, though highly diſſatisfied with the ſoldiery for aſſuming the right of chuſing their own generals, yet unanimouſly confirmed him in the command, inveſting him with all civil and military power during the interregnum [l].

Hiero being now at the head of the army began to take ſuch meaſures as ſhould prevent any further diſturbances in the city. He obſerved, that the generals and troops no ſooner left the city to take the field, but *Syracuſe* was involved in new troubles by ſeditious ſpirits and lovers of novelty. He thought it therefore neceſſary to have f ſome perſon of merit and rank upon whom he might rely for retaining the city in its duty, during his abſence and that of the army. *Leptines* ſeemed very fit for this purpoſe, being a man of great intereſt and authority among the people. In order therefore to attach him to his intereſt, he married his daughter, and always left his father-in-law governor of the city, when he took the field; by which means he ſecured both himſelf and the public tranquillity. Another thing that gave *Hiero* great uneaſineſs, and raiſed frequent diſturbances, was the ungovernable temper of the mercenaries in the ſervice of the republic. They had no reſpect for their commanders, nor affection for a ſtate of which they were no part, and therefore always

[k] Plut. ibid. [l] Justin. l. xxiii. c. 4.

ready

ready to revolt, and even join the enemy when their unjuſt demands were not complied with, and their hopes of gain not anſwered. They were ſo united among themſelves, that *Hiero* could not by any means get the better of them; if he undertook to puniſh the moſt criminal among them, the whole corps took his part; ſo that the general was rather governed by them than they by him. He therefore concluded, that the only means to put an end to the troubles they occaſioned, was utterly to extirpate that ſeditious body, whoſe licentiouſneſs and rebellious diſpoſition could only corrupt others, and incline them to the ſame pernicious practices. Accordingly he came at laſt to this reſolution, which was contrary to his natural inclination, but judged by him neceſſary for the tranquillity of his country, and ſafety of his own perſon. He took the field under pretence of marching againſt the *Mamertines*; but when he came within ſight of the enemy, he divided his army into two bodies, the one compoſed of *Syracuſians*, the other of mercenaries; he ordered the latter to begin the charge, putting himſelf at the head of the former as if he deſigned to ſupport them. The mercenaries fell upon the enemy with the utmoſt fury, but being abandoned by the *Syracuſians*, were all cut in pieces. The *Syracuſian* troops he brought back ſafe to the city, having taken care to poſt them ſo as to have a river between them and the enemy [m].

Hiero, having thus purged his army of thoſe mutineers, revived the military diſcipline among the *Syracuſians*, took other mercenaries more tractable into his ſervice, and by degrees rendered his army formidable both to the *Carthaginians* and *Mamertines*. He firſt made trial of their valor againſt the latter, who, elated with the advantage they had gained over the mercenaries, marched into the territories of *Syracuſe*, deſtroying all before them with fire and ſword. Hereupon *Hiero* took the field, engaged them in the plains of *Mylæ* (N), utterly defeated them, and took their general by name *Cios* priſoner. *Cios* being carried to the *Syracuſian* camp, ſaw there the horſe which his ſon had rode in the battle, and taking it for granted that he was killed, reſolved to live no longer; and accordingly looſening the ligatures of his wounds, he ſoon after expired. By his death the *Mamertines* being deſtitute of a head, *Hiero* invaded their territories, and poſſeſſed himſelf of the cities of *Mylæ*, *Amaſela*, *Alæſa*, and *Abacænum* (O), and then returned loaded with glory and booty to *Syracuſe*, where he was declared king by the unanimous conſent of the citizens, and ſoon after acknowledged as ſuch by all the allies. This happened ſeven years after he had been inveſted with the command of the army [n].

The Mamertines *reduced to great ſtraits by* Hiero.

Some time after his acceſſion to the throne he again worſted the *Mamertines*, and reduced them to ſuch ſtraits, that they began to entertain thoughts of ſurrendering their city to him. Accordingly they ſent embaſſadors inviting him to a parley, wherein it was agreed that the city of *Meſſana* ſhould be put into his hands, and that he ſhould maintain the inhabitants in the poſſeſſion of their ancient rights and privileges, and protect them againſt any foreign invaſion. But as *Hiero* was advancing to take poſſeſſion of the place, he was deceitfully prevented by *Hannibal*, who at that time commanded the *Carthaginian* forces in *Sicily*. The cunning *African* came, as it were to congratulate *Hiero* on his late victory, and amuſed him till ſome troops, which he had kept concealed in the *Lipari* iſlands, drew near *Meſſana*. The officer, who commanded that detachment, aſſured the *Mamertines* that he came as a friend, and that his only deſign was to aſſiſt them againſt the *Syracuſians*, and prevent them from delivering their city into the enemies hands. The *Mamertines*, ſeeing themſelves ſupported with a new reinforcement, ſummoned an aſſembly

[m] Justin. l. xxiii. Polyb. l. i. c. 16. [n] Justin. & Polyb. ibid.

(N) *Mylæ*, now *Milazzo*, was formerly a colony of the *Tyndaritani*, who ſettled in that part of *Sicily*. It was ſituated in a peninſula in the north point of the iſland, and had a very convenient harbour. *Pliny* ſpeaks of a fountain near *Mylæ*, which dried up in winter, and was full of water during the hotteſt part of the ſummer (39). *Fazellus* tells us, that he obſerved the ſame thing. The ſituation of the city of *Amaſela* is altogether unknown.

(O) *Abacænum* ſtood in the north part of *Sicily*. *Cluverius* places it near the little city of *Tripio*. As for the city of *Tyndaris* it was not far diſtant from *Abacænum*, and the name of it is ſtill preſerved in the place called at preſent *Santa Maria di Tyndaro*. It was originally a colony of the *Lacedæmonians*, who are ſuppoſed to have given it the name of *Tyndaris* from *Tyndarus* the father of *Leda*. In this city was anciently a temple dedicated to *Mercury*, and a ſtatue of that god, which was looked upon as a maſter-piece of art. *Pliny* tells us, that a great part of *Tyndarus* was ſwallowed up by the ſea (40).

(39) *Plin. l.* xxxi. *c.* 4. (40) *Plin. l.* ii. *c.* 92.

to

a to deliberate on what meaſures they ſhould take in ſo critical a juncture. The members of the aſſembly were divided in their opinions; ſome were for accepting the protection *Carthage* offered them, others for ſurrendering to *Hiero*, with whoſe mild government and ſtrict honour they were well acquainted; but the greateſt part were for calling the *Romans* to the aſſiſtance of a city, whoſe inhabitants were originally *Italians* °.

THE *Mamertines*, before they fought the laſt battle with *Hiero*, had ſent deputies to *Rome*, imploring the aſſiſtance of the *Roman* ſenate and people againſt the invaſions of their neighbours; and the people, at the inſtigation of the conſuls, had promiſed to comply with their requeſt. But the ſenate, having more regard to honour and equity than the people, were not yet come to any reſolution. They conſidered *The Mamertines call in the Romans.*

b that the *Sicilians* were only endeavouring to recover a city which the *Mamertines* had taken by the blackeſt treachery, and thought it altogether unworthy of the *Roman* virtue to undertake openly the defence of traitors, who were guilty of the ſame perfidy which they had lately puniſhed in the *Rhegians* with the utmoſt ſeverity. The ſenate therefore could not be prevailed upon to come into the meaſures of the people ſo long as the *Mamertines* had no enemies to contend with except the *Syracuſians*. But when news was brought to *Rome*, that the *Carthaginians* had entred *Meſſana*, and offered to defend it, the conſcript fathers changed their mind. They were ſenſible that *Carthage* undertook the defence of that important place only with a deſign to

c ſeize it for herſelf, and therefore, as they did not care to be ſo near neighbours to that powerful republic, they forgot the ſtrict regard they had hitherto had to probity, came readily into the peoples meaſures, and agreed to ſend the conſul *Appius Claudius* to attempt the deliverance of *Meſſana*, and ſtop the progreſs of the *Carthaginians* P.

Appius Claudius did not go at firſt in perſon to *Meſſana*, but ſent thither one of his military tribunes, who was alſo named *Claudius*, in his ſtead. The tribune was a man of extraordinary boldneſs, and at the ſame time of great prudence and addreſs, fit for the carrying on of any great enterprize, and incapable of being terrified at the greateſt dangers. He immediately ſet out for *Rhegium*, and his firſt care there was to get together what veſſels he could in order to croſs over into *Sicily*. But

d before he ventured to ſea with the few *triremes* he had under his command, he thought it adviſeable to diſcover firſt the diſpoſition of the *Mamertines*; and accordingly going on board a fiſher-boat, he paſſed undiſcovered through the midſt of the enemy's fleet, and arrived ſafe at *Meſſana*, which he found poſſeſſed by the *Carthaginians*, who had entered it with the conſent of ſome of the inhabitants, and contrary to the inclinations of others. The tribune convened the *Mamertines* in the place where they uſually met in order to acquaint them with the motives of his coming among them. But at firſt the clamours of the *Carthaginians*, who aſſiſted at the aſſembly with the inhabitants, prevented him from being heard. However he obtained at laſt a moment's ſilence, and then he addreſſed the aſſembly thus: "*Ma-*
"*mertines*, I come hither, as a deputy from the *Romans*, to offer you the aſſiſt-
e "ance you have deſired. The ſenate and people concur in granting it, and have
"nothing more at heart than to defend *Meſſana* from the oppreſſion which threatens
"her. We engage our words that we will withdraw our forces as ſoon as your city and
"fortunes are ſafe". Theſe few words made a deep impreſſion on their minds; but as they had already introduced the *Carthaginians* into their city, they were no longer their own maſters, and therefore returned ſuch an anſwer as would have diſcouraged any one leſs bold than *Claudius*: It is a great pleaſure to *Meſſana*, they replied, to be able to ſpare the *Romans* the trouble of aſſiſting her. *Carthage* is beforehand with them, and her protection is ſufficient. Wherefore if you have no other propoſals to make, you may withdraw. Every free city has a right to call in to her

f aſſiſtance whom ſhe pleaſes. A free city! replied *Claudius*; Are you not in the power of the *Carthaginians*? Are you not, even in this place, beſieged by a foreign force? Does not *Carthage* already lord it over you, and make you feel the weight of that yoke, which you muſt, if not relieved by us, bear for ever? Anſwer me, if you dare. Upon theſe words, the *Mamertines* held their peace for fear of the *Carthaginians*; and the *Carthaginians* were ſtruck dumb with the truth of the tribune's ſpeech, who taking advantage of this general ſilence: You *Carthaginians*, ſaid he, know

° POLYB. l. i. ZONAR. l. viii. c. 8. P POLYB. ibid.

not what to anſwer, becauſe you are conſcious of your own injuſtice; and you, *Mamertines*, are dumb, becauſe you dare not ſpeak; if fear had not ſhut your mouths, I am confident you would not reject my offers, and therefore I interpret your ſilence as a tacit conſent to my propoſal. Upon theſe words a murmur aroſe in the aſſembly, and *Claudius* crying aloud, *Mamertines*, I underſtand your meaning, you implore the aſſiſtance of the *Romans*, we will comply with your requeſt, left the aſſembly and the city without further delay and returned to *Rhegium* [q]. a

The Romans undertake the defence of Meſſana.

UPON his report the ſenate judged that the *Mamertines* were diſpoſed to receive ſuccours from *Rome*, and ordered the ſame tribune to ſet ſail with his fleet to *Meſſana*. His fleet was noways in a condition to cope with that of *Carthage*, the *Romans* having at that time only a few *triremes*, and their men being quite ignorant of ſea-affairs; whereas the *Carthaginians* were maſters at ſea, had numerous fleets cruiſing off the coaſts of *Italy* and *Sicily*, and were furniſhed with expert mariners. However the tribune deſpiſing all danger, had the boldneſs to weigh anchor and ſteer his courſe to *Meſſana*; but being met by *Hanno* the *Carthaginian* admiral in the ſtreights between *Rhegium* and *Meſſana*, ſome of his ſhips were taken by the enemy, others by a violent ſtorm daſhed in pieces againſt the rocks on the coaſt of *Italy*; inſomuch that he was obliged to return to *Rhegium* after having loſt the beſt part of his fleet. *Claudius* not at all diſcouraged by his bad ſucceſs, began to refit his fleet in order to put to ſea again, ſaying that he did not expect to learn the art of navigation without paying dear for it. Before he ſet ſail, the *Carthaginians* ſent him back the ſhips which they had taken in the late engagement, hoping by means of this artful preſent either to pique the *Romans* in point of honour, and ſo divert them from ſending ſuccours to *Meſſana*, or at leaſt to lay the whole blame of a rupture upon them. When *Hanno*'s deputies reſtored the ſhips, they reproached the *Romans* with having infringed the treaties agreed on by both republics, and pretended, that the ſtreights belonged to *Carthage*. This ſo incenſed *Claudius*, that he rejected the preſent with indignation, and purſued his former reſolution with more vigor than ever. *Hanno*'s deputies before they left *Rhegium* told *Claudius* in an imperious ſtile, that *Carthage* would not ſuffer a *Roman* even to waſh his hands in the ſtreights. But this ſerved only to make *Claudius*, who was undaunted in the greateſt dangers, more eager to force out of the neighbourhood of *Italy* ſo proud and encroaching an enemy. Soon after the departure of the deputies he ſet ſail again, and timed his enterprize ſo well, that he eluded the vigilance of the *Carthaginian* admiral, and arrived ſafe in the port of *Meſſana*. *Hanno*, who had exchanged the command of the fleet for that of the land-forces in *Meſſana*, upon the arrival of the *Romans* retired into the citadel, abandoning the city to *Claudius*, who immediately deſired the *Mamertines* to call an aſſembly, and invite *Hanno* to it. It was not without the utmoſt difficulty that *Hanno* was prevailed upon to leave his citadel, and truſt himſelf among the *Romans* and *Meſſanians*. However he came at laſt, but hard words ariſing between him and *Claudius*, the bold *Roman*, who no longer appeared as an envoy, but was backed by his legionaries, was ſo provoked, that he ordered his ſoldiers to ſeize him, and kept him under confinement till he prevailed upon him by menaces and fair promiſes to deliver the citadel up to the *Romans*, and evacuate the city. This piece of cowardice coſt him dear; for he was tried by his countrymen, found guilty, and condemned to be crucified [r]. b c d e

Hiero, king of *Syracuſe*, had already made the neceſſary preparations to beſiege *Meſſana*, which city he looked upon as a ſure conqueſt after the victory he had gained over the *Mamertines*. But when he heard that it was defended by the *Romans*, thinking himſelf too weak to enter the liſts againſt two ſuch warlike nations as the *Romans* and *Mamertines*, he ſent embaſſadors to the *Carthaginians*, offering to join them provided they would aſſiſt him in the ſiege of *Meſſana*, and help him in driving out the *Romans*. Such an embaſſy was, as we may well imagine, very acceptable to the *Carthaginians*, who were determined to venture all rather than ſuffer the *Romans* to get any footing in *Sicily*. A treaty therefore was immediately concluded between *Carthage* and *Syracuſe*, whereby they were to aſſiſt each other in driving the *Romans* quite out of the iſland; *Meſſana* was to be delivered up to *Hiero*, and ſome places ſubject to *Syracuſe* were to be put into the hands of the *Carthaginians*. f

[q] POLYB. l. i. ZONAR. l. viii. c. 8. Auctor vit. illuſtr. vir. [r] POLYB. l. i. c. 11. VAL. MAXIMUS, l. ii. c. 7.

Great

a Great preparations were carried on both at *Syracuſe* and *Carthage*, new forces were raiſed, and a mighty fleet ſent from *Africa* under the command of another *Hanno*, the ſon of *Hannibal*, who was charged with the whole management of the war. This fleet put in at *Lilybæum*, whence the land-forces marched to *Selinus*, and encamped there, while their general went to *Agrigentum* and cauſed the fortifications of that place to be repaired. The *Carthaginians* and *Syracuſians* being now ready to enter upon action, *Hanno* before he began hoſtilities ſent an herald to the *Romans*, ſummoning them to leave *Sicily*, and ſurrender up *Meſſana* to him, or to the king of *Syracuſe*, if they deſired to live in amity with their reſpective republics. *Claudius* anſwered, that he was determined to defend the place, and the allies of the people of *Rome* to the laſt drop of his blood. Hereupon the *Carthaginian* and *Syracuſian*
b armies joined, and inveſted *Meſſana*. The *Carthaginians* poſted themſelves near cape *Pelorus*, and lined the coaſt, whilſt *Hiero* with his troops blocked up the city on the land-ſide, and encamped round mount *Chalcis*; ſo that *Meſſana* was ſurrounded on all ſides, and no ſuccours or proviſions could be conveyed into it either by ſea or land [1].

As soon as the tribune *Claudius* had refuſed to quit the place, *Hanno*, the *Carthaginian* general, ordered all the *Italians*, who ſerved in his army, to be maſſacred. When the murder of theſe unfortunate men was heard at *Rome*, the conſul *Appius*, who had not appeared yet in this diſpute, ſet out with all ſpeed and went to *Rhegium*, with a deſign to croſs over into *Sicily*. Upon his arrival at *Rhegium*, he ſent
c deputies to king *Hiero*, conjuring him by his ancient friendſhip to the *Romans* not to perſiſt in the ſiege of *Meſſana*, which alone could create a quarrel, the conſequences of which might prove fatal to him. *L. Genucius* was the firſt of the *Romans* who began a correſpondence with *Hiero*. *Genucius* was conſul, and charged with the ſiege of *Rhegium*, which was held by the rebellious *Campanian* legion. While the conſul carried on the ſiege, his proviſions falling ſhort, he applied to *Hiero*, who not only ſupplied him with what he wanted, but moreover ſent him ſome *Sicilian* forces; and this was the firſt time the *Romans* had any troops in their ſervice from beyond-ſea. *Claudius*, mindful of his former kindneſs to the *Romans*, proceeded at firſt with him in a friendly manner. But *Hiero*, taking it very much amiſs that the *Romans*
d ſhould undertake the defence of a city, which muſt have otherwiſe fallen into his hands, broke out into invectives againſt the ingratitude of a republic, which he had aſſiſted in her diſtreſs. As he was himſelf a man of ſtrict equity, he thought it ſurprizing that the *Romans*, who had lately puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity one of their legions for treacherouſly ſeizing on *Rhegium*, ſhould now protect thoſe, who in the very ſame manner had made themſelves maſters of *Meſſana*. He therefore anſwered the deputies ſent to him by the conſul *Claudius*, that the events of war were indeed uncertain, but ſhould he in his attempt againſt the rebellious city prove unſucceſsful, all men would agree, that though the ambition and power of the *Romans* proſpered, yet *Hiero* fell in a juſt and honourable cauſe. The *Romans*
e themſelves were very ſenſible, that his integrity was the only motive which prompted him to take up arms againſt the *Mamertines*. But as he had joined the *Carthaginians*, the conſul was little affected with his anſwer, and only ſaid, that good king *Hiero* was not aware of the intention of his new allies, ſince their deſign in ſeizing *Meſſana* was only thereby to pave themſelves a way to the conqueſt firſt of *Sicily*, and then of *Italy* [2].

Claudius, finding the king of *Syracuſe* determined to carry on the ſiege of *Meſſana*, reſolved to ſail thither in perſon, but as the *Carthaginian* fleet watched all his motions, he diſſembled his deſign, and gave out, that it was not in his power to make war upon *Hiero* without freſh orders from the ſenate, and that he muſt therefore
f return to *Rome*, and lay the matter before the ſenate and people. This report ſoon reached *Meſſana*, and the *Carthaginians* hearing it, left off cruiſing in the ſtreights. Whereupon *Claudius*, having firſt ordered his troops to repair to ſeveral ports of *Italy*, and be there in a readineſs to ſail, went on board a galley built unskilfully, and in great haſte, pretending only to coaſt along the ſhore in order to return to *Rome*. But aſſoon as he was out of ſight he tacked about, and being favoured by a dark night, reached the neareſt ſhore in the iſland, and landed the few troops he carried with him without being obſerved by the enemy. The *Romans*, who were

The conſul Claudius *paſſes over into* Sicily.

[1] Zonar. l. viii. c. 9. Diodor. Sicul. in Eclog. [2] Idem, ibid.

then

then unexperienced in ſea affairs, thought this ſo glorious an action, that they gave a
the conſul the ſurname of *Caudex*, a *Latin* word ſignifying a boat unskilfully
built [u].

And defeats Hiero.

THE conſul having landed his forces reſolved to advance againſt *Hiero*, who blocked up *Meſſana* on the ſide of mount *Chalcis*, in hopes of ſurprizing him. When the king ſaw the enemy marching up to attack his camp, he very imprudently left his trenches and went out to meet them, not doubting but he ſhould get the better of them in the open field, which he thought far more glorious than to fight behind a rampart. The *Syracuſians* charged with ſuch fury and reſolution, that the *Roman* cavalry was put in diſorder at the firſt onſet. But the legions fought with ſo much bravery, that the *Syracuſians* could not with their utmoſt efforts break b
through them; nay, they were themſelves, after a long and obſtinate diſpute, forced to give way, and leave the *Romans* an open paſſage into the city. The conſul overjoyed at his gaining the firſt victory which *Rome* had ever obtained out of her continent, entered *Meſſana* in triumph, and was received with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy imaginable by the inhabitants, who now began to entertain hopes of being ſoon delivered from a ſiege which had already reduced them to great ſtraits. Neither were they diſappointed in their expectation; *Hiero* could not continue any longer before the place after his overthrow, being diſtreſſed for want of proviſions; and beſides, he thought himſelf betrayed by the *Carthaginians*; for if they had guarded the ſtraits, the *Romans* could never have attacked him ſo unexpectedly, c
nor even ventured out of the ports of *Italy*. He could not help thinking that the *Carthaginians* had ſuffered the *Romans* to enter the iſland on purpoſe to deſtroy him, and full of his diſtruſts, he decamped haſtily in the night and retired to *Syracuſe* [w].

The progreſs of the Roman *arms in* Sicily.

Appius having now but one enemy to contend with, ſallied out of the city and attacked the *Carthaginian* camp, but as it was in a very advantagious poſt, and ſtrongly fortified, he was obliged to withdraw his legions and retire into *Meſſana* after having ſuſtained a conſiderable loſs. His retreat looked like a flight, and this encouraged the *Carthaginians* to quit their trenches and purſue him. But the legions unexpectedly facing about fell upon the purſuers, put them in diſorder, and made a dreadful havock of the broken troops. Thus the advantages of the day were equal; but d
Claudius, not thinking it adviſeable to attempt the enemies camp a ſecond time, laid waſte all the neighbouring country, and made excurſions to the very gates of *Syracuſe* itſelf. *Hiero*, finding that the *Carthaginians* were not in a condition to protect his dominions, began to entertain ſome thoughts of abandoning them and ſiding with the *Romans*. But the ſudden departure of the conſul *Claudius* for *Rome* prevented him for the preſent from entering into any treaty with that republic.

NEXT year early in the ſpring both the *Roman* conſuls, *Manius Valerius Flaccus*, and *Manius Otacilius Craſſus*, were ordered to tranſport their legions into *Sicily*, and carry on the war againſt *Hiero* and the *Carthaginians*. They both landed without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition from the *Carthaginian* fleet, and then parted, e
Valerius undertaking to diſlodge the *Carthaginians* from their advantagious poſt, where they kept *Meſſana* blocked up, and *Otacilius* advancing into the heart of the country to ſpread the terror of the *Roman* arms. What ſucceſs attended the former, we find no-where mentioned; but the ſurname of *Meſſana* which was given him on this occaſion, and afterwards by corruption changed into that of *Meſſala*, as ſome writers inform us [x], is a convincing proof that he ſignalized himſelf by ſome gallant action. As for *Otacilius*, he advanced to the foot of mount *Ætna*, and poſſeſſed himſelf of all the cities in that fruitful country: *Adranum* and *Centuripe* were taken by aſſault, but many other cities, and among the reſt *Alæſa*, ſubmitted of their own f
accord to the conqueror. Afterwards the two conſular armies ſometimes joined to fight the united forces of the *Syracuſians* and *Carthaginians*, and ſometimes ſeparated to extend their conqueſts the wider; the enemies were every-where vanquiſhed, and as they took the cities ſubject both to the *Syracuſians* and *Carthaginians*, without diſtinction, they reduced in a few months time no fewer than ſixty-ſeven places; of which number were *Tauromenium* and *Catana*, two cities of great importance. As they drew great reinforcements from theſe cities, their armies were ſoon ſo increaſed, that they thought themſelves in a condition to undertake the ſiege of *Syracuſe*, the capital of the whole iſland, and at that time one of the greateſt and

[u] ZONAR. ibid. FRONT. in Stratag. l. i. c. 4.
[w] ZONAR. l. viii. c. 9. EUTROP. l. ii. POLYB. l. i.
[x] SENEC. de brev. vitæ. MACROB. Saturn. l. i.

a ſtrongeſt cities in the world. *Hiero*, being intimidated at the danger he was in, and now more ſenſible than ever that an alliance with *Rome* would be leſs diſadvantagious to him than one with *Carthage*, loſt no time in endeavouring to ſave his ſtately metropolis from impending ruin. Aſſoon as the two conſular armies appeared before it, he ſent out deputies to treat with the *Romans* of a peace, who on their part were noways averſe to it, knowing that by keeping up a friendly correſpondence with *Hiero*, the *Carthaginians* would be reduced to their own forces only, and the *Roman* armies plentifully ſupplied with all manner of proviſions, for want of which they had been greatly diſtreſſed the year before. A treaty therefore was ſoon concluded on the following terms: that the *Romans* ſhould receive *Hiero* into the number of the b friends and allies of their republic, and protect his capital and dominions, particularly the cities of *Acra*, *Leontini*, *Megara*, *Elorum*, *Netum*, and *Tauromenium*, from all hoſtilities whatſoever; and on the other hand, that *Hiero* ſhould deliver up the priſoners he had taken without ranſom, pay the republic an hundred talents of ſilver, and cultivate her friendſhip by a faithful obſervance of the treaty. This agreement was drawn up by the king and conſuls, and afterwards ratified at *Rome* firſt by the ſenate, and then by the people, at the motion of *Cn. Attilius Calatinus*, then a tribune of the people. It was at firſt only a truce for fifteen years, but the conditions were ſo faithfully performed on both ſides, that it laſted as long as *Hiero* lived [y].

Hiero *concludes an alliance with the* Romans.

c From thenceforth *Hiero* ſaw no war in his dominions, nor had any other ſhare in it but that of ſending from time to time ſupplies of proviſions to his allies the *Romans*, who gratefully acknowledged his generoſity, and with great care protected his dominions from the inſults of their common enemy. During the ſpace of above fifty years he lived after his acceſſion to the throne, while the whole country around him was in flames, occaſioned by the cruel wars, which the two moſt powerful republics in the world made upon each other, he was only a ſpectator, and heard the noiſe of the arms, which ſhook all the neighbouring regions, himſelf and his people enjoying the ſweets of a profound peace and tranquillity. The *Romans* perceived on ſeveral occaſions, during the firſt *Punic* war, and eſpecially at the ſiege of *Agrigentum*, d with which it was begun, how neceſſary it was for them to cultivate the friendſhip of *Hiero*; for that prince abundantly ſupplied them with proviſions, when without his aid they had been obliged by famine to quit the iſland, their convoys from *Italy* being often intercepted by the enemy's fleet, which guarded the ſtreights [z].

The interval between the end of the firſt *Punic* war and the beginning of the ſecond, which was about five and twenty years, was to *Hiero* a time of tranquillity, in which his actions are not mentioned by the hiſtorians. *Polybius* only informs us, that the *Carthaginians* in the war, which they were obliged to ſupport againſt the mercenary troops that had ſerved under them in *Sicily*, had recourſe to king *Hiero*, who kindly aſſiſted them, fearing perhaps leſt the mercenaries getting the better e of the *Carthaginians* ſhould carry their victorious arms into *Sicily*, which iſland they were perfectly well acquainted with. *Hiero*'s ſole application during this long interval was to make his ſubjects happy, and to redreſs the many evils, which the tyrannical government of *Agathocles*, and the inteſtine diviſions ariſing upon his death, had occaſioned. Before his reign the ſtate had been divided by two factions, the one of the citizens, the other of the ſoldiers; and their differences, ſupported on both ſides with great animoſity, kept up the ſpirit of diviſion in the republic, and gave birth to numberleſs diſorders. But *Hiero* with his prudent and impartial conduct ſo rooted out all ſeeds of diſcord and miſunderſtanding, that during a reign of fifty years no revolt or ſedition ever aroſe, or the leaſt commotion either in the army f or the city. Both ſoldiers and citizens looked upon him rather as their common father and protector, than as their lord and ſovereign, and were fully convinced, that he was infinitely averſe from doing any thing that could in the leaſt prejudice their fortunes or liberty. His particular care was to encourage agriculture, which he looked upon as the certain means to diffuſe abundance throughout his kingdom; he did not think it unworthy of the ſovereignty to ſtudy that art, and even compoſe a book on that ſubject, of which we ought much to regret the loſs. As the chief riches of the country, and the moſt certain fund of the prince's revenue, conſiſted in corn, the tenth part of which was paid to him, *Hiero* made ſuch wiſe

[y] Polyb. l. i. Justin. l. xxiii. Zonar. l. viii. c. 6. [z] Polyb. l. xviii.

and equitable regulations on this head, that they became, in a manner, the fundamentall laws of the country, and were always obſerved as ſacred and inviolable, not only in his reign, but in all ſucceeding times. When the *Romans* had reduced the city and dominions of *Syracuſe* under their obedience, they impoſed no new tributes, but only decreed, that all things ſhould be regulated according to the laws of *Hiero* [z]. a

Hiero's *ſincere attachment to the* Romans.

In the ſecond *Punic* war *Hiero* gave ſignal proofs of his attachment to the *Romans*. As ſoon as he received advice of *Hannibal*'s arrival in *Italy*, he went with his fleet well equipped to meet *Tiberius Sempronius* at *Meſſana*, and aſſured him that, advanced in age as he was, he would ſhew the ſame zeal for the *Roman* people as he had done in his youth, if they thought it neceſſary that he ſhould put himſelf at the head of his troops and croſs over into *Italy*. He ſupplied the conſul's legions with corn and cloaths at his own expence, and was preparing to attend him into *Italy*, when *Sempronius* receiving news of the advantage gained by the *Romans* over the *Carthaginian* fleet, thanked the king for his advantagious offers, but made no uſe of them at that time [a]. b

Hiero's ſincere affection for *Rome* appeared ſtill more conſpicuous after the victory gained by *Hannibal* at the lake *Thraſymenus*. The *Romans* had already loſt three battles, and were abandoned by many of their allies. In this mournful conjuncture *Hiero* ſent a fleet laden with proviſions to the port of *Oſtia*: The embaſſadors, who came with the preſent, being introduced to the ſenate, told the conſcript fathers, "that *Hiero*, their maſter, had been as ſenſibly affected with their misfortunes, as "if he had ſuffered them himſelf; that though he knew the grandeur of the *Roman* "people diſplayed itſelf more in times of adverſity than after the moſt ſignal ſuc- "ceſſes, yet he had taken the liberty to ſend them, as a faithful ally, a victory of "maſſy gold weighing three hundred pounds, which the king hoped they would "vouchſafe to receive as a favourable augury, and a pledge of his vows for their "proſperity; that they had alſo brought three hundred thouſand modii of wheat, "two hundred thouſand of barley, and were charged by their maſter to acquaint "them, that if they wanted more, he could cauſe what quantity they pleaſed to "be tranſported to ſuch places as they ſhould appoint; that he knew the *Romans* "employed no ſtrangers in their armies, except light-armed troops, and therefore "he had only ſent a thouſand archers and ſlingers, whom they might oppoſe to the "ſlingers of the *Balearic* iſlands, and the *Numidians* in the *Carthaginian* army." To his preſents *Hiero* added a wholeſome piece of advice, which was, that the prætor, who ſhould be ſent to command in *Sicily*, might croſs from thence over into *Africa*, and by that means divert the *Carthaginians* from ſending any ſuccours to *Hannibal* in *Italy*. *Rome* was touched with the affection good king *Hiero* ſhewed her, thanked him for his preſents and advice, and ſent him this obliging letter: *You have ever been a conſtant and generous friend. No change of times has altered your affection and generoſity towards us. We received with pleaſure the victory from your hands. It is a pledge of your friendſhip, which we will carefully preſerve; and in order to keep her among us, and prevent her ever leaving us, we will ſhut her up in the ſtrongeſt place of* Rome. *We will place her on the capitol our citadel, and even in the temple of* Jupiter. *The gods grant, that ſhe may be as faithful and friendly to us as you.* All the corn and barley on board the ſhips with the archers and ſlingers were ſent to the conſuls. They likewiſe ſent, purſuant to *Hiero*'s advice, from the ports of *Italy*, a reinforcement of twenty-five quinqueremes to *T. Otacilius*, who commanded the armies in *Sicily*, impowering him to carry the war into *Africa*, if he thought proper [b]. c d e

Valerius Maximus obſerves here the noble and polite liberality of *Hiero*, who did not offer the *Romans* three hundred pounds weight of gold in ſpecie, as being well acquainted with their delicacy in that point; but under the form of a victory, which they dared not refuſe, on account of the good omen it ſeemed to bring along with it. It is uncommon to ſee a prince, whoſe dominions were ſo expoſed to the inſults of the enemy, continue unalterably faithful to his former allies, even when they were on the brink of ruin. But nothing could ſhake *Hiero*'s attachment to *Rome*. But it was alſo his intereſt to act as he did. For had the *Carthaginians* entirely ruined, or even weakened the *Romans* too much, *Syracuſe* muſt have fallen a prey to the conquerors. That city was ſituated over-againſt *Carthage*, and lay mighty convenient for ſecuring its commerce, and gaining the empire of the ſea. Wherefore f

[z] Polyb. l. i. Cic. Orat. in Ver. de Frum. n. 15. [a] Liv. l. xxi. [b] Liv. l. xxi.

as

a as *Syracuſe* muſt have neceſſarily fallen after *Rome*, it was abſolutely requiſite for the king of *Syracuſe* to hazard every thing, and either ſave *Rome* or fall with her.

NEITHER did king *Hiero*'s generoſity extend to the *Romans* alone; *Polybius* informs us, that he ſent an hundred talents to the *Rhodians*, with other rich preſents after the great earthquake, which laid waſte their iſland, and threw down the famous coloſſus. He moreover cauſed two ſtatues to be erected in the market-place at *Rhodes*, repreſenting the people of *Syracuſe* placing a crown on the head of the *Rhodians*, as if, ſays our hiſtorian, *Hiero*, after having made the people magnificent preſents, believed himſelf indebted to them. So great was the modeſty with which his preſents were always attended [c].

b HOWEVER there is a paſtoral in *Theocritus* [d] bearing the name of *Hiero*, wherein that poet ſeems to reproach the king, as if he had not acknowledged in a handſome manner the verſes made in his commendation. But the mean manner, in which he claims, as it were, a reward for his poetry, leaves room to conclude, that the imputation of avarice falls with more juſtice on the poet than the prince, whoſe generoſity is extolled by all the hiſtorians who mention him.

THO' *Hiero* ſeemed intirely employed in maintaining the peace and tranquillity of his kingdom, yet he did not neglect matters relating to war, knowing that the ſureſt means to preſerve the public quiet was to hold himſelf always ready to make war upon ſuch as ſhould attempt to diſturb it. To him *Syracuſe* was indebted for c thoſe amazing machines of war, which the *Syracuſians* made uſe of when beſieged by the *Romans*, as we ſhall ſee anon. The public buildings, ſuch as palaces, temples, arſenals, *&c.* which were erected in *Syracuſe* by his order, and under the direction of *Archimedes*, were the greateſt ornaments of that ſtately metropolis. He cauſed alſo an infinite number of ſhips to be built for the exportation of corn, in which the whole riches of the iſland conſiſted. We are told of a galley built by his order, which was looked upon as one of the wonders of that age. *Archimedes*, who was the overſeer of the work, ſpent a whole year in finiſhing it, *Hiero* daily animating the workmen with his preſence. This ſhip had twenty benches of oars, three ſpacious apartments, and all the conveniencies of a large palace. The floors of the middle d apartment were all inlaid, and repreſented in various colours the ſtories of *Homer*'s iliad. The ceilings, windows, and all other parts were finiſhed with wonderful art, and embelliſhed with all kinds of ornaments. In the uppermoſt apartment there was a ſpacious gymnaſium, or place of exerciſe, and walks with gardens and plants of all kinds diſpoſed in wonderful order. Pipes, ſome of hardened clay, and others of lead, conveyed water all around to refreſh them. But the fineſt of the apartments was that of *Venus*, the floors being inlaid with agats and other precious ſtones, the inſide lined with *Cyprus* wood, the windows adorned with ivory, paintings, and ſmall ſtatues. In this apartment there was a library, and a bath with three great coppers, and a bathing veſſel made of one ſingle ſtone of various colours, and con- e taining two hundred and fifty quarts. It was ſupplied with water from a great reſervoir at the head of the ſhip, which held an hundred thouſand quarts. The veſſel was adorned on all ſides with fine paintings, and had eight towers of equal dimenſions, two at the head, two at the ſtern, and four in the middle. Round theſe towers were parapets, whence ſtones might be diſcharged againſt the enemy's veſſels when they approached. Each tower was conſtantly guarded by four young men compleatly armed, and two archers. To the ſide of the veſſel was faſtened an engine made by *Archimedes*, which threw a ſtone of three hundred weight, and an arrow of eighteen feet, the diſtance of a ſtadium, or an hundred and twenty-five feet. Though the hold of this veſſel was exceeding deep, a ſingle man could ſoon clear it of water f with a machine invented for that purpoſe by *Archimedes*. An *Athenian* poet having compoſed ſome verſes on this magnificent veſſel, *Hiero*, who underſtood the value of verſe, rewarded him with a thouſand medimni, that is, ſix thouſand buſhels of wheat, which he cauſed to be carried to the *Pyreæus* or port of *Athens*. *Hiero* made afterwards a preſent of this great veſſel to *Ptolemy*, probably *Philadelphus*, king of *Egypt*, and ſent it to *Alexandria*. As there was at that time a great famine in *Egypt*, good king *Hiero* ſent along with it ſeveral other ſhips of leſs burden with three hundred thouſand quarters of corn, ten thouſand great earthen jars of ſalt-fiſh, twenty thouſand quintals of ſalt meat, and an immenſe quantity of other proviſions [e].

[c] POLYB. l. v. [d] Theocrit. Idyll. 16. [e] ATHENÆUS. l. v.

Hiero's fidelity to the *Romans* was put to a ſevere trial after the battle of *Cannæ*, a
which was followed by an univerſal defection of their allies. The *Carthaginians*, having landed a great many troops in *Sicily*, made a dreadful havock in the territories of *Syracuſe*. But nothing could ſhake the king's conſtancy. He was only concerned to ſee ſome, even of his own family, favour the *Carthaginians*. He had a ſon named *Gelon*, who married *Nereis* the daughter of *Pyrrhus*, and had by her ſeveral children, and amongſt others *Hieronymus*, of whom we ſhall ſoon have occaſion to ſpeak. *Gelon* deſpiſing his father's wholeſome advice, and looking upon the *Romans* as already ſubdued by *Hannibal*, openly declared for the *Carthaginians*. He had already armed the multitude, and ſtirred up the allies of *Syracuſe* to join him; but his meaſures were broken by a ſudden and unexpected death, which happened b
Hiero *dies.* ſo ſeaſonably that his father was ſuſpected to have been privy to it [f]. *Hiero* did not ſurvive his ſon long. After he had continued faithful to the *Romans* for fifty years together, he died in the ninetieth year of his age, and fifty-fourth of his reign, infinitely regretted by his ſubjects, and no leſs by the *Romans*, who loſt in him the moſt conſtant friend they had ever had.

Year of the flood 2789. *Before Chriſt* 215. THERE was none to whom *Hiero* could leave his crown, except *Hieronymus* the ſon of *Gelon*, on whom he could not depend as to his conduct, the young prince being but fifteen years old at his grandfather's death. The good old king therefore, who had more at heart the happineſs of his people, than the aggrandiſing of his family, had formed a deſign of aboliſhing monarchy, and reſtoring the *Syra-* c
cuſians to their ancient liberty. He had two daughters, both married to the greateſt lords of the kingdom, *Demarata* the elder to *Andranadorus*, and *Heraclea* to *Zoippus*, a man of a quiet diſpoſition, and who had ſerved *Hiero* with great fidelity, but was in his heart a zealous republican. Wherefore his wife *Heraclea*, whom he ſuffered to go but very ſeldom to court, never attempted to divert her father from reinſtating the *Syracuſians* in their ancient rights. But her ſiſter, at the inſtigation of her ambitious huſband, uſed her utmoſt endeavours to engage *Hiero* not to deprive his grandſon of a crown, which was due to him by right of inheritance. The private views of *Demarata* and her huſband were to govern the kingdom, during the minority of *Hieronymus*, and to wait for a favourable opportunity of d
placing the crown upon their own heads. It was not eaſy for an old man of ninety to hold out againſt the careſſes, tears and entreaties of a daughter, who beſieged him day and night. So that he at laſt gave way to the repeated inſtances of an ambitious woman, made a will, and bequeathed the crown to his grandſon. To prevent as far as poſſible the evils he apprehended, he appointed him fifteen guardians, who were to form his council, earneſtly deſiring them at his death never to depart from the alliance with the *Romans*, to which he had inviolably adhered for fifty years, to teach the young prince to abſtain from pomp and oſtentation, and to inſtill into his mind the ſame principles by which he had acted during his whole reign. e

Hieronymus. *Hiero*'s eyes were no ſooner cloſed, but the guardians, ſummoning the people, read the king's will in the aſſembly. As the taſtes of the *Syracuſians* and their views were different, ſo were their opinions with relation to the things eſtabliſhed by the king. Some did not like the monarchichal government; others took umbrage at the crown's being ſettled in one family; the greateſt part were diſſatisfied at the perpetual alliance to be made with *Rome* already half ſubdued by *Hannibal*. In ſhort, the will was liked only by a very few, who were gained over by the court, and artfully placed in ſeveral parts of the aſſembly to ſhew their approbation of it by ſhouts and acclamations. However, none had courage enough to proteſt againſt it; and therefore the aſſembly broke up, without either openly contradict- f
ing or accepting the will. The king's obſequies were celebrated with great pomp by the citizens, to whom his memory was dearer than to his relations. A few days after, *Andranodorus* thinking the young prince ſecurely ſeated on the throne, becauſe he ſaw no open oppoſition, began to take ſuch meaſures as plainly diſcovered his intentions, and encreaſed the number of the enemies of the monarch and monarchy. *Hiero*'s chief aim in appointing fifteen guardians was to engage ſo many of the greateſt lords in his dominions to be defenders of his crown and family. But *Andranodorus*, out of a ſelfiſh view, deprived *Hieronymus* of his chief

[f] Liv. l. 23.

ſupport

a ſupport by removing all the other guardians, and under pretence, that the king was of age to take the reins of government into his own hands. By this means that wicked miniſter, who had gained a great aſcendant over the young prince, united in his own perſon all the power which had been divided among them. The beſt of princes, ſucceeding a king ſo greatly beloved by his ſubjects, would have found it very difficult to maintain himſelf in the throne. Whereas *Hieronymus*, under the direction of *Andranodorus*, became quite the reverſe of his grand-father. He ſeemed to take pleaſure in increaſing the ſorrow of the people for the loſs of *Hiero*, and they, by comparing the vices of the ſucceſſor with the virtues of his predeceſſor, began to conceive a great averſion to the new king. They no longer *His vices and cruelty.*

b ſaw the throne filled with a prince, who was affected with all the misfortunes of his ſubjects, and gave the meaneſt of them a free acceſs to him, being diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of the people, only by the great reſpect and veneration they all paid him. *Hieronymus* reſumed the purple and diadem, and never appeared in public but in a chariot, drawn by white horſes, and ſurrounded by a troop of guards. His whole conduct was ſuitable to this equipage. He was difficult of acceſs, never gave audience but with an air of contempt, and often added ſevere jeſts to his denials. Even his guardians were with great difficulty ſuffered to approach him. He had no confidants, but the miniſters of his pleaſures, giving himſelf up to all manner of debauchery. His cruelty was no-ways inferior even

c to that of *Agathocles*, and ſeemed to have extinguiſhed all ſenſe of humanity in him. This raiſed an univerſal alarm both among the people and nobles, inſomuch that ſome of his guardians laid violent hands on themſelves, to avoid ſeeing the vices of their ward, and others voluntarily withdrew from their country [g].

Only three men of diſtinction continued at court, *Andranodorus*, *Zoippus*, both *Hiero*'s ſons-in-law, and *Thraſo*, ſirnamed *Charcarus*. The latter was a true courtier, that is a ſlaviſh flatterer, and a meer tool; but at the ſame time a cunning ſtateſman, and one who indeed readily complied with all the inclinations of the prince, but underſtood better than any other his maſter's true intereſt. The king often took pleaſure in engaging him in diſputes with *Andranodorus* and *Zoippus* about

d ſtate-affairs. *Thraſo* was a zealous advocate for the *Romans*; but the two others, believing the *Romans* could never recover after the dreadful overthrows they had received, openly declared for *Carthage*; and their ſpeeches had moſt weight with the young prince. However, the reaſons alledged by *Thraſo* kept him in ſuſpence, till a melancholy accident determined him to chuſe the worſt part. One, named

o *Solis*, a man of a mean condition, and who had ſerved the king from his infancy in the loweſt offices, diſcovered a conſpiracy againſt the king, but could name none of the conſpirators, except *Theodotus*, who was delivered up to *Andranodorus*, and tortured in order to make him diſcover the whole plot and the names of the conſpirators. Being in the utmoſt agony he confeſſed the crime as to himſelf, but

e inſtead of naming his accomplices, he accuſed all the king's beſt friends, though innocent, and amongſt others *Thraſo*, as the ringleader of the whole enterprize, adding, that they ſhould never have engaged in it, if they had not been countenanced by one in favour with the king, and who had free acceſs into the palace. His depoſition was believed, and all the intereſt *Thraſo* had at court could not ſave his life. As for *Theodotus* he perſiſted to the laſt breath in accuſing the innocent in order to ſave the guilty. And his accomplices depended ſo much on his ſecrecy, that none of them left the city, or abſconded during the whole time he was kept in priſon and racked [h].

Upon the death of *Thraſo*, who was the ſole ſupport of the *Roman* alliance,

f *Andranodorus* and *Zoippus* eaſily brought the king into their meaſures, who immediately diſpatched embaſſadors to the *Carthaginian* camp in *Italy*. *Hannibal* received them with great demonſtrations of kindneſs, and ſent an embaſſy to the young king of *Syracuſe*, at the head of which he put a young officer of great diſtinction at *Carthage*, named alſo *Hannibal*, hoping that the conformity of age and inclinations would make him agreeable to *Hieronymus*. With him he ſent two perſons advanced in years, who were both great ſtateſmen, and experienced commanders; one was called *Hippocrates*, and the other *Epycides*; they were born at *Carthage*, but originally *Syracuſians*, their grandfathers having been baniſhed *Sicily*, in the time of

[g] Liv. ibid. [h] Athenæus. l. 24. c. 5.

the tyranny of *Agathocles*. *Claudius Pulcher*, the *Roman* prætor in *Sicily*, took umbrage at the arrival of theſe embaſſadors, and immediately ſent deputies to the court of *Syracuſe*, to renew the alliance made with king *Hiero*. But the *Carthaginians* having already had audience of *Hieronymus*, had given him ſuch high notions of *Hannibal*'s victories and reputation, that he had ſent away young *Hannibal* to *Carthage* to prepare that ſenate for the receiving his embaſſadors, when they ſhould come to conclude a treaty of alliance with them [i].

He receives the Roman *embaſſadors with contempt.*

IN this ſituation of affairs the envoys of the *Roman* prætor were not received at *Syracuſe* with the reſpect due to their character. They began their ſpeech with explaining the motives of their deputation. We are come, ſaid they, to renew that alliance and good underſtanding, which the wiſe king *Hiero* maintained for ſo many years with *Rome*. But *Hieronymus*, who was naturally given to raillery, replied, I will ask you but one queſtion: Who were conquerors at *Cannæ*, you or the *Carthaginians?* I am told ſuch ſurprizing things of that battle, that I ſhould be glad to know all the particulars of it. This ſevere reproach put the *Romans* out of humour; however, they only made him this reply, that when he would pleaſe to be ſerious they would deſire another audience. They accordingly had one ſome days after, and ſpoke to the king with as much haughtineſs as if they had been conquerors, adviſing him not to determine upon the choice of his allies from doubtful accounts, nor change ſides too raſhly, leſt he ſhould ſoon have occaſion to repent of the meaſures he had taken. To this the king replied with an inſulting air: Yes, indeed, I ſuppoſe it was out of pure friendſhip, that the *Romans*, upon a falſe report of my grandfather's death, brought their fleet in ſight of *Syracuſe*. Did they deſign to make themſelves maſters of my dominions, or to protect them? This reproach was wholly founded on an ill turn, which the enemies of *Rome* had given to a ſtep of the *Romans*. A report being ſpread of king *Hiero*'s death, the *Roman* fleet had advanced as far as cape *Pachynum* to aſſiſt the grandſon of their faithful ally. But as ſoon as they underſtood, that *Hiero* was ſtill alive, the fleet returned to *Lilybæum*. Hence the friends of *Carthage* took occaſion to perſuade the king, that the deſign of the *Romans* was to ſeize on his dominions, and keep them for themſelves. The embaſſadors endeavoured to undeceive him, but he with an air of raillery only replied; Since then you could tack about, give me leave in my turn to take advantage of the wind, from what point ſoever it blows: it is now ſet for *Carthage*, and I ſhall ſail thither. Upon this the deputies withdrew without returning any anſwer, and informed the prætor, who had ſent them, of all that had paſſed [k].

Enters into an alliance with Carthage.

FROM this time *Rome* looked upon the king of *Syracuſe* as her enemy. And truly that prince ſoon after the departure of the embaſſadors ſent three deputies to *Carthage* to ratify the alliance he had made with *Hannibal*. The conditions of this treaty were; firſt, that the *Carthaginians* ſhould ſend a fleet and a land-army, to aſſiſt *Hieronymus*: ſecondly, that after they had with their joint forces driven the *Romans* quite out of the iſland, they ſhould divide it into two equal parts, the river *Himera* (Q) being the boundary of the *Syracuſians* on one ſide, and of the *Carthaginians* on the other. Such a treaty could not meet with any difficulty from the ſenate or *Carthage*, ſince the whole end of it was firſt to draw off *Hieronymus* from his alliance with the *Romans*, and then to ſacrifice him to their ambition. *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes* were ſenſible of this, and therefore, as they had more at heart the intereſt of *Syracuſe* than that of *Carthage*, they opened the young prince's eyes, and gave him to underſtand how prejudicial the ſecond article might prove to him. Your right to all *Sicily*, ſaid they, is indiſputable. You are the ſon of *Nereis*, the daughter of *Pyrrhus*; and who does not know, that *Pyrrhus* was by the unanimous conſent of all the *Sicilians* declared king of the whole iſland? Though this diſcourſe was noways concluſive, yet the young prince's

[i] Liv. l. 24. [k] Liv. ibid.

(Q) There were two rivers in *Sicily* known by the ſame name of *Himera*. The ſmaller fell into the *Tyrrhenian* ſea, near the preſent city of *Termini*. The larger, after having watered the middle of the iſland, diſcharges itſelf into the *Lyican* ſea. Both theſe rivers riſe on mount *Nebroda*, now *Madonia*. *Solinus*, *Mela*, and ſome other geographers make theſe two but one river, which afterwards divides itſelf into two branches (42).

(42) *Solin. c.* 13. *Pompon. Mela l.* 2. *c.* 3.

eyes

a eyes being eaſily dazzled with diſcoveries that favoured his ambition, he immediately diſpatched a new embaſſy to *Carthage*. The former propoſals he had made were juſt upon the point of being ſigned, and the *Carthaginians* were not a little ſurprized to ſee the king change his mind. The embaſſadors after a long preamble, wherein they endeavoured to prove their maſter's right to all *Sicily*, and to ſhew that he could not divide it without wronging himſelf, confined the alliance with *Carthage* to mutual aſſiſtance. The king of *Syracuſe*, ſaid they, will aſſiſt *Hannibal* in *Italy*, and *Carthage* ſhall aſſiſt him in *Sicily*. As it was of the utmoſt importance for *Carthage* to ſeparate *Syracuſe* from the *Romans*, and to recover a footing in *Sicily*, the ſenate conſented to the new propoſals of *Hieronymus*, and began to raiſe
b an army and equip a fleet to be ſent into that iſland. Half *Sicily* was at that time in the hands of the *Romans*, and had been a *Roman* province ever ſince the treaty, which put an end to the firſt *Punic* war; for by that treaty the iſland was divided into two parts; the one was poſſeſſed by the *Romans*, and the other by *Hiero*; ſo that at this time the *Romans* were in a condition to give *Hieronymus* great trouble. However, they could make no impreſſion on the king, who returned them only this unpolite and provoking anſwer, Let the *Romans* reſtore all the gold, preſents and corn that they drew from my grandfather, and conſent that the river *Himera* be the common boundary between us, and I will renew the ancient treaties with them [l].

c THE *Roman* prætor being exaſperated at theſe proceedings took the field, and began hoſtilities in the territory of *Syracuſe* before the arrival of the *Carthaginians* in *Sicily*. On the other hand *Hieronymus* leading his troops to *Leontini* on the confines of his dominions, fixed his reſidence there. His army amounted in all to about fifteen thouſand men, of which he detached two thouſand under the command of *Hippocrates* and *Epycides* to diſlodge ſome *Roman* garriſons from the poſts they poſſeſſed.

Hieronymus *murdered.*

IN the mean time the conſpirators, whoſe names *Theodotus* had concealed even in the midſt of torments, after having long watched an opportunity of putting their deſign in execution, at laſt appointed a day for the diſpatching of a tyrant,
d whoſe cruelties and other vices they could no longer bear. They poſted themſelves in a narrow ſtreet, through which the king, during his reſidence at *Leontini*, uſed to ride every day on his return from the forum to the palace. His guards always attended him, but one of them, by name *Dinomanes*, was in the number of the conſpirators, and agreed with the reſt to make the guards halt, and by that means give them an opportunity of falling upon the king, while he was at ſome diſtance from his attendants. Accordingly *Dinomanes*, who was at the head of the guards, ſtopped as it were to tie the ſtrings of his buſkins; upon this ſignal the conſpirators, ruſhing out of their ambuſh, ſtabbed the king in ſeveral places before he could receive any aſſiſtance. For *Dinomanes* facing about upon his fellow-ſoldiers, ſtood their onſet, and though dangerouſly wounded did not retire till the
e king was dead. When the guards ſaw the prince wallowing in his blood, and the conſpirators advancing to attack them, they betook themſelves to flight. When the king's death was known in the army, which was encamped under the walls of *Leontini*, the ſoldiers cried out, that the conſpirators ought to be all ſacrificed to the manes of *Hieronymus*. But the ſweet name of liberty, with which the conſpirators filled the city and camp, ſoon appeaſed their reſentment. Hopes were alſo given them, that the king's treaſures ſhould be divided among them, and that they ſhould ſoon be headed by more able generals, than the late unexperienced young prince. They were alſo put in mind of the public crimes, and private vices of
f the late king, which being artfully repreſented and in the worſt light, filled them with ſuch horror that they left the dead body to rot in the public ſtreet. A remarkable inſtance of the little dependance, that is to be had on the zeal of an inconſtant multitude [m].

THE king was no ſooner dead, but *Soſis* and *Theodotus*, two of the conſpirators, haſtened to *Syracuſe* to prevent the attempts of *Andranodorus* and the others of the king's faction. But notwithſtanding their diligence, *Andranodorus* had notice of what had happened before their arrival, and taken his precautions accordingly. He had already ſeized on the citadel, and the iſland of *Ortygia*, and filled them

[l] Liv. l. 24. c. 6. [m] Liv. ibid.

with

with troops and officers in whom he could confide. Some writers are of opinion, a
that the *Roman* prætor *Claudius* was not entirely unconcerned in a plot, which
was ſo uſeful to his republic. But, however that be, he did not fail to give the
ſenate immediate advice of all that had paſſed, and to take the neceſſary ſteps
for the preſerving of that part of *Sicily*, which belonged to the *Romans* [n].

Diſturbances in Syracuſe.

While *Andranodorus*, ſupported by the king's faction, was fortifying himſelf
in *Ortygia*, *Soſis* and *Theodotus* entered that quarter of *Syracuſe* called *Tyche*. The
ſun was ſet before they reached the city, but ſtill there was light enough to ſee the
king's diadem and bloody robes, which the conſpirators carried in their hands and
ſhewed to the people. This ſight drew crouds of the inhabitants round them,
whom they invited into *Acradina*, which was as it were the heart of the city, to b
take there proper meaſures for the recovery of their liberty. Hereupon all the city
ſided with the conſpirators; lights were ſeen in all parts; ſome took to their arms,
and thoſe, who had none in their houſes, ran to the temple of *Jupiter Olympius*,
where the arms of the *Gauls* and *Illyricans* were hung up, which the *Romans* had
preſented to their good ally king *Hiero*. Such citizens as were armed poſted them-
ſelves in all the avenues leading to the citadel, and there kept guard all night.
Andranodorus attempted to poſſeſs himſelf of the public granaries, but the ſoldiers,
whom he employed on this occaſion, revolted from him, and delivered them up
to the magiſtrates of the city. In this manner the firſt night was ſpent after the
murder of *Hieronymus* [o].

c

The next morning as ſoon as it was light, all the inhabitants of *Syracuſe*, ſome
armed, and ſome unarmed, crowded into *Acradina*, where the ſenate was aſſembled,
which had not been convened, nor conſulted upon any affair ſince *Hiero*'s death.
Polyærnus, an illuſtrious citizen, ſpoke to the people with great freedom and mode-
ration. *Syracuſians*, ſaid he, I am not at all ſurprized to ſee you up in arms in
order to recover your ancient liberty. The ſenſe you have of your paſt ſlavery,
and the calamities you have ſuffered under a tyrannical government, have inſpired
you with this generous reſolution. But, after all, you have heard from your
fathers, that civil diſcord is likewiſe attended with great evils, and that *Syracuſe*
has ſuffered more from domeſtic than foreign wars. I commend your readineſs in d
taking arms, but ſhould think you ſtill more worthy of commendation, if you
only uſed them in the laſt extremity. It is my opinion that you ſend deputies to
Andranodorus, and that you firſt try by gentle methods, whether you can prevail
upon him to open the gates of the citadel, to put the iſland into the hands of the
magiſtrates, and to withdraw his garriſons. If he ſubmits, violence is uſeleſs;
but if he perſiſts in maintaining himſelf upon a throne, to which he has no right,
his crime is greater than that of *Hieronymus*, and deſerves a more ſevere puniſh-
ment. This diſcourſe had the deſired effect; deputies were ſent to *Andranodorus*,
who entered into a conference with them. He was ſenſible, that it would be very
difficult for him to maintain himſelf in his uſurpation againſt the unanimous conſent e
of the people. *Ortygia* was already partly poſſeſſed by the citizens, and the pub-
lick granaries, on which he had depended, were in the power of the magiſtrates.
Theſe conſiderations gave him juſt apprehenſions; but his wife *Demarata*, *Hiero*'s
daughter, a haughty and ambitious woman, taking him aſide, put him in mind of
the famous ſaying of *Dionyſius* the tyrant, that no man ought to quit a throne till
he is dragged from it by the heels: ſhe adviſed him to demand time to conſider,
and in the interim to bring the troops from *Leontini*, and endeavour to gain them
by promiſing them half the king's treaſures [p].

Andranodorus did not entirely reject this counſel, nor think proper to give into
it without reſerve. He choſe a mean between both, and reſolved to ſubmit to f
the ſenate in expectation of a more favourable opportunity to bring his deſigns to
bear. He therefore anſwered the deputies, that he would open the gates of *Or-
tygia* the next day, come into *Acradina*, and give the aſſembly an account of his
conduct. Accordingly he threw open the gates the next morning, and repairing
to the market-place of *Acradina*, where the people were aſſembled, he mounted the
tribune of harangues, and after excuſing his delay from the apprehenſions he had
been under of being involved in the tyrant's puniſhment, he declared that he was
come to put his life and fortune into the hands of the ſenate. Then turning to

[n] Liv. ibid. c. 23. [o] Liv. ibid. c. 24. [p] Liv. ibid.

a *Soſis* and *Theodotus*. As for you, ſaid he, illuſtrious avengers of the public wrongs, don't imagine that the glorious work of eſtabliſhing your liberty is yet accompliſhed. What you have done hitherto is but a ſketch of what ought to follow. An unreſtrained populace is as dangerous in a republic as a perſecuting tyrant. *Andranodorus*, having ſpoke theſe words, laid down the keys of *Ortygia*, and of the king's treaſures at the feet of the two chiefs of the conſpiracy. The whole city was highly rejoiced on this occaſion, and the reſt of the day ſpent in feaſting, and returning thanks to the gods for ſo happy a change.

Andranodorus ſubmits to the ſenate.

THE next day the people aſſembled to elect the chief magiſtrates to govern the ſtate, when *Andranodorus* was one of the firſt choſen, and with him the chief conſpirators, among the reſt *Soſipater* and *Dinomanes*, though then at *Leontini*. They b had there ſeized on the money, which *Hieronymus* had with him to pay the troops, and had cauſed it to be removed to *Syracuſe*, where treaſurers were choſen to take care of all the effects of the late king. And laſtly, as a ſign of their having entirely recovered their liberty, they cauſed the wall to be beat down between *Acradina*, and the iſland *Ortygia*, which was the retreat of the kings.

IN the mean time *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes*, *Hannibal*'s two agents, whom *Hieronymus* had placed at the head of his troops, endeavoured to conceal the king's death from them, and cauſed thoſe to be aſſaſſinated who firſt ſpread the report of it in the camp. But all was to no purpoſe; they were abandoned by c the greater part of the troops, and obliged to quit the field and repair to *Syracuſe*, in order to carry on there the ſame negotiations with the republic, which they had begun with the king. But finding that the change of government had changed the diſpoſitions of the *Syracuſians*, when they were introduced into the ſenate, they ſpoke thus: We came into *Sicily* being ſent by *Hannibal* as embaſſadors to *Hieronymus* his friend and ally. We have only obeyed the commands of our general, and if our abode in the iſland gives you any umbrage, allow us at leaſt a free paſſage to our army. *Locri* is the place, where we deſire to be ſet aſhore in *Italy*; both ſea and land are infeſted by the *Romans*, we beg therefore you would give us a guard to eſcort us to that port. The *Syracuſians* were not ſorry to part with thoſe two ſtrangers, who were of a turbulent and factious diſpoſition, and well ex- d perienced in military affairs. But as the ſenate was too dilatory in appointing the time for their departure, and the guards to eſcort them, they fouud means to form a party againſt the ſenate of *Syracuſe*, and againſt *Rome*. They had commanded the king's forces, and therefore being well known to the ſoldiers, they aſſembled as many of them as they could in their lodgings, and by ſeditious ſpeeches ſtirred them up to rebellion, telling them, that the ſenate deſigned to deliver up the ſtate to the *Romans*, and ſacrifice the public good to their private ambition. *Andranodorus* was not a ſtranger to theſe plots, but favoured them underhand, in hopes of turning them to his own advantage. The ſeditious *Demarata* was continually ſpiriting him up to re-eſtabliſh monarchy, and place himſelf on the throne. The time is come, ſaid ſhe, for placing *Hiero*'s daughter on the throne of her e father. All is quiet in *Syracuſe*, but the republic not yet well ſettled, the ſoldiers, who are uſed to receive the king's pay, are not yet diſperſed, nor have they imbibed the republican ſpirit; two great generals, diſciples of *Hannibal* in the art of war, are ready to lend us their aſſiſtance; they are acquainted with the troops, and eſteemed by them: Let us then ſeize this happy moment, and not delay till *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes* are forced from *Syracuſe*, and we deprived of their concurrence [q].

A plot formed by Hippocrates *and* Epicydes.

THIS diſcourſe of *Demarata* made no ſmall impreſſion on *Andranodorus*; however, he did not think fit to imbark in ſo dangerous an enterprize till he had communicated his deſign to *Themiſtus*. This noble man had married *Harmania* the f late king's ſiſter, and therefore ſhewed a great readineſs to enter into the plot, being well apprized, that if the republican ſtate were reſtored, he ſhould be reduced to a private ſtation. Thus the deſign for uſurping the throne was formed, and meaſures taken for the putting it in execution; but an indiſcreet confidence diſconcerted the whole. *Themiſtus* was very intimate with one *Ariſto*, a man of no mean birth, but by profeſſion an actor, which was not deemed diſhonourable among the *Greeks*, men of diſtinction appearing ſometimes on the ſtage, and

[q] Liv. l. xxiv. c. 23.

acting parts in tragedies. As ſoon as *Ariſto* was informed by his friend, that the conſpirators had reſolved to put the magiſtrates to death, and re-eſtabliſh the monarchy, he thought it his duty to prefer the intereſt of his country to the laws of friendſhip; and accordingly diſcovered the conſpiracy to the chief magiſtrates or prætors, by whom, after he had been examined, ſentence of death was privately paſſed upon *Andranodorus* and *Themiſtus* upon his depoſition alone; for *Ariſto* was known to be a man of great honour and probity. The ſentence was to be executed at the door of the ſenate-houſe, when theſe two chief conſpirators ſhould come to the ſenate, and guards were placed at the entrance with private orders, to kill them as ſoon as they appeared. The guards, purſuant to their orders, fell upon them as they were entering the ſenate, and the two conſpirators fell down dead on the ſpot covered with many wounds. Their death ſtruck the reſt of the ſenators with terror, for they were quite ſtrangers to the motives of that execution; but the prætors, when the tumult was quelled, introduced *Ariſto*, who unriddled the whole ſecret to them, lamented the unhappy fate of his friend *Themiſtus*, and diſcovered the deſigns of the conſpirators. He told them, that the *Iberian* and *African* mercenaries, whom *Hieronymus* had kept in his pay, were to have been the inſtruments of this new revolution, and to have been employed in cutting off the chief citizens of *Syracuſe*; that their eſtates were to have been the rewards of the aſſaſſines, and that the due preparations were made for the ſeizing of *Ortygia* again in the name of *Andranodorus*. He then entered into a detail of all the circumſtances of the conſpiracy, and named the perſons, who were to have executed each particular part of that black deſign. As his evidence carried with it all the appearance of truth and ſincerity, the ſenate paſſed a decree, declaring that the death of *Andranodorus* was as juſt as that of *Hieronymus*.

The plot diſcover'd.

Andranodorus and Themiſtus put to death.

a b c

In the mean time, the populace, not knowing for what reaſon two citizens of diſtinction had been ſo unexpectedly put to death, threatened to revenge the violence offered them. But the ſight of the dead bodies of the two conſpirators, which were dragged out into the porch, appeaſed the tumult, and then *Sopater*, appointed by the ſenate to harangue the people, informed them of their pernicious deſigns, aſcribing all the misfortunes of *Sicily* to them, and not to *Hieronymus*, who being only a youth, had been led aſtray by their wicked counſels. He inſinuated, that the king's guardians and tutors had reigned in his name; that they ought to have been exterminated with the tyrant; that impunity had encouraged them to commit new crimes, and even to aſpire to the tyranny; that not being able to ſucceed in their deſign by force, they had made uſe of diſſimulation and perfidy; that neither favours nor honours could get the better of the wicked diſpoſition of *Andranodorus*, whom they had raiſed to the higheſt dignities with the deliverers of their country; that as to *Themiſtus*, he had been inſpired, as well as his accomplice, with the ambition of reigning by his wife. Theſe furies are the occaſion of all our misfortunes, ſaid *Sopater*; theſe the firſt authors of the preſent conſpiracy. At theſe words, the whole aſſembly cried out, that none of them ought to be ſuffered to live, and that it was neceſſary to root out entirely the race of the tyrants, without any reſerve or exception [r]. This cruel ſentence was no ſooner paſſed by the people, but the prætors, who ought to have checked the fury of the multitude, ordered it to be put in execution. *Demarata Hiero*'s daughter, and *Harmonia Gelon*'s daughter, the former married to *Andranodorus*, and the latter to *Themiſtus*, were killed firſt. The executioners went afterwards to the houſe of *Heraclea*, the wife of *Zoippus*. That virtuous princeſs was the only perſon of the royal family, who was not concerned in the conſpiracy. Her husband having been ſent on an embaſſy to *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*, had remained at *Alexandria* to avoid ſeeing the vices and ill conduct of *Hieronymus*. During his abode there, *Heraclea*, whom he had inſpired with noble ſentiments, ſpent her days in retirement, wholly employed in the education of the two young princeſſes her daughters. When ſhe heard that the executioners, after having murdered her ſiſter and niece, were come to her, ſhe took refuge with her two daughters in the moſt remote part of her houſe, where ſhe worſhipped her gods. But the murderers found her out, and *Heraclea* ſeeing thoſe who were to embrue their hands in her blood, went to meet them, and with her hair diſhevelled, her face bathed in tears, and in a condition moſt

Sentence of death paſſed on all the royal family and cruelly put in execution.

d e f

[r] Liv. ibid. c. 24, 25.

proper

a proper to move compaſſion, conjured them in the name of *Hiero* her father, not to involve an innocent woman in the guilt of *Hieronymus*; ſhe repreſented to them, that the king, whom they had ſo much reaſon to hate, had done nothing for her but increaſe her affliction, by ſeparating her husband from her; that not having any ſhare in the deſigns of her ſiſter and niece, ſhe ought to have none in their puniſhment; that her husband had always declared for a republican ſtate, and would return with joy to *Syracuſe*, if he knew of the death of *Hieronymus*, and the preſent revolution. But, alas! ſaid ſhe, how will his hopes be diſappointed? he will find his zeal for his country rewarded with the murder of his wife and children. Tell me at leaſt, what my crime is. What have you to fear from me in the forlorn condi-
b tion, to which I am reduced, or from my daughters, unhappy orphans, without credit or ſupport? We are indeed of the blood-royal, and if that gives you umbrage, baniſh us. At *Alexandria* I ſhall find a kind husband, and my daughters a tender father[1].

Her ſpeech made no impreſſion on the minds of the executioners; they drew their ſwords to ſacrifice thoſe innocent victims, and then *Heraclea*, forgetting her own danger, interceded only for her daughters; but her entreaties and tears were to no purpoſe; they firſt ſtabbed her in the ſight of her daughters, and then with innumerable wounds diſpatched them already ſtained and covered with the blood of their mother. They were ſcarce dead when an order came from the people to ſuſpend
c the execution; but when they underſtood that the innocent princeſſes were already executed, they exclaimed with the utmoſt rage and fury againſt the magiſtrates, who had been ſo ready to put that cruel ſentence in execution, without allowing them time to reflect on the injuſtice of it. The death of *Andranodorus* and *Themiſtus* had occaſioned two vacancies in the college of prætors, and the people took hold of this pretence to come to a new election. The day was fixed for the aſſembly, and all the *Syracuſians* met in the public market-place to give their ſuffrages. Compaſſion for the unfortunate *Heraclea* had greatly abated the hatred of the people to the king's party; inſomuch that *Hannibal*'s embaſſadors, who had always been zealous for the late king, did not deſpair of being elected. They were originally
d *Syracuſians*, highly eſteemed by the ſoldiery, and beſides, had gained over to their intereſt ſuch among the people as were moſt touched with compaſſion for the death of *Heraclea* and her daughters. They had alſo the addreſs to place ſome among the crowd, whom they had hired to act and ſpeak in their favour; and theſe, when the people came to vote, cried out, ſome *Epicydes*, and others *Hippocrates*, whoſe names being repeated in ſeveral places, the aſſembly took theſe ſcattered votes for the unanimous conſent of the multitude. The prætors indeed were for bringing the cauſe before the ſenate, but were prevented by the clamours of the people; ſo that *Epicydes* and *Hippocrates* were declared duly elected.

Epicydes *and* Hippocrates *elected prætors.*

Hannibal was at the bottom of all theſe diſturbances, and had good grounds to
e hope that they would both ſecure his conqueſts in *Italy*, and give *Carthage* an opportunity of recovering her ancient dominions in *Sicily*, where *Rome* would find it more difficult to maintain a war, than in her own neighbourhood. The *Romans*, who had been put in poſſeſſion of the greateſt part of this iſland, at the end of the firſt *Punic* war, had divided their dominions there into two provinces under the government of two prætors. *Appius Claudius* ruled in that which bordered on the territories of *Syracuſe*; and *Cornelius Lentulus*, at the head of two legions, commanded in the province, which was neareſt to *Lelybæum*. Beſides, *Otacilius* was cruiſing on the coaſt with a fleet of an hundred ſail, and ready to act according to the reſolutions that ſhould be taken at *Syracuſe*. However the forces of the two prætors were not
f thought ſufficient by the ſenate of *Rome* to make head againſt the *Syracuſians*, when ſupported by the numberleſs troops, which in all likelihood would be ſent into the iſland from all parts of *Africa*. It was therefore reſolved that *Marcellus* ſhould tranſport the army he commanded at *Nola*, into *Sicily*, and aſſiſt *Claudius* and *Lentulus*. As *Hannibal* was no longer ſo formidable as he had been, *Marcellus*, though juſt recovered from a fit of ſickneſs, ſet out for *Sicily* on the firſt orders, leaving *Fabius* to keep the *Carthaginian* in awe on the continent. The greateſt part of the *Syracuſian* prætors were ſtill inclined to keep up a good underſtanding with *Rome*, and had ſent deputies to *Claudius* to renew the ancient treaties which had been violated

[1] Liv. ibid. c. 26.

by

by *Hieronymus*. But *Claudius*, who knew that the conſul *Marcellus* would ſoon arrive in *Sicily*, came to no concluſion with them, referring the whole matter to the conſul; who upon his arrival having heard their propoſals, and finding them advantagious to his republic, diſpatched an embaſſy to *Syracuſe* to confirm the treaty. But the embaſſadors found the ſtate of affairs much altered. A report had been induſtriouſly ſpread by the emiſſaries of *Hannibal*, that a *Carthaginian* fleet appeared off cape *Pachynum*, and this report gave new confidence to the enemies of *Rome*. Beſides, *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes* left no ſtone unturned to inſpire the populace with an averſion to the *Romans*. By means of the mercenaries and *Roman* deſerters, they ſpread a report, that *Syracuſe* was to be delivered up to the *Romans*, and that this deſign was carrying on by the prætors, who had ſold themſelves to *Rome*. Theſe ſuſpicions were confirmed by the approach of ſome ſhips of *Otacilius*, which *Appius* had ordered to draw near to *Syracuſe* to encourage the party in the *Roman* intereſt. Nay, the populace, at the inſtigation of *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes*, had already taken up arms, to oppoſe the pretended deſcent of the *Romans*[t].

Apollonides exhorts the Syracuſians to join the Romans.

IN this confuſion the wiſeſt among the prætors thought proper to ſummon an aſſembly of the people. Hot debates aroſe, and there being reaſon to fear ſome ſedition, *Apollonides*, one of the principal ſenators, made a diſcourſe very ſuitable to the occaſion. He repreſented, that never city was nearer its deſtruction or preſervation than *Syracuſe* was at that time; that if they unanimouſly joined either the *Carthaginians* or *Romans*, they might eſcape the dangers that threatened them; but if they were divided, the war would not be more cruel and bloody between the *Carthaginians* and *Romans*, than between *Syracuſians* and *Syracuſians*, as having different troops and commanders within the narrow compaſs of their own walls; that it was therefore abſolutely neceſſary in the firſt place to agree among themſelves, and then to conſider which of the two alliances was to be preferred, ſince they could not poſſibly ſtand neuter, while the two rivals were making war under the very walls of *Syracuſe*. As for me, ſaid *Apollonides*, if I may be allowed to declare my private opinion, the love I bear my country inclines me to the *Romans*, who have ſhewed us a ſteady friendſhip, and protected us for fifty years together. *Hiero* ſided with the *Romans*, and how happy were we during the whole time of his long reign? *Hieronymus* entered into an alliance with *Hannibal*, and hence his untimely end, and our preſent diſturbances. In what then have the *Carthaginians* deſerved the preference? He added to this one very material conſideration, which was, that if they declared againſt the *Romans*, they would have the war immediately upon their hands; whereas on the ſide of *Carthage* the danger was more remote. This diſcourſe made no ſmall impreſſion on the minds of the people, who ordered that a certain number of military officers ſhould be joined in commiſſion with the prætors and the chief men in the ſenate to deliberate on the matter. Accordingly the council was held, and after long and warm debates, it appeared, that *Syracuſe* had no juſt cauſe to break with *Rome*. So that it was declared, that the treaty of peace concluded with the *Romans* ſhould be continued, and an embaſſy ſent to *Marcellus* to renew it. But the conſul would not accept of the alliance, unleſs *Leontini* and the other cities, which had been ſubject to the kings, were included in the treaty. *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes* were overjoyed to hear that the ſigning of the treaty was put off, being reſolved to imbroil matters and create a miſunderſtanding between *Rome* and *Syracuſe* on the firſt opportunity; and one offered in a few days. The *Leontines* being harraſſed by their neighbours, ſend to demand aid of the *Syracuſians*, who willingly granted them their requeſt, thinking this a favourable opportunity to diſcharge their city of a turbulent unruly multitude, and to remove their no leſs dangerous leaders. *Hippocrates* was therefore charged to march at the head of the mercenaries and *Roman* deſerters, to the number of four thouſand men, into the territory of *Leontini*, and cover their borders againſt the incurſions of their troubleſome neighbours. *Hippocrates* was not at all diſpleaſed with his new commiſſion; he immediately left *Syracuſe*, and not content to defend the *Leontines*, and ravage the territories of their enemies, made incurſions into the *Roman* province, and laid waſte the lands belonging to to *Rome* which bordered on the country of the *Leontines*. In this he acted contrary to the orders he had received; but his only view was to provoke the *Romans*, and oblige them to commit hoſtilities in the territories of *Syracuſe*,

Hoſtilities committed againſt the Romans by Hippocrates.

[t] Liv. ibid. c. 27.

wherein

a wherein he ſucceeded; for *Appius Claudius*, who was then the *Roman* prætor in that part of *Sicily*, not being able to bear the inſults of *Hippocrates*, marched his troops to the frontiers of his province, and there poſted them in different places, with orders to oppoſe the *Syracuſian* prætor, and repel force by force. This was what *Hippocrates* wanted, and accordingly, pretending that the *Romans* were come to attack him, he fell upon one of *Appius*'s detachments, and cut the whole body in pieces. *Marcellus*, upon advice of theſe proceedings, ſent deputies to *Syracuſe*, enjoyning them to declare before the ſenate and people, that no alliance was to be expected with *Rome* ſo long as theſe two enemies to the *Roman* name continued in *Sicily*, and therefore to inſiſt upon their being baniſhed the iſland. The *Syracuſians* ſhewed a great readineſs to
b comply with the conſul's requeſt, and orders were given for the apprehending of *Epicydes*, *Hippocrates* being at that time in the territory of the *Leontines* at the head of an army. But *Epicydes*, having timely notice of the deſign of the *Syracuſians*, made his eſcape, and took ſanctuary in *Leontini*, where he hoped to create new troubles. He was there received by his collegue, and both together uſed their utmoſt endeavours to embroil the *Leontines* with the *Syracuſians* by ſtirring them up to reſume their ancient liberty. The city of *Leontini* had been always ſubject to *Hiero* and *Hieronymus*; but in more ancient times an independant ſtate, and was now inclined to throw off the yoke, and recover its ancient rights and privileges. This diſpoſition of the people *Epicydes* made uſe of to attach them to his intereſt, openly de-
c claring, that neither he, nor his collegue *Hippocrates* would ever abandon them till they were as free as *Syracuſe* herſelf. What, ſaid he, ſhall *Leontini* be in a worſe condition than *Syracuſe*? Shall that imperious city ſhake off the yoke of her kings, and at the ſame time keep you in ſlavery? That liberty, which *Syracuſe* is ſo proud of, took birth within your walls. The blood of *Hieronymus* was ſhed here; the cry of liberty was firſt heard among you. What then prevents you from procuring that freedom for yourſelves, which *Syracuſe* found in your city? *Hippocrates* and I will aſſiſt you to the utmoſt of our power, and promiſe you in the name of our republic, and in that of the great *Hannibal*, that you ſhall be ſoon in a condition to act as independently of *Syracuſe*, as that city has done of you. The name of liberty was Hippocrates *and* Epicydes
d ſo agreeable to the *Leontines*, that with one conſent they declared *Hippocrates* and *elected generals* *Epicydes* their generals, proteſting that whatever meaſures *Syracuſe* might take, they *of the* Leon-
would enter into none, but ſuch as were approved of by their new commanders. tines.
Hence, when the *Syracuſians* ſent to complain of the hoſtilities committed againſt the *Romans*, and to demand, that *Epicydes* and *Hippocrates* ſhould be expelled *Sicily*, neither their complaints nor demands were heard. They received only this proud anſwer, that the republic of *Leontini* had not empowered that of *Syracuſe* to comprehend her in their alliance with the *Romans* [u].

The *Syracuſian* deputies informed the conſul of the revolt of the *Leontines*, and not only left him at liberty to declare war againſt them without any infraction of the treaty made with their republic; but even offered to aſſiſt him in ſo juſt a war, on
e condition that the *Leontines*, when ſubdued, ſhould again be ſubject to the *Syracuſians* their ancient maſters. *Marcellus* immediately took upon him the command of the troops, which ſerved under *Appius* the prætor, whom he appointed his lieutenant, and marched againſt the city of *Leontini*. The legionaries were ſo enraged at the remembrance of Leontini *taken* the unexpected maſſacre of their companions by *Hippocrates*, that they took the place *by* Marcellus.
at the firſt aſſault. *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes* had time to ſave themſelves in the citadel, whence they withdrew the night following, and retired to *Erbeſſus* or *Herbeſſus* on the river *Anapus*, near the frontiers of the *Syracuſian* territories. In their retreat they were informed, that a body of eight thouſand men was marching from *Syracuſe* under the command of *Soſis* and *Dinomenes* to join *Marcellus*. Whereupon the two cunning
f partizans of *Hannibal* hired men of their faction to meet thoſe two commanders on the road, and to pretend that they had eſcaped from the general ſlaughter at *Leontini*, where the *Romans* had put all the inhabitants to death, and burnt the city to the ground. *Marcellus* indeed had cauſed all the *Roman* deſerters found in the place, to the number of two thouſand, to be beheaded; but had treated both the inhabitants and the mercenary troops with his uſual clemency; nay, he was buſy at that very
g time in reſtoring the inhabitants their goods; and ſcarce any thing had been taken out of their houſes but what the ſoldiers had ſeized in their firſt fury. However this

[u] Liv. l. xxiv. c. 30. Plut. in Marcell.

falſe report made ſuch an impreſſion on the ſoldiers, that their officers could not prevail upon them to march any farther, but were forced to lead them to *Megara*, a city in that neighbourhood. There they had a more certain account of what had paſſed at *Leontini*, and having diſcovered the cheat *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes* had put upon them, they reſolved to be revenged, and purſued them to *Erbeſſus*. The two chiefs of the *Carthaginian* party hearing that the *Syracuſians* were on full march to *Erbeſſus*, and dreading the reſentment of the two commanders, whom they had exaſperated with the falſe reports, which had cauſed a tumult in the army, took this deſperate ſtep. Remembering that they had formerly acquired great reputation among the *Syracuſian* troops, that had ſerved under them in the time of *Hieronymus*, and conſiſted chiefly of foreigners and mercenaries, they reſolved to leave their aſylum, meet the army, and throw themſelves upon the mercy of the ſoldiers. It happened luckily for them that a body of *Cretans*, who were greatly addicted to the *Carthaginians*, were marching at the head of the *Syracuſian* army. Theſe *Cretans* had formerly ſerved the *Romans* as auxiliaries; but being taken priſoners at the battle of *Thraſymenus*, had been kindly treated by *Hannibal*, and ſent home without ranſom. To them therefore *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes* addreſſed themſelves as ſuppliants, and preſenting them with olive-branches, which were the ſymbols of peace, *Cretans*, ſaid they, we now expect you will ſhew us ſome marks of your friendſhip and gratitude, not ſuffering the *Syracuſians* to give us up to the fury of the *Romans*. The *Cretans*, affected with their ſpeech, immediately took them under their protection, and promiſed either to ſhare their danger, or deliver them out of it. *Soſis* and *Dinomenes* ordered the two priſoners to be put in irons as enemies of the ſtate, but the ſoldiers refuſed to obey their orders, proteſting that they would ſtand by them to the laſt drop of their blood. So that the two generals were forced to let the criminals eſcape unpuniſhed, and guard as well as they could againſt new intrigues. And now *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes*, ſeeing the diſpoſition of the army, invented a ſtratagem worthy of *Hannibal* himſelf. They counterfeited a letter from the two generals to *Marcellus*, and hired a courier, who was to ſuffer himſelf to be taken in the road from *Megara* to *Syracuſe*. The letter was couched in the following terms: Soſis *and* Dinomenes *to the conſul* Marcellus, *greeting. We are overjoyed to hear that you have put all the* Leontines *to the ſword, eſpecially the mercenaries who were commanded by* Hippocrates. *Our republic will never be at reſt while we have any of theſe foreigners amongſt us. Turn then your arms towards* Megara, *and deliver* Syracuſe *from the mercenaries we command.* It is eaſy to imagine what effect the reading of this letter muſt have had on the minds of the ſoldiers. They immediately cried, *to arms*, and would have fallen on their generals, if they had not ſaved themſelves by flight to *Syracuſe*, whither the calumny followed them. For *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes*, having corrupted one of the ſoldiers, who had been ſhut up in *Leontini*, ſent him away to *Syracuſe*, that he might appear there as an eye-witneſs of the pretended cruelties practiſed by *Marcellus* at the taking of the city. He exaggerated the inhumanity of the *Romans*, and declared that every thing had been deſtroyed by fire and ſword. This report found credit not only among the common people, but even among ſome of the magiſtrates. The informer was brought into the ſenate, and being examined, his depoſition raiſed a jealouſy among the leading men of the republic, who thought it neceſſary to ſhut the gates of *Syracuſe*, and guard the city againſt the *Romans*, as an enemy, whoſe avarice and cruelty would ſpare nothing. However this falſhood did not take with all; there were but few beſides the populace and ſoldiery, who gave into it; the reſt were undeceived by *Soſis* and *Dinomenes* [w].

IN the mean time *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes*, taking advantage of the abſence of *Soſis* and *Dinomenes*, made themſelves maſters of the army, and ſo incenſed them againſt their generals, that they were for cutting in pieces the few *Syracuſian* troops that ſerved among them, as privy to their deſign of deſtroying all the foreigners. But the two *Carthaginians* ſtopped their fury not ſo much out of compaſſion as policy. They were ſenſible, that the maſſacre of thoſe innocent men would have provoked the citizens of *Syracuſe* againſt them; whereas by protecting them they ſecured to themſelves both their friendſhip and that of their relations. Having taken theſe precautions, they began their march to *Syracuſe*, and finding the gates ſhut, they

[w] Liv. ibid. c. 34, 35.

a prevailed upon the officers of the guard to open one, declaring that their only deſign was to defend the city againſt the *Romans*. Some part of the army was already entered, when the *Syracuſian* prætors haſtening to the gate, commanded it to be ſhut. But the ſoldiers without, and populace within, conſpiring together, the few *Syracuſian* troops, that were then under arms, could not prevent the whole army from entering the city, and poſſeſſing themſelves of the quarter called *Tyche*. The prætors retired to *Acradina*, but as they had only a handful of young citizens to defend it, that poſt was ſoon forced, and all the prætors, who were there, maſſacred, except *Soſis*, who eſcaped in the tumult, and took ſanctuary in the *Roman* camp. Thus the two partizans of *Carthage* became maſters of *Syracuſe*, and having
b the people and troops at their devotion, ruled with as abſolute and arbitrary a ſway as any tyrants had done before them. And now foreſeeing that *Marcellus* would ſoon lay ſiege to the city, they neglected nothing that was neceſſary to put it in a poſture of defence. They gave the ſlaves their liberty, and enrolled them in the troops. They ſet free all priſoners, aſſembled the people to elect new prætors, and prevailed upon the blind multitude to elect them only, which was confirming the ſovereignty they had uſurped.

Hippocrates *and* Epicydes *enter* Syracuſe.

Marcellus no ſooner heard that *Epicydes* and *Hippocrates* were become maſters of *Syracuſe*, but he left *Leontini*, and at the entreaties of the prætors, who had fled for refuge to his camp, came and inveſted the city. The *Roman* prætor *Appius* ſtill
c endeavoured to bring about an accommodation, and with this view ſent two gallies to *Syracuſe* with embaſſadors to negotiate a reconciliation between the *Romans* and the citizens. But one of the gallies being by a violent ſtorm driven into the port, the *Syracuſians* ſeized it, and by that act of hoſtility declared war. The other galley, which had the embaſſadors on board, returned without landing them, leſt the law of nations ſhould be violated in their perſons. However *Marcellus*, who was encamped near the temple of *Jupiter Olympius* about a mile and a half from the city, in order to bring the *Syracuſians* to reaſon, ſent in a new embaſſy. But *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes*, hearing of their approach, went out to meet them with a numerous attendance, not caring they ſhould come into the city. The *Roman*,
d who was at the head of the embaſſy, addreſſing the *Syracuſians*, told them, that the *Roman* conſul was not come as an enemy to deprive them of their liberty, but to reſcue them from the oppreſſion they groaned under, and to revenge the death of their murdered prætors; and that if they ſuffered their magiſtrates, who had ſheltered themſelves in the *Roman* camp, to return and live at home quietly, if they delivered up into the conſul's hands the authors of the late ſlaughter, and reſtored the city of *Syracuſe* to its ancient liberty, the *Romans* would have no occaſion to make uſe of arms, or employ any violence. But if they did not comply with theſe juſt demands, they ſhould be obliged to treat them as enemies, and make them feel the moſt dreadful effects of war. To this *Hippocrates* haughtily replied, that if they intended
e to beſiege *Syracuſe*, they ſhould ſoon be made ſenſible of the difference between that city and *Leontini*, and that as for their demands, they would grant none of them. Having made this ſhort reply, he turned his back upon the deputies, returned into the city with his attendants, and cauſed the gates to be ſhut. *Marcellus* therefore determined to beſiege the place by ſea and land, and made the neceſſary preparations for ſo great an undertaking [x].

Syracuſe *beſieged by* Marcellus.

When the *Romans* had taken their poſts, they hoped to carry the city of *Syracuſe* by aſſault as they had lately done that of *Leontini*. The attack was general on the ſide of *Acradina* by ſea, and of *Tyche* by land. *Marcellus* took upon him the command of the fleet, leaving the land-forces to be conducted by *Appius*. The
f city was twenty-two miles in compaſs, and nevertheleſs *Marcellus* cauſed machines of various ſorts to be raiſed all round it, in hopes of finding ſome weak place in ſo vaſt a compaſs of walls. But to his great ſurprize he found all places equally defended by the wonderful induſtry of a ſingle man. This was the celebrated *Archimedes*, who at the requeſt of king *Hiero*, to whom he was related, had framed ſuch engines of war as quite diſconcerted the meaſures of the *Romans*. That pacific prince had no occaſion to make uſe of theſe maſter-pieces of art, during the whole length of his reign, nor, probably did he ever imagine that they would be firſt uſed againſt his faithful allies the *Romans*. But *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes* finding how uſeful both

Archimedes *defends* Syracuſe *with his ſurprizing machines.*

[x] Liv. l. xxiv. c. 24. Polyb. l. viii. Plut. in Marcell.

the

the machines and the contriver might prove in ſo critical a conjuncture, prevailed upon a
that great mathematician to undertake the defence of his country; and to his genius alone it was owing that the city, though of ſo large a compaſs, held out near three years againſt the utmoſt efforts of a conſular army. The immenſe preparations, which the conſul made for the taking of the city by ſtorm, could not have failed carrying it, had it not been defended by *Archimedes*. The *Roman* fleet conſiſted of ſixty quinqueremes, beſides a far greater number of other ſhips. The decks were covered with ſoldiers armed with darts, ſlings, and bows, to drive the beſieged from the ramparts, which on the ſide of *Acradina* were waſhed by the ſea, and to facilitate the approach to the walls. But a machine of *Marcellus*'s own invention was what he chiefly depended on. He had faſtened together ſideways eight gallies of different lengths, b
which made but one large body, and were rowed only by the oars of the outermoſt galleys. Theſe eight gallies, thus joined, ſerved only as a baſis for a machine, which was raiſed up higher than the higheſt towers of the walls, and had at the top a platform guarded with parapets in front and on each ſide. This machine was called a *Sambuca* from its reſemblance to a muſical inſtrument of that name not unlike a harp. The conſul's deſign was to bring his ſambuca to the foot of the walls of *Acradina*; but while it was ſtill at a conſiderable diſtance (and it advanced very ſlow being moved only by two ranks of rowers) *Archimedes* diſcharged from one of his engines a vaſt ſtone, weighing, according to *Plutarch*'s account (R), twelve hundred and fifty pounds, then a ſecond, and im- c
mediately after a third, all which, falling upon the ſambuca with a dreadful noiſe, broke its ſupports, and gave the gallies, upon which it ſtood, ſuch a violent ſhock, that they parted, and the machine, which *Marcellus* had raiſed upon them at a vaſt trouble and expence, was battered to pieces. At the ſame time ſeveral other machines, which were not viſible without the walls, and conſequently did not leſſen the confidence of the *Romans* in the aſſault, played inceſſantly upon their ſhips, and overwhelmed them with ſhowers of ſtones, rafters, and beams pointed with iron. Inſomuch that *Marcellus*, being at a loſs what to do, retired with all poſſible haſte, and ſent orders to his land-forces to do the ſame. For the attack on the land-ſide was attended with no better ſucceſs, the ranks being broke and thrown into the utmoſt d
confuſion by the ſtones and darts, which flew with ſuch noiſe, force and rapidity, that they ſtruck the *Romans* with terror, and daſhed all to pieces before them [y].

Marcellus ſurpriſed, though not diſcouraged, at this artificial ſtorm, which he did not expect, held a council of war, in which it was reſolved the next day before ſun-riſe, to come up cloſe under the wall and keep there. They were in hopes by this means to ſecure themſelves againſt this terrible ſtorm of ſtones and darts, which fell on the ſhips when at a diſtance. But *Archimedes* had prepared engines, which were adapted to all diſtances. When the *Romans* therefore had brought their ſhips cloſe under the wall, and thought themſelves well covered, they were unexpectedly overwhelmed with a new ſhower of darts and ſtones, which fell perpendicularly on e
their heads, which obliged them to retire with great precipitation. But they were no ſooner got at ſome diſtance, than a new ſhower of darts overtook them, which made a dreadful havock of the men, while ſtones of an immenſe weight, diſcharged from other machines, either diſabled or broke in pieces moſt of their gallies. This loſs they ſuſtained without being able to revenge it in the leaſt on the enemy. For

[y] LIV. PLUT. POLYB. ibid.

(R) It is not eaſy to conceive, how the machines formed by *Archimedes* could throw ſtones of ten quintals, or of ten talents weight, as *Plutarch* expreſſes it (43). at the fleet of *Marcellus*, when it was at a conſiderable diſtance from the walls of *Syracuſe*. If what *Plutarch* affirms be true, our artillery falls ſhort of thoſe frightful machines. Some have therefore queſtioned that author's account, and adhered to *Polybius*, who reduces the ſtones that were thrown by the *Baliſtæ* made by *Archimedes*, to the weight of ten pounds. If we ſuppoſe that each of theſe ſtones, or rather rocks, weighed ten quintals, we cannot compute them at leſs than twelve hundred and fifty pounds weight each, at the rate of an hundred and twenty-five pounds each quintal or talent, according to the cuſtom of computing received among the ancient *Greeks*, and here uſed by *Plutarch*. *Livy* ſeems to agree with *Polybius*, and only ſays, that the machines of *Archimedes* threw ſtones of a great weight on the gallies of *Marcellus*. If we reckon the talents mentioned by *Plutarch*, according to the talents uſed in *Sicily*, the ſtones will be reduced to the weight of twenty-five pounds only; nay, ſome authors infer from various paſſages of *Suidas*, *Pollux*, and *Faſtus*, that the talent of *Sicily* ſcarce weighed ten pounds.

(43) *Plut. in Marcell.*

Archi-

a *Archimedes* had placed moſt of his engines behind the walls, and not only out of the reach, but even out of the ſight of the enemy; ſo that the *Romans* were repulſed with a dreadful ſlaughter without ſeeing the hand that occaſioned it, as if they had been fighting, to uſe *Plutarch*'s expreſſion, not with men, but with the gods themſelves. What moſt haraſſed the *Romans* in the attack by ſea, was a ſort of crow with iron claws, faſtened to a long chain, which was let down by a kind of lever. The weight of the iron made it fall with great violence, and drove it into the planks of the gallies. Then the beſieged by a great weight of lead at the other end of the lever weighed it down, and conſequently raiſed up the iron of the crow in proportion, and with it the prow of the galley, to which it was faſtened, ſinking the poop at
b the ſame time into the water. After this the crow letting go its hold all on a ſudden, the prow of the galley fell with ſuch force into the ſea, that the whole veſſel was filled with water and ſunk. At other times the machines dragging ſhips to the ſhore by hooks, daſhed them to pieces againſt the points of the rocks, which projected under the walls. Other veſſels were quite lifted up into the air, there whirled about with incredible rapidity, and then let fall into the ſea and ſunk with all that were in them. How theſe ſtupendous works were effected, few, if any, have hitherto been able to underſtand. Some writers are of opinion, that *Plutarch* and *Polybius*, from whom we have theſe accounts, had no better authority for their relations than a tradition founded only on the ignorance of thoſe who handed it down to them. The *Romans*,
c ſay they, in the time of *Marcellus*, did not value themſelves upon diving into the ſecrets of mechaniſm, and therefore to extol the conqueror of *Syracuſe* took pleaſure in magnifying every thing, and making miracles of the moſt common effects of mechanics. Thus ſome authors reaſon, and chuſe to leſſen the credit of venerable writers, and of *Archimedes* himſelf, rather than honeſtly confeſs, that the machines as deſcribed by *Polybius*, *Plutarch*, and *Livy*, were wonders of mechaniſm which all mankind are not capable of underſtanding.

The troops under the command of *Appius* ſuffered no leſs in this ſecond attack than the fleet. In the whole ſpace of ground, which the army, when formed, took up, the laſt files, as well as the firſt, were overwhelmed with ſhowers of darts and flints,
d againſt which they could not poſſibly defend themſelves. When they had with infinite trouble brought the mantelets and covered galleries, under which they were to work the rams, near the foot of the wall, *Archimedes* diſcharged ſuch large beams and ſtones upon them as cruſhed them to pieces. If any brave *Roman* ventured to draw too near to the wall, iron hooks were immediately let down from above, which taking hold of his cloaths, or ſome part of his body, lifted him up in the air, and daſhed out his brains with the fall. Thus one ſingle man repulſed two *Roman* armies, by mere dint of genius, without having any occaſion to make uſe of the ſword. The *Syracuſians* were no more than his inſtruments in managing the machines according to his directions, while he himſelf was the ſoul that preſided over all their
e powers and operations. *Marcellus*, though at a loſs what to do, could not however forbear expreſſing himſelf with pleaſantry; ſhall we perſiſt, ſaid he to his workmen, in making war upon this *Briareus*, upon this giant with an hundred hands? But the ſoldiers were ſo terrified, that if they ſaw upon the walls only a ſmall cord, or the leaſt piece of wood, they immediately turned their backs and fled, crying out that *Archimedes* was going to diſcharge ſome dreadful machine upon them [z].

Marcellus and *Claudius* ſeeing their troops thus diſheartened, and having no hopes of making a breach in the walls, called a council, in which it was reſolved to turn the ſiege into a blockade, ſhut up all the avenues to the place both by ſea and land, and force it to ſurrender by famine. But in the mean time that ſo great an army
f might not continue inactive before one ſingle city, *Marcellus*, leaving *Appius* before *Syracuſe* to intercept all convoys to it, put himſelf at the head of two-thirds of the *Roman* troops, and ſet out to reconquer the cities, which in this general diſturbance of *Sicily* had deſerted the *Romans*. *Elorum* and *Herbeſſus* ſurrendered of their own accord, and were kindly treated by the conqueror; but *Megara*, having ſtood a ſiege, was taken and razed to the ground, which ſtruck no ſmall terror into the *Syracuſians*, who now began to fear the like fate. After *Marcellus* had reduced a great many cities without oppoſition, there being no army in the field to oppoſe him, at laſt *Hamilco* entered the port of *Heraclea* with a numerous fleet ſent from *Carthage*, and

Marcellus reduces ſeveral cities.

[z] Plut. Polyb. Liv. ubi ſupra.

landed twenty thouſand foot, three thouſand horſe, and twelve elephants. His forces a
were no ſooner ſet aſhore, but he marched againſt *Agrigentum*, which he retook from the *Romans* with ſeveral other cities lately reduced by *Marcellus*. Upon the news of his arrival and progreſs, which were ſoon known at *Syracuſe*, the gariſon, which was yet entire, and had ſuffered no hardſhips from the ſiege, was very impatient to take the field and join *Hamilco*. Accordingly it was reſolved, that *Epicydes* ſhould command in the city, during the blockade, and *Hippocrates* march out at the head of ten thouſand foot, and fifteen hundred horſe, to carry on the war in concert with *Hamilco*, and ſtop the progreſs of *Marcellus*. This deſign was executed in the night without difficulty. *Hippocrates* at the head of his detachment broke through the *Roman* lines, and encamped at *Acrillæ*, a ſmall town to the ſouth of b
Syracuſe.

IN the mean time *Marcellus*, after having made a vain attempt upon *Agrigentum*, which was held by *Hamilco*, was returning with his army to *Syracuſe*. He did not know that *Hippocrates* had broke out of the beſieged city, and was ſo near him; but nevertheleſs marched in good order for fear of a ſurprize. As he drew near *Acrillæ* he unexpectedly diſcovered the enemy buſy in fortifying their camp in order to paſs the night there. Whereupon he advanced in great haſte, and falling upon them before they had time to draw up, cut eight thouſand of them in pieces. The cavalry with a ſmall body of infantry made their eſcape, under the conduct of *Hippocrates*, to *Acræ* (S), a city belonging to *Syracuſe*; and *Marcellus*, after this victory, which c
kept ſeveral cities ſteady in the intereſt of *Rome*, purſued his march to *Syracuſe*, and kept it more cloſely blocked up than ever [a].

And defeats Hippocrates.

WHILE *Marcellus* and *Appius* continued inactive before *Syracuſe*, ſuccours were brought both to the *Carthaginians* and *Romans*, the two republics being reſolved to make their utmoſt efforts in *Sicily*. *Bomilcar* arrived at *Syracuſe* with a fleet of fifty ſail, and about the ſame time a *Roman* fleet brought a whole legion to *Panormus*. This legion *Hamilco* hoped to ſurprize before they reached the *Roman* camp, but they luckily kept along the coaſt, and arrived ſafe at cape *Pachynum*, while *Hamilco*, expecting they would have croſſed the country, lay in wait for them at a great diſtance from the ſhore. At *Pachynum Appius* met them with a large detachment, d
and conducted them to the main body of the army before *Syracuſe*. As for *Bomilcar*, the *Carthaginian* admiral, ſoon after his arrival he put to ſea again and returned to *Carthage*, upon advice that the *Roman* fleet, which was far more ſtrong than his, was advancing to attack him. *Hamilco*, being joined by *Hippocrates* and the few troops that had eſcaped the late ſlaughter, advanced to *Syracuſe* in order to draw *Marcellus* to a battle. But finding the *Roman* general kept cloſe in his lines, which were well fortified, he left *Syracuſe* and marching about the country drew ſeveral cities off from the *Romans*. *Murgantia* betrayed the *Roman* gariſon into his hands, and ſurrendered. *Enna*, a city of great importance, intended to follow the example of *Murgantia*. But *Pinarius*, the commander of the gariſon, being alarmed at the e
reports which were ſpread of the revolt of many cities, after having maſſacred the *Roman* gariſons, kept part of his men under arms night and day, ſo that all the *Sicilian* artifices to deceive him proved ineffectual. He ſet and relieved the guards himſelf, and was ever ready againſt all events, as if *Hamilco* had been at the gates. The inhabitants therefore, who had promiſed to deliver up the city to *Hamilco*, finding that *Pinarius* could not be ſurpriſed, reſolved to attempt ſomething by open force, and aſſembling in crowds demanded of him the keys of their city. *Pinarius* calmly told them, that he had received the keys of the city, and his commiſſion to guard it, from his general; that it was in vain to apply to him while the conſul was within reach; and laſtly, that he could not diſobey the orders of his gener l f
without drawing upon himſelf and his family the ſevereſt puniſhments. The *Ennenſes*

Several cities revolt to the Carthaginians.

[a] LIV. l. xxiv. c. 35.

(S) *Acra* was built, according to *Thucydides* (44), by the *Syracuſians* about the fourth year of the eighth olympiad, ſeventy years after the foundation of *Syracuſe*. *Cluverius* plainly proves from the march, which *Hippocrates* here takes, and from the old itineraries, that this city ſtood near the monaſtery, which the *Sicilians* call *Santa Maura d'Arcia*, between the cities of *Noto* and *Avola*, about twenty-four miles from *Syracuſe*.

(44) *Thucyd. l.* vi.

anſwer d,

a anſwered, that if he did not of his own accord comply with their requeſt, they would deliver themſelves from their preſent ſlavery by force. To which *Pinarius* replied, that ſince they would not be at the trouble of recurring to *Marcellus*, he deſired they would at leaſt ſuffer an aſſembly of the people to be called, that he might know whether this was the motion of a few only, or of the whole city. This being granted, and the aſſembly appointed to meet the next day, *Pinarius* perceiving that the multitude were determined to come to ſome violent reſolution, took his meaſures accordingly. In order to ſecure himſelf againſt their furious attempts, he retired with his gariſon into the citadel, and there acquainted them with the danger that threatened them. The perfidious *Ennenſes*, ſaid he, deſign to put us all to b death, and then ſurrender themſelves up to the *Carthaginians*. An aſſembly of the people is appointed to meet to morrow. By break of day therefore our fate or that of the treacherous *Sicilians* muſt be determined. If we are not by that time maſters of their lives and fortunes, they will be of ours. Let us not then ſuffer them to prevent us. Arm yourſelves, and wait for a ſignal from me. I ſhall be at the aſſembly, and when I give you a ſignal with my robe, make a great ſhout, fall on the citizens, and cut them in pieces without giving any quarter. Having thus ſpoke, he poſted ſome of his troops in the avenues to the market-place, and others in the theatre, where the aſſembly was held. Aſſoon as it was day, *Pinarius* came to the place appointed, and repreſented to the multitude, that he could not c ſurrender the keys without incurring the diſpleaſure of his general, which would prove fatal to him and his children. Upon this the whole multitude cried out, that he muſt deliver the keys, and that as to the incurring the diſpleaſure of his general, that was nothing to them. They then crowded round him and began to offer violence, when *Pinarius* ſtarting up, Your blood, ſaid he, ſhall atone for the affront you offer a *Roman* officer, and immediately gave the ſignal agreed on, and the ſoldiers ruſhing in upon the unarmed multitude began the ſlaughter. Some poſted themſelves at the doors that none might eſcape, others ſword in hand fell upon thoſe who had ſurrounded their commander. The floor and ſeats of the theatre were in an inſtant covered with blood, and as many were ſtifled in endeavouring to eſcape as fell by the ſword. d The ſlaughter in the ſtreets was no leſs dreadful, the dead and wounded lying every-where in heaps; none were ſpared, and the city was treated as if it had been taken by aſſault, and given up to the ſoldiers to be plundered. Thus *Enna* was kept in the hands of the *Romans*, who excuſed their conduct on this occaſion by ſaying, that they had only been before-hand with thoſe, who deſigned to treat them in the ſame manner. And indeed *Marcellus*, who was a man of a very mild and humane temper, approved of this action, and even granted the ſoldiers all the plunder which had been found in the city. But as the city of *Enna* was conſecrated to *Ceres* and her daughter *Proſerpine*, the *Sicilians* were highly offended at the maſſacre of the *Ennenſes*, and their revolts became daily more frequent [b].

Murgantia preſerved by Pinarius.

e In the mean time *Marcellus*, having kept all the avenues to *Syracuſe* ſhut up the whole ſummer, thought it adviſeable to put his men into winter-quarters in ſome place near the beſieged city; and accordingly retired to *Leon* (T) in that neighbourhood, to watch there the city and keep it blocked up till ſpring. He ſent *Appius Claudius* to *Rome*, that prætor intending to ask the conſulſhip againſt the next year, a dignity which he had well deſerved. *T. Quintius Criſpinus*, one of *Marcellus*'s lieutenants was put in his room, and ſoon after new conſuls being created, viz. *Q. Fabius Maximus*, and *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus*, *Marcellus* from being conſul, became proconſul in *Sicily*, and commander in chief of all the *Roman* forces there.

When the ſeaſon of the year ſuffered the proconſul to take the field again, he was f at a loſs what to do; ſome of his officers adviſed him to attack *Hamilco* in *Agrigentum*, and others to return to his trenches before *Syracuſe* and continue the blockade. But the wiſe proconſul foreſaw, that it would be impoſſible for him to take the city either

[b] Liv. ibid. c. 36.

(T) The town of *Leon* ſtood north of *Syracuſe*, ſix or ſeven furlongs from *Hexapylum*, as *Thucydides* informs us (45). *Hexapylum* was a ſtately building, which ſerved for an entrance into *Syracuſe* by the quarter called *Tyche*. *Livy* (46) reckons the diſtance between *Hexapylum* and *Leon* to be five thouſand paces. But this ſeems very improbable; for *Marcellus* encamped there with a deſign to continue the blockade of *Syracuſe*. Interpreters therefore commonly take for granted, that the text of *Livy* is corrupted, and that we ought to read *Mille & quingentis paſſibus*, inſtead of *quinque millia paſſuum*. By this correction *Livy*'s account agrees better with that of *Thucydides*.

(45) *Thucyd. l.* vi.

(46) *Liv. l.* xxiv. *c.* 35.

by

by force, while it was defended by *Archimedes*; or by famine, while the *Carthaginian* fleet, which was returned far more numerous than before, ſupplied it with proviſions. He therefore thought, that the only expedient was to try whether he could make himſelf maſter of *Syracuſe* by ſome ſecret intelligence. There were many *Syracuſians* in his camp, who had taken refuge there in the beginning of the troubles. *Marcellus* therefore diſcloſed his ſcheme to theſe faithful allies, and impowered them to offer their countrymen their lives and liberties if they ſurrendered to the *Romans*. The *Syracuſians* in the camp zealouſly entered into the proconſul's meaſures; but as they found it impoſſible to carry on a correſpondence with their friends in the city, they reſolved to ſend into *Syracuſe* a truſty ſlave, as a deſerter, to acquaint their friends with the proconſul's propoſals. The ſlave acquitted himſelf of his charge with great fidelity, and above fourſcore perſons of diſtinction, hiding themſelves under the nets in a fiſher-boat, came ſucceſſively to the *Roman* camp and conferred in perſon with *Marcellus*. But when the conſpiracy was upon the point of taking effect, one *Attalus*, in reſentment for not having been admitted into it, diſcovered the whole to *Epicydes*, who put all the conſpirators to death.

Marcellus ſeeing his ſcheme thus defeated, found himſelf involved in new difficulties. Nothing came into his thoughts but the grief and ſhame of raiſing a ſiege after having ſpent ſo much time in it, and loſt great numbers of men and ſhips. While he was deliberating what to do, an unforeſeen accident revived his hopes of gaining at laſt the place. *Epicydes* had ſent one *Damippus*, a *Lacedæmonian*, to demand ſuccours of *Philip* king of *Macedon*, who had already entered into a treaty with the *Carthaginians*. *Damippus* was taken by ſome ſhips of the *Roman* ſquadron, and brought to the camp of *Marcellus*. But *Epicydes*, extreamly concerned at his detention, expreſſed a great deſire to ranſom the priſoner, and the *Roman* general was not averſe to it, *Rome* having her reaſons to keep up a good underſtanding with *Lacedæmon* at that time. Conferences therefore were appointed to be held near *Syracuſe* at a place called *Portus Trogilorum* (U), by the foot of a tower called *Galeagra*. As the deputies went to and fro, it came into a *Roman* ſoldier's thoughts to conſider the wall with attention. After having counted the ſtones, which were all of an equal ſize, and examined with his eye the meaſure of each, he found that the wall was not ſo high as had been imagined, and concluded that it might be ſcaled with ladders of a moderate ſize. The ſoldier therefore without loſs of time gave the proconſul an account of what he had obſerved, and *Marcellus* did not neglect the hint; he examined the place himſelf, and found that the ſoldier's obſervations were very juſt. But the difficulty was how to come with his men to the place, which indeed was weak, but well defended with *Archimedes*'s machines, and guarded with extraordinary care. While *Marcellus* was meditating with himſelf by what ſtratagem he might ſurprize the centinels there on guard, a deſerter informed him, that the *Syracuſians* were on a certain day to begin the celebration of the feſtival of *Diana* (W), which laſted three days, and that *Epicydes*, who wanted other proviſions, deſigned to diſtribute wine in great plenty among the people and ſoldiers. Upon this advice *Marcellus* reſolved to attack the city in one of the nights during the feſtival, not confining the aſſault to the weak place, but making it general. To this end he held a council with ſome tribunes of the army, and choſe out a certain number of the moſt reſolute centurions, giving them leave to ſelect a thouſand men out of the whole army. Theſe were ordered firſt to take a repaſt, and then to repoſe till the trumpet called them. In the mean time ladders were prepared with great ſecreſy to prevent the enemy from being informed by their ſpies. The *Roman* general determined to make his attack, when the townſmen and ſoldiers, after having drunk plentifully, were in their firſt ſleep. The ſcaling-ladders were committed

(U) *Trogilorum* was a name common both to a ſuburb and a port near *Syracuſe*; both which lay north of *Tyche* and *Acradina*. As to the tower called *Galeagra*, it ſtood near the *Portus Trogilorum*, where *Tyche* and *Acradina* joined.

(W) This feſtival was celebrated in honour of *Diana* under the name of *Artemis*, not only at *Syracuſe*, but at *Delphos*, and in moſt cities of *Greece*. On this occaſion they offered to the goddeſs a mullet, as being thought to bear ſome ſort of relation to her; becauſe it is ſaid to hunt and kill the ſea-hare (47). The bread offered to the goddeſs was called *Lochia*, and the women, who performed the ſacred rites, *Lombai* (48). The *Greeks* celebrated no fewer than twenty-two feſtivals in honour of *Diana*; of which *Johnſon* in his work, intitled, *de Feſtis Græcorum* gives a minute and diſtinct account.

(47) *Athenæus, l.* vii. (48) *Heſychius & Athenæus, ibid.*

to

a to the management of one ſingle manipulus or company, conſiſting of an hundred and twenty men. Thoſe advanced ſilently to the foot of the wall, to which they applied their ladders, and made themſelves maſters of the tower *Galeagra*, without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition, or even being diſcovered, the ſoldiers being all aſleep after their debauch. When the firſt had gained the top of the ramparts without noiſe or tumult, the others followed, encouraged by the boldneſs and ſucceſs of their leaders. At length this whole detachment, conſiſting of a thouſand choſen men, got ſafe and undiſcovered into the city. In the mean time another detachment, taking advantage of the enemy's ſtillneſs, for they were all either drunk or aſleep, beat down one of the gates of *Hexapylum*, and gave a free paſſage to a great body of
b *Romans* on that ſide. Other detachments ſcaled the walls in different parts, and they all met at *Hexapylum*, which had before been appointed for the place of their general rendezvous. The *Romans* now kept ſilence no longer, but advanced in order of battle, and made themſelves maſters of the quarter called *Epipolæ*, which was encompaſſed with the ſame common wall as *Ortygia*, *Acradina*, *Tyche* and *Neapolis*; had its own citadel called *Euryalum* on the top of a ſteep rock, and was, we may ſay, a fifth city. Here the *Romans* ſpent the night, making a dreadful noiſe with their trumpets in order to ſtrike terror into the enemy. The ſound was not heard all over this vaſt city, but it reached far enough to alarm all *Tyche*, and throw that quarter into the utmoſt conſternation; ſome of the inhabitants there, thinking the
c *Romans* already in poſſeſſion of the whole city, leaped down from the walls into the ditch, while others, falling in with the *Roman* guards, were cut in pieces. Notwithſtanding this confuſion *Marcellus* waited till day-break, and then having beat down the ſtately entrance with ſix gates, called *Hexapylum*, he entered *Tyche* with his army in battalia [c].

Epipolæ taken.

And Tyche.

In the mean time *Epicydes*, who was quartered in the fartheſt part of *Ortygia* at a great diſtance from the places poſſeſſed by the *Romans*, hearing that the enemy had ſeized on *Epipolæ* and *Tyche*, went out of the iſland, and croſſed *Acradina* at the head of a numerous body of mercenaries with a deſign to drive the *Romans* from their poſts, imagining that only a few deſperate men had ſcaled the walls. But when he
d ſaw, to his great ſurprize, all *Epipolæ* full of legionaries, after a ſlight skirmiſh, he retired into *Acradina* to allay the people's fears, and prevent a tumult. Then *Marcellus* marching from *Tyche* to *Epipolæ* joined the detachment, which had poſſeſſed themſelves of that quarter in the night. As *Marcellus* was now on the point of becoming maſter of one of the fineſt and moſt opulent cities in the world, his officers did not fail to congratulate him on his ſucceſs. But he, conſidering from an eminence the beauty and extent of that great and ſtately metropolis, is ſaid to have ſhed tears, being touched with compaſſion on the miſeries, to which ſo many inhabitants, formerly rich and fortunate, were going to be reduced. He called to mind the two powerful *Athenian* fleets, which had been ſunk before this city, and the two nume-
e rous armies cut in pieces with the illuſtrious generals who commanded them; the many wars ſuſtained with ſo much valour againſt the *Carthaginians*, the famous tyrants and kings, who had reigned in that ancient metropolis, *Hiero* particularly, who had ſignalized himſelf by the important ſervices he had rendered the people of *Rome*, whoſe intereſts had been as dear to him as his own; moved with theſe reflections, and his natural inclination to try gentle methods before he uſed violence, he thought it incumbent upon him to engage the *Syracuſian* noblemen of his party to ſolicit their countrymen to ſurrender of their own accord, that they might thereby prevent the ſacking of the city. The ſoldiers murmured a little at the general's good nature, looking upon *Syracuſe* and its immenſe riches as a ſure booty. Their wiſhes were but too
f ſucceſsful, for the *Syracuſians* would hearken to no propoſals, though the *Romans* were already maſters of a conſiderable part of the city. *Acradina*, the ſtrongeſt and beſt part of the city was not yet taken, and *Epicydes* had appointed the *Roman* deſerters to guard it, who, as they were to die according to the *Roman* laws, though the town were taken by compoſition, watched all the avenues to it with extreme care. *Marcellus* therefore, leaving *Acradina*, turned his arms againſt the citadel of *Epipolæ*, called *Euryalum*, which was not yet taken. This fort ſtood on an eminence, at ſome diſtance from the ſea, and commanded the great road by which the convoys were brought into the city. The governor was an *Argian*, by name *Philodemus*, and

[c] Liv. Plut. Polyb. ibid.

had been entruſted with the defence of the place by *Epicydes*. *Soſis*, who had formerly taken ſanctuary in the *Roman* camp, hoped to prevail upon him to capitulate. But the artful *Greek*, having demanded time to conſider, put off the ſurrender of the citadel from day to day, not doubting but *Hamilco* and *Hippocrates* would haſten to the relief of *Syracuſe* already half taken. Hereupon *Marcellus*, encamping between *Neapolis* and *Tyche*, cut off all communication with *Epipolæ*, hoping to reduce the citadel in a very ſhort time by famine. In this new camp the inhabitants of *Tyche* and *Neapolis* ſent deputies to him entreating him to ſpare their lives, and preſerve their houſes from being plundered. Their city had been taken by aſſault, ſo that according to the laws of war the conqueror was maſter of their lives and fortunes. However, *Marcellus* ſhewed them ſome clemency. The plunder of the place was due to the ſoldiers, as a reward of their valor, and he could not deprive them of it without injuſtice. But he enjoined them under pain of death not to kill, or any ways abuſe the inhabitants, and even poſted guards in all the avenues to ſee that his orders were put in execution. No city was ever plundered with ſo much order or leſs cruelty. The ſoldiers, breaking open the houſes, ſeized indeed every thing they found, money, moveables, and proviſions; but did not offer the leaſt violence to the vanquiſhed. The booty was immenſe, but it only raiſed their expectations of a greater when *Acradina* and *Ortygia* ſhould be taken. During this military execution, *Philodemus*, governor of the citadel of *Epipolæ*, deſpairing of being able to ſubſiſt in the midſt of a plundered city, which could not ſupply him any longer with proviſions, came to terms with the proconſul, and being allowed to march out with his men, and join *Epicydes*, put the citadel into the hands of the *Romans*. Then, *Marcellus*, turning all his efforts againſt *Acradina*, blocked it up ſo cloſe that it could not hold out long without new ſupplies of men and proviſions [d].

The quarters of the city that were taken, plundered.

a b c

DURING theſe tranſactions *Hamilco* and *Hippocrates* appeared before *Syracuſe*, and their arrival gave the *Romans* no ſmall apprehenſion. *Marcellus*, as we have ſaid, was ſhut up within the walls, being encamped between *Neapolis*, or the *New City*, and *Tyche*, in a place which was almoſt deſtitute of inhabitants; *Criſpinus* was not yet entered *Syracuſe*, but ſtill continued in the old poſt of the *Romans*. The two *Carthaginian* generals, after having taken a view of both camps, reſolved to divide the attacks between them. *Hamilco* was to fall upon *Marcellus*'s camp, while *Hippocrates* endeavoured to force the trenches of *Criſpinus*. The *Carthaginian* fleet at the ſame time was drawn up in line of battle along the coaſt within reach of *Acradina*, ſo as to cut off all communication between the forces of *Marcellus*, which ſurrounded *Acradina*, and *Criſpinus*. *Hippocrates* began the attack, and fell with the utmoſt fury upon the camp of *Criſpinus*, but was three times repulſed with incredible bravery. At the ſame time *Hamilco* without, and *Epicydes* within the walls, attacked the poſts of *Marcellus*; but were attended with no better ſucceſs. *Epicydes* was forced to return into *Acradina* with great loſs, and narrowly eſcaped being taken priſoner by *Marcellus*, who commanded there in perſon. After theſe two advantages the *Roman* general pitched three camps round *Acradina*, and kept it blocked up cloſer than ever, but durſt not draw too near it for fear of the machines of *Archimedes*. The unfortunate *Syracuſians* were now in the utmoſt diſtreſs for want of proviſions, and, to complete their misfortunes, a plague broke out among them. The infection began in the country, being occaſion'd by the exceſſive heat of the ſeaſon, and the unwholeſome exhalations of the neighbouring marſhes. The two camps of *Hamilco* and *Criſpinus* were firſt infected with it, and from the latter it ſpread to *Marcellus*'s army, by means of his communication with *Criſpinus*. Soon after it began to rage in *Acradina*; ſo that within and without the city, nothing was ſeen but perſons dead or dying. None durſt relieve or aſſiſt the ſick for fear of being infected by them; and the bodies of the dead were, for the ſame reaſon, left without burial, to infect and poiſon the air with their ſtench and corruption. Nothing was heard night and day but groans of dying men, and the heaps of dead bodies continually preſented mournful objects to the living, who expected every moment the ſame fate. However, the diſtemper made leſs ravage in the two *Roman* armies than in thoſe of *Hamilco* and *Hippocrates*. As the latter had no place to retire to, and were not inured to the climate, and air of the country,

A plague breaks out in Syracuſe.

d e f

[d] LIV. l. xxv. c. 24. PLUT. in vita Marcell.

being

a being for the moſt part but lately come from *Africa*, they died daily in great numbers, and at length *Hamilco* and *Hippocrates* themſelves were carried off. Upon their death moſt of the *Sicilian* troops, which had joined the *Carthaginians*, diſbanded and returned to their reſpective cities. Thus *Marcellus* was delivered from a great army, which had beſieged him as cloſe as he had done *Acradina*. He had now only a ſmall body of *Sicilians* to contend with, for the *Carthaginians*, both officers and ſoldiers, were all ſwept off by the plague. The *Sicilians* retired to two ſmall towns, ſtrong by ſituation, and at a ſmall diſtance from *Syracuſe*, and there waited for a new reinforcement from *Carthage*, whither *Bomilcar* had ſailed to give the ſenate an account of the death of *Hamilco*, and the utter ruin of his army. He
b allay'd the grief, which this news occaſioned, by repreſenting that the *Romans* had imprudently ſhut themſelves up in one city to beſiege another, that their troops were greatly diminiſhed by the plague, and that it would be no difficult matter to beſiege them, and bring them into the ſame ſtraits, to which they had reduced *Acradina*. His ſpeech revived the hopes of the ſenate, who gave him the command of an hundred and thirty gallies, with ſeven hundred tranſports, which formed a fleet conſiderably greater than that which the *Romans* had on the coaſts of *Sicily*. With this ſquadron *Bomilcar* ſet ſail from *Carthage*, and had a quick paſ- Bomilcar *returns to* Sicily *with a mighty fleet.*
ſage. The news of his return raiſed the courage of the beſieged, and greatly diſheartened the *Romans*, who were quite tired out with ſo long and tedious a ſiege.
c But as *Bomilcar* was for ſeveral days prevented by contrary winds, from doubling cape *Pachynum*, *Marcellus* had time to recollect himſelf, and cauſe his fleet to be got ready with a deſign to engage that of the *Carthaginians*, though far ſuperior in number to his. In the mean time *Epicydes*, fearing leſt the *Carthaginians* ſhould be ſurprized by the *Romans*, took it into his head to leave *Syracuſe*, and go to the fleet, which was deſigned for his relief. On his arrival he found *Bomilcar* uneaſy about the event of a battle, and very backward to engage the *Romans*, of whoſe preparations he had been already informed. But, nevertheleſs, he was prevailed upon by *Epicydes* to venture an engagement, and advanced in ſight of the *Roman* fleet. *Marcellus*, who commanded it; as ſoon as the high winds abated, *But unexpectedly ſets ſail again for* Africa.
d began to prepare for a battle, when all on a ſudden, *Bomilcar*, doubling cape *Pachynum*, took to the main, and ſteered his courſe towards *Tarentum*, after having diſpatched expreſſes to *Heraclea*, with orders to the tranſports, which lay there, to return to *Africa*. What induced him to take ſo ſudden and unexpected a reſolution was never known. *Epicydes*, being thus diſappointed in the great hopes he had entertained, was afraid to return into a city already half taken, and therefore fled for refuge to *Agrigentum*, rather with a deſign to wait the event of the ſiege in a place of ſafety, than to make any attempts towards the relief of a city, which he had brought to deſtruction.

When it was known in the camp of the *Sicilians*, that *Epicydes* had quitted *Syracuſe*, and the *Carthaginians Sicily*, they ſent deputies to *Marcellus*, after hav-
e ing founded the diſpoſition of the beſieged, to treat of a ſurrender. It was unani- *The* Syracuſians *propoſe to capitulate.*
mouſly agreed both by the *Sicilians* in the camp, and the *Syracuſians* in *Acradina* to ſurrender on the following terms, *viz.* that all the demeſnes of the kings of *Syracuſe* ſhould be delivered up to the *Romans*, and that *Rome* ſhould ſuffer the *Syracuſians* to live according to their own laws, and enjoy their eſtates and liberties. *Marcellus* was willing to grant them the terms they demanded in order prevent the ſpilling of blood, and the ruining of ſo ſtately a city. But thoſe, whom *Epicydes* had entruſted with the government of the city during his abſence, oppoſed the wiſe meaſures of the inhabitants. As theſe were all ſtrangers, they were little concerned for the welfare of *Syracuſe*, and ſtill retained ſome hopes of relief, either
f from *Epicydes* or *Bomilcar*. But the magiſtrates ſeeing the city already reduced to great ſtraits for want of proviſions, reſolved to get rid of their governors, and accordingly aſſaſſinated them all, and then having aſſembled the people in the market-place, introduced to them the deputies from the camp, who had hitherto treated only for themſelves. Theſe in a ſpeech well calculated for the occaſion, repreſented to the people, that they ought not to impute the calamities they groaned under to fortune, ſince it was in their power to deliver themſelves from them, when they pleaſed; that the *Romans* had not undertaken the ſiege of *Syracuſe* out of hatred, but out of affection to the inhabitants, having no other view but to reſcue them out of the hands of their tyrants; that *Hippocrates* and *Epicydes* had

brought

brought all their misfortunes upon them, but ſince one of them was carried off by a the plague, and the other had deſerted them out of fear, what remained but to have recourſe to the clemency of the conqueror? The ſervices, ſaid they, of *Hiero*, and his faithful adherence to the *Romans*, are not entirely blotted out of their memories. Only conſent to be reconciled to *Rome*, and you will be free and happy. *Marcellus* out of good nature offers you advantagious terms, which if you do not accept, all ſubſequent calamities will be entirely chargeable on ourſelves. Seize therefore the preſent opportunity, and ſince you are delivered from your tyrants, let the firſt uſe you make of your liberty be to return to the *Romans* [e].

Deputies ſent to Marcellus.

THIS diſcourſe was received with general applauſe; and the aſſembly thought proper to create new magiſtrates before the nomination of the deputies, to make b the embaſſy to *Marcellus* more ſolemn and authentic. Some of the prætors were in the number of the deputies, and the perſon, who ſpoke, addreſſed himſelf to *Marcellus* thus: "You ſee at your feet the deputies of a people, who have been "unfaithful to you againſt their will. *Hieronymus*, and not we, broke the alliance "with *Rome*, wherein he did more hurt to his ſubjects than to you. When after "his death our ancient alliance was renewed with *Rome*, it was not infringed by "the *Syracuſians*, but by the emiſſaries of *Hannibal*, who did not make war upon "you till they had firſt made us ſlaves; and it cannot be ſaid, that we have "had any times of liberty, which have not been times of peace and alliance with "you. And at this preſent, as ſoon as we are become maſters of ourſelves by c "the death of thoſe, who held us in ſubjection, we come to deliver up to you "our arms, our perſons, our walls and our city, determined not to refuſe any "conditions you ſhall think fit to impoſe. The gods, illuſtrious general, have "granted you the glory of taking the moſt noble and beautiful city of the *Greeks*, "ſo that all her paſt atchievements, whether by ſea or land, will add to the glory "of your triumph. Make it not then ſo much a point of honour to deſtroy it, as "to leave it for a ſtanding monument of your fame to the world. All ſtrangers, "from whatever part of the univerſe they ſhall come to *Syracuſe*, and there ob-"ſerve the monuments of our ancient victories over the *Athenians* and *Carthagi-"nians*, will at the ſame time know, that *Marcellus* conquered this victorious peo- d "ple. They will be told, that the *Syracuſians* are become perpetual clients of the "*Claudian* family, and that *Marcellus* made himſelf their firſt patron by his valor "and clemency. Let not the remembrance of *Hieronymus* be of more weight "with you, than that of *Hiero*. The latter was much longer your friend, than "the former your enemy. Permit me to ſay, that you have reaped the fruits "of *Hiero*'s friendſhip; but the ill-conducted enterprizes of *Hieronymus* have "fallen only on his own head.

Diſturbances raiſed in Syracuſe by the Roman deſerters.

THE ſuppliants were graciouſly received by *Marcellus*, who was very willing to grant them their demands; but the greateſt difficulty was to preſerve tranquillity and union in the city. The garriſon conſiſted of *Roman* deſerters and mer- e cenaries, and the former looking upon all conferences about a ſurrender, as ſo many ſentences of death againſt themſelves, uſed their utmoſt efforts to prevent the citizens from complying with the terms propoſed by *Marcellus*. But finding all their endeavours unſucceſsful, they applied themſelves to the mercenaries, and perſuaded them that *Marcellus* would give them no quarter. Whereupon the mercenaries, being inſpired with the ſame fear, joined the deſerters, and both taking up arms, while the deputies were ſtill in the camp of *Marcellus*, ran to the houſes of the new prætors, whom they maſſacred, and then diſperſing themſelves on all ſides, put to the ſword all they met, without diſtinction, plundered the houſes f and filled the city with blood and ſlaughter. That they might not be without leaders, they appointed ſix officers of their own body, three to command in *Acradina* and three in *Ortygia*. The tumult being at length appeaſed, the mercenaries were made ſenſible, that they had been impoſed upon by the *Roman* deſerters; and the deputies returning at the ſame time from the camp of *Marcellus*, aſſured them that the *Romans* had not decreed any puniſhment againſt the foreign troops.

Marcellus takes Syracuſe by intelligence.

AMONG the ſix new governours, choſen by the ſeditious to command in *Syracuſe*, was a *Spaniard*, named *Mericus*, a man of great integrity, and who did not

[e] Liv. l. xxv. c. 29.

approve

a approve of the meaſures taken by his collegues. This man *Marcellus* took upon him to gain over to the *Romans*, and with this view ſent into the city a young *Spaniard* lately come from *Spain*, charging him to make great offers in his name to his countryman provided he would do him ſome important ſervice. The young *Spaniard* got ſafe into the city among the attendants of the *Syracuſian* embaſſadors, and diſcharged his commiſſion ſo well, that *Mericus* ſent his brother privately to *Marcellus* with the *Spaniſh* ſoldier, who having obtained a private audience agreed with *Marcellus*, in the name of *Mericus*, to deliver up one of the gates to the *Romans*. As ſoon as the two *Spaniards* were returned into *Acradina*, *Mericus* made it his only buſineſs to perform his promiſe. He firſt feigned an extraordinary zeal
b for the defence of the city, pretending that the deputies of *Marcellus* were allowed too much liberty, and that it was dangerous to admit any ſuch deputies into *Acradina*, or to ſend embaſſies to the *Romans*. Upon the credit of this firſt ſtep he propoſed that, as they had to deal with ſo artful an enemy as *Marcellus*, each governor ſhould have his diſtinct quarter of the city aſſigned him, and ſhould be reſponſible for any neglect of duty in it. His advice was followed, and in this diviſion that part of *Acradina* fell to him, which lay between the fountain of *Arethuſa*, and the great port, not far from the iſland *Ortygia*. *Marcellus*, being informed in what part *Mericus* commanded, reſolved to make an attempt on that ſide. Accordingly, having filled a tranſport with ſoldiers, he ordered them to
c land at the gate of *Arethuſa*, where they were received within the walls by *Mericus*, and put in poſſeſſion of the gate. A falſe attack was carried on at the ſame time in a neighbouring quarter, which drew all the enemies forces out of the iſland, and diverted them from obſerving what happened at the gate *Arethuſa*. As the iſland of *Ortygia* was by this means quite abandoned, *Marcellus*, who had foreſeen this, ſent ſeveral tranſports with a ſtrong detachment to take poſſeſſion of the iſland, which they did without oppoſition, the gate being left open by the garriſon while they haſtened to repulſe the enemy at the place, where the falſe attack was carried on. When *Marcellus* was informed, that his men were in poſſeſſion of the iſland, which was reckoned impregnable, and alſo of a quarter in *Acradina*,
d he immediately cauſed the retreat to be ſounded, leſt the ſoldiers ſhould, in the heat of the action, plunder the treaſures of the kings of *Syracuſe*, which were much magnified by fame [f].

The clemency of Marcellus *toward the conquered.*

And now *Marcellus*, after a three years ſiege, being at length become maſter of the unfaithful city, gave ſignal proofs of his clemency and good nature. The place was taken by aſſault, and had greatly provoked the *Romans* by joining their moſt avowed enemies, while they were engaged in a war, that was likely to prove fatal to them. But notwithſtanding their infidelity, he would not uſe all the rights of a conqueror, nor practice that ſeverity, which the faithleſs city perhaps deſerved. The firſt inſtance he gave of his good nature was his ordering that the
e *Roman* deſerters ſhould be ſuffered to eſcape, being unwilling to ſhed the blood even of traitors. Accordingly a gate was left open for them, and all the *Roman* forces withdrawn from thence till they had made their eſcape. The inhabitants of the two conquered cities ſent deputies to him, demanding nothing elſe but their own lives, and the lives of their children. Theſe *Marcellus* received with great humanity, and having aſſembled a council compoſed of his own officers, and of ſome *Syracuſans*, who were in his camp, returned them the following anſwer. "*Syracu-*
"*ſans*, ſaid he to them, the ſervices, which good king *Hiero* rendered *Rome* in
"a long reign, have been exceeded by the inſults you have offered her in a few
"years; and now you are going to reap the fruits of your unfaithfulneſs, and pay
f "dearer for the breach of our treaties than we deſire. My aim was not, in ſit-
"ting down before *Syracuſe*, to reduce you to ſlavery, but to deliver you from
"your tyrants, and prevail upon you to deliver up into my hands two men, who
"have now abandoned you without ſharing the misfortunes they have brought
"upon you. Both the examples of your magiſtrates, who fled to the *Roman*
"camp for refuge, and of the moſt illuſtrious of your citizens, who came from
"time to time to ſurrender themſelves up into our hands, continually excited
"you to return to us. And yet a generous *Spaniard* has all the glory of bringing
"you back to your duty. As for myſelf the glory of having taken *Syracuſe*, and

[f] Liv. ibid. Plut. in Marcell.

" the ſatisfaction of ſaving it from the entire ruin it deſerved, make me ſufficient a
" amends for the fatigues and dangers I have undergone in ſo long a ſiege." Live then, *Syracuſans*, live: But let the plunder of your goods be the puniſhment of your obſtinacy, and the juſt reward of my ſoldiers. *Marcellus*, having ſpoke thus, immediately ordered the quæſtor of his army to take poſſeſſion of the king's treaſures for the uſe of the republic, and gave the reſt of the booty up to his troops without reſerving any part of the plunder for himſelf.

As ſoon as the trumpets ſounded, the *Roman* ſoldiers diſperſed themſelves all over *Ortygia* and *Acradina*, and nothing eſcaped their avarice. Nay, the enraged ſoldiers went beyond their orders, and adding cruelty to avarice, put many of the citizens to the ſword, and amongſt others the great *Archimedes*. During the b
ſacking of *Acradina* he was ſhut up in his cloſet, and ſo intent on a demonſtration of geometry, that neither the noiſe of the ſoldiers, nor the cries of the people drew off his attention from it. He was very calmly drawing his lines, when he ſaw a ſoldier enter his room, and clap a ſword to his throat. Hold, friend, ſaid *Archimedes*, one moment, and my demonſtration will be finiſhed. The ſoldier, ſurprized at his unconcern in ſo great danger, reſolved to carry him to the proconſul; but *Archimedes* taking under his arm a ſmall box full of ſpheres, ſun-dials, &c. the ſoldier thought it contained gold and ſilver, and not being able to reſiſt the temptation killed him upon the ſpot. *Marcellus* was exceedingly concerned for his death, but not being able to repair that misfortune, he applied himſelf to honour his memory to the utmoſt of his power. He made a diligent ſearch after his relations, c
treated them with great diſtinction, and granted them peculiar privileges. He likewiſe cauſed his funeral to be performed with great pomp and ſolemnity, and a monument to be erected to his memory among the great men, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in *Syracuſe* [g].

Archimedes killed by a Roman ſoldier.

An account of Achimedes.

As the defence of the city for near three years together was the work of *Archimedes* alone, whoſe great genius made him, as it were, the intelligence that preſided over all the labours of the beſieged, it will not be improper to make here a ſhort digreſſion, and give the reader ſome account of ſo extraordinary a perſon. He was born in *Syracuſe*, and deſcended of an illuſtrious family, being related to d
king *Hiero*. Moſt of the ancients tell us, that he was no leſs conſiderable for his noble extraction, than ſublime genius. Yet *Cicero* repreſents him as a man of a very mean birth, who had nothing to recommend him, but his ſkill in geometry [h]; and the only elogium he beſtows on this famous mathematician, is, that he had a fruitful genius, and made many fine diſcoveries. But the *Roman* orator knew no more of *Archimedes* than what he had learned of *Polybius*, who only mentioned ſuch endowments, as had made his name immortal, and theſe were not much eſteemed by the *Romans* in *Cicero*'s times, who thought no merit equal to that of an orator, a general, or a ſtateſman. And hence it is, that *Cicero* prefers *Archytas* and *Plato* to *Archimedes*. The former had governed *Tarentum*, and together with e
a ſingular talent for the mathematics had all the qualities of an excellent general. The latter was eminent among the ancient legiſlators, which was enough to gain him the preference in the opinion of the *Romans*. But *Archimedes* was neither a ſtateſman, nor a ſoldier, nor an orator. But if we conſider, that he alone found means to diſconcert all the meaſures of one of the greateſt officers of the *Roman* republic, and by the force of his genius rendered all the efforts of two numerous armies unſucceſsful, we cannot without injuſtice degrade him ſo far as to place him after an *Archytas*, or a *Plato*. And therefore *Plutarch* ſpeaks of him with admiration. He ſays, that his great genius made him be looked upon as ſomething more than a mortal, that he excelled all thoſe, who had gone before him, and that it f
was hardly credible any ſhould in future ages ever rival him. His ſtrong paſſion for mathematics gave room for the report, that he was continually ſo charmed with the ſoothing ſongs of a domeſtic ſyren, that he neglected the common concerns of life. For he took delight in no pleaſure of life, but in that of ſtudy. For the ſake of this he deſpiſed every thing elſe. Not to interrupt his ſtudies he often denied himſelf the neceſſaries of life, and was dragged from his contemplations, to take a frugal repaſt. Senſible only to the pleaſures of the mind, he ſo neglected his perſon, that his friends were obliged in a manner to force him to the public

[g] Liv. & Plut. ubi ſupra. [h] Cic. Tuſcul. Quæſt. l. 5.

baths,

a baths, to make him preſerve a decency ſuitable to his rank; and even then he employed himſelf for the moſt part in drawing mathematical figures on the walls of the ſtoves with the water in which he bathed. In ſhort the contemplation of the heavens and the earth gave him ſuch delight as rendered all other pleaſures quite taſteleſs to him, and inſipid. He long confined his thoughts to ſpeculations only, according to the prejudices of that time, when it was thought too low an employment for a great genius to reduce the ſublime diſcoveries of the mind to practice. But king *Hiero* had ſufficient power with him to make him deſcend from thoſe ſublime ſpeculations to practice, and to convince him, that no man could, without ingratitude, deprive the public of the fruits of his private ſtudies. One
b day when *Archimedes* was explaining to the king the wonderful effects of the motive powers, he told him, that he had invented, but not made, a machine, by which he could draw the whole globe of the earth to him, provided he could find another globe or earth to ſtand on. The king ſurprized at the propoſal, deſired him to give a proof of ſo bold an aſſertion by removing ſome great weight with a ſmall force. *Archimedes* complyed with the king's requeſt, and having cauſed one of the heavieſt galleies in the port to be drawn aſhore by a great number of men, he built his machine, and then ſitting down at a proper diſtance from the galley, without trouble or exerting his force in the leaſt, drew the veſſel to him, though ſhe had her full lading in her, and was crowded with men. This experiment plainly
c ſhewed the king what uſe he might make of the wonderful talents of this great man, if he could only perſuade him to put his inventions in practice. This the king undertook to do, and by many entreaties prevailed upon the ſpeculative geometrician to deſcend to mechanics, and build thoſe wonderful machines for the defending of cities, which we have ſpoke of above. Beſides the warlike machines, amongſt his maſter-pieces was reckoned a ſphere of glaſs, the circles of which repreſented the periodical and ſynodical motions of the ſtars and planets. *Cicero* himſelf could not help doing juſtice to the inventor of ſo fine a work, ſaying, that we ought to look upon the artificial globe, or rather little world[j], in which *Archimedes* had ſo happily imitated the wiſe hand of the divine architect of the uni-
d verſe, as the effect of a ſuperior genius [i] (X). Some have falſly imagined that *Archimedes* ſet fire to the *Roman* fleet by means of a burning glaſs [k]. But the honour of this invention is due to *Proclus*, who firſt made uſe of brazen burning-glaſſes, to ſet on fire the ſhips of *Vitalian*, who beſieged *Conſtantinople*, in the 500th year of the *Chriſtian* æra. Thoſe, who have the leaſt knowledge of mathematics, underſtand what kind of demonſtration *Archimedes* made uſe of againſt a diſhoneſt goldſmith, who having agreed with king *Hiero* for a certain quantity of gold, which was to be formed into a crown for one of the gods, kept ſome of the gold for himſelf, and putting ſilver in the room of it, reſtored to the king of *Syracuſe* a crown as heavy as the gold he had received. The diſcovery of this
e fraud, which *Archimedes* made in a bath, gave him ſo great pleaſure, that he ran home, without reflecting he was naked, crying out aloud, *I have found it, I have found it.* But the force of his genius ſhewed itſelf to far greater advantage in the ſtructure and direction of the formidable batteries he played againſt the *Roman* armies and fleets. It is a great misfortune, that neither he nor any after him, have given us an account of the manner of building and working thoſe machines. Upon his tomb, as he had ordered in his life-time, was placed a cylinder and a ſphere, with an inſcription ſhewing the proportion between them, which he firſt found out. An invention of ſo little uſe, as this may ſeem, pleaſed that great artiſt better, than the deviſing of thoſe machines, which made him ſo famous. The
f

[i] Cic. Tuſc. cul. Quæſt. l. 1. [k] Galien. l. 3. Tzetzes l. 35. chiliad. 5.

(X) This ſphere is elegantly deſcribed by *Claudian* in the following epigram.

Jupiter, in parvo cum cerneret æthera vitro,
Riſit, & ad ſuperos talia dicta dedit
Huccine mortalis progreſſa potentia curæ?
Jam meus in fragili luditur orbe labor.
Jura poli, rerumque fidem, legeſque deorum
Ecce Syracuſius tranſtulit arte ſenex.
Incluſus variis ſimulatur ſpiritus aſtris,
Et vivum certis motibus urget opus.
Percurrit proprium mentitus ſignifer annum,
Et ſimulata novo Cynthia menſe redit.
Jamque ſuum volvens audax induſtria mundum
Gaudet, & humana ſyncra mente regit.
Quid falſo inſontem tonitru Salmonea miror?
Æmula natura parva reperta manus (49).

(49) *Claud. Epigram.* 16.

Syracuſans

Tomb of Archimedes *diſcovered by* Cicero.

Syracuſans, who had been in former times ſo fond of the ſciences, did not long retain the eſteem and gratitude they owed a man, who had done ſo much honour to their city. In leſs than an hundred and forty years after, *Archimedes* was ſo perfectly forgot by his citizens, notwithſtanding the eminent ſervices he had done them, that they did not even know he had been buried at *Syracuſe*. It is from *Cicero* we have this circumſtance, who being led by his curioſity, while he was quæſtor in *Sicily*, to make a ſearch after the tomb of *Archimedes*, was aſſured by the *Syracuſans*, that his ſearch would be to no purpoſe, there being no ſuch monument among them. *Cicero* pitied their ignorance, which only ſerved to encreaſe his deſire of making that diſcovery. After many fruitleſs attempts he at laſt obſerved without the gate of the city leading to *Agrigentum* a pillar almoſt entirely covered with thorns and brambles, through which he could diſcern the figure of a ſphere and cylinder. Thoſe who have any taſte for antiquity, may eaſily conceive the joy of *Cicero* on this occaſion. He cried out with the words of *Archimedes*, *I have found it*, *I have found it*. The place was immediately cleared, when the inſcription appeared ſtill legible. So that, ſays *Cicero*, in concluding this account, the greateſt city of *Greece*, formerly the mother of ſciences, would not have known the treaſure it poſſeſſed, if a man born in *Arpinas* had not diſcovered the tomb of one of its citizens, ſo highly diſtinguiſhed by the greatneſs of his genius [l]. But to reſume the thread of our hiſtory.

Engyum *taken by* Marcellus.

Marcellus, after having plundered *Syracuſe* and ſtript it of all its valuable monuments, which were ſent to *Rome*, advanced to the city of *Engyum*, which was one of the moſt ancient colonies the *Cretans* had founded in *Sicily*. The *Engyans* had received a ſtrange ſuperſtition from their founders, which it was dangerous to contradict. It was affirmed that certain goddeſſes, called the mothers, appeared from time to time in a temple of that city. But one *Nicias*, a man of wit, had talked with ſome pleaſantry of theſe pretended apparitions, and being likewiſe a friend to the *Romans*, the inhabitants reſolved to put him to death. But he avoided the danger, by counterfeiting madneſs and then made his eſcape to the *Romans*, who took him under their protection. This enraged the *Engyans* againſt them to ſuch a degree, that *Marcellus* thought it neceſſary to curb their inſolence, and puniſh them for the ſeverity they practiſed on the friends of *Rome*. He flew to *Engyum*, and took it by aſſault, but at the requeſt of *Nicias* ſpared the inhabitants, and would not even ſuffer his ſoldiers to plunder the place. By this clemency *Marcellus* gained the hearts of the *Sicilians*, and his reputation was extended far among the *Greeks* [m].

Mutines *maintains the* Carthaginian *intereſt in* Sicily.

AFTER the reduction of *Syracuſe* moſt of the cities of *Sicily*, which had ſided with the *Carthaginians*, voluntarily ſubmitted to *Marcellus*; and thoſe which had continued faithful to *Rome*, or had renewed their alliance with the republic without waiting till *Syracuſe* was taken, were maintained in poſſeſſion of their ancient privileges. Nevertheleſs *Sicily* was not intirely ſettled in peace. *Epicydes* and *Hanno*, the commander of the *Carthaginian* forces in the iſland, were fled to *Agrigentum* for refuge. *Mutines*, who had been ſent by *Hannibal* to ſupply the place of *Hippocrates*, kept the field at the head of a detachment of *Numidians*. This general was a *Phœnician* by deſcent, and a native of *Hippo*, a city of *Africa*, which the *Greeks* called *Diarrhytos* to diſtinguiſh it from another city, bearing the ſame name of *Hippo*, in *Numidia*. This officer, who was formed by *Hannibal* himſelf, had acquired great reputation in the army by his valour and conduct. *Epicydes* and *Hanno*, who were well acquainted with his merit, had given him the command of a body of *Numidian* horſe, and this brave man anſwered their expectations. He ſoon made himſelf dreaded in all *Sicily* by the many advantages he gained over the cities in alliance with *Rome*. After he had with ſurprizing expedition ravaged the enemy's lands, he flew to all the places, that ſtill adhered to *Carthage*, and by his preſence kept the wavering people in awe, even after the reduction of *Syracuſe*. He ſecured the fidelity of ſome by ſending them the proviſions and ſuccours they wanted; others he encouraged with his preſence to hold out reſolutely againſt *Marcellus*, and raiſed their dejected ſpirits. He ſeemed to be in all places, where the intereſt of his republic required his preſence. *Epicydes* and *Hanno* had till now ſhut themſelves up in *Agrigentum*; but being encouraged by the ſucceſsful expeditions of *Mutines*, they ventured to take the field, and advancing as far as the river *Himera*, formed a camp there. *Marcellus*, being informed of the enemy's march, immediately put himſelf at the

[l] CIC. Tuſc. Quæſt. l. 5. [m] LIV. & PLUT. ibid.

head

a head of his army, and encamped about four miles from the *Carthaginian* troops with a deſign to watch their motions. *Mutines* did not give him time to deliberate what part to act; for that brave general, who only wanted an opportunity of ſignalizing himſelf, immediately paſſed the river, and falling on the advanced guards, ſpread an alarm in the whole *Roman* army. The next day *Marcellus* marched out of his lines and attacked the camp of *Mutines*, but was repulſed with great loſs. *Mutines* was preparing to attack the *Romans* in their entrenchments, when news was brought him that the *Numidian* cavalry, falling out among themſelves, had raiſed great diſturbances in the neighbouring country, and that a body of three hundred of them had retired to *Heraclea*. This obliged the general to drop, or rather put off his enter-
b prize. He inſtantly flew to ſuppreſs a revolt, the conſequences of which might defeat his deſigns, and at the ſame deſired *Epicydes* and *Hanno* not to venture an engagement till he returned. This requeſt was no-ways agreeable to the two generals. *Hanno* who had been long jealous of the glory and reputation of *Mutines*, could not brook his ſeeming to impoſe laws upon him as if he had been a ſubaltern. What, ſaid he, am I ſent into *Sicily* with a commiſſion by the ſenate and people of *Carthage*, only to be ſubject to the caprice of a man of no birth or family? *Hanno* found it no difficult matter to inſtill the ſame uneaſineſs into the mind of *Epicydes*. So that they both reſolved to paſs the river, and give battle without waiting for *Mutines*. Their rage and jealouſy made them look upon this brave *African* only as a troubleſome
c rival, who would aſſume to himſelf all the honour of a victory, which they might gain without him. *Marcellus*, ſeeing the *Carthaginians* form their army, drew up his likewiſe in battalia. This great general had four years before humbled the pride of *Hannibal*, before *Nola*, and therefore thought it ſhameful to retire before two commanders, who were much inferior to him, and who had already felt ſo often the effects of the *Roman* valor. So that the *Roman* accepted the challenge, and while he was preparing for the battle, ten *Numidians* came from the *Carthaginian* army to inform him, that their countrymen were determined to continue inactive during the engagement. They were perſuaded that *Epicydes* and *Hanno* had ſent away *Mutines* their commander, and employed him elſewhere, on purpoſe to rob him of the
d glory of conquering the *Romans*. The report of the revolt of the *Numidians* was ſoon ſpread among the legionaries, who looked upon it as a happy preſage of victory. The moſt cowardly took courage when they were no longer to contend with thoſe ſquadrons, which had been to that time ſo formidable to them. As to the enemy, they were ſeized with a ſudden terror upon the firſt report of the revolt. Beſides *Epicydes* and *Hanno* could no longer depend on the *Numidian* cavalry, which was the main ſtrength of their army, and were under no ſmall apprehenſion leſt in the heat of the engagement they ſhould turn their arms againſt the *Carthaginians*. While they were in this perplexity, the *Roman* army advanced, and falling upon the affrighted troops with the utmoſt fury, put them to flight at the firſt onſet. The
e fugitives took the road to *Agrigentum*, whither they were purſued by the *Romans*, who killed many thouſands of them, and took eight elephants. The *Numidians*, after having been idle ſpectators of the battle, refuſed to follow the others to *Agrigentum* for fear of being beſieged there by the *Romans*, and retired to the neighbouring cities. This great advantage raiſed *Marcellus* to the higheſt pitch of glory; he returned victorious to *Syracuſe*, and ſoon after ſet out out from thence for *Rome*, after having delivered up his army and the government of *Sicily* to *Marcus Cornelius Cethegus*. He was ſcarce gone when a *Carthaginian* fleet landed eight thouſand foot and three thouſand *Numidian* horſe in *Sicily*. By the help of theſe new forces the *Car-*
thaginians began to recover their power in ſeveral parts of the iſland. *Murgantia*
f *Hybla*, and *Macella* went over to them, and after their example ſome leſs conſiderable places fell off from the *Romans*. As for *Mutines*, he at the head of his *Numidians* deſtroyed the country with fire and ſword, daily returned to the cities of his allies loaded with booty, and laid the whole country waſte with impunity even in ſight of the *Roman* army. The *Roman* ſoldiers were enraged that they had not been allowed to follow their general to *Rome*, and there ſhare the honours of a triumph with him. Their murmurs increaſed when they were forbid to take up their winter quarters in the cities; and they only wanted a head to break out into an open rebellion. All the addreſs of *Marcus Cornelius* was wanting to appeaſe their reſentment; ſome he gained by careſſes and fair words, others he intimidated by threatnings, and having brought them to ſubmit again to the laws of military diſcipline,

Epicydes and Hanno defeated by Marcellus.

New forces arrive from Carthage in Sicily.

he ſoon repaired the loſſes the republic had ſuffered ſince the departure of *Marcellus*. a
At the head of his troops he forced all the rebellious cities to return to their duty, and particularly *Murgantia*, which with its territory was beſtowed by the ſenate on the *Spaniards* as a reward for their zeal in the ſervice of the republic [n].

The Sicilians *complain of* Marcellus.

But the total reduction of *Sicily* was reſerved for *Marcus Valerius Lævinus*, who being appointed conſul with *Marcellus*, was ſent into *Sicily* to ſettle the affairs of that iſland. It ſtill continued cuſtomary at *Rome* for the two conſuls to chuſe their provinces by lot; and it now happened that *Italy* fell to *Lævinus*, and *Sicily* to *Marcellus*. But aſſoon as this was declared, the *Sicilians*, who were preſent, expreſſed as much terror and conſternation as they had done at *Syracuſe*, when *Marcellus* ſurprized it. They dreſſed themſelves in mourning, crowded to the houſes of the b
ſenators, and proteſted that it would be better for *Sicily* to periſh in the flames of mount *Ætna*, or to be ſwallowed up by the ſea, than to fall again under the government of her conqueror and tyrant. Theſe accuſers had been ſuborned by *M. Cornelius Cethegus*, who being prætor in *Sicily* ſent them to *Rome* with a deſign to form an accuſation againſt *Marcellus*, and raiſe his own glory on the ruins of this great man's reputation. In order to this he wrote many letters to the ſenate, wherein he declared, that there was a great deal to do in the iſland, before it could be entirely reduced; and thereby prevented *Marcellus* from enjoying the honour of a triumph, which was ſeldom granted till an expedition was completed. The *Syracuſans*, who were to accuſe *Marcellus*, kept themſelves concealed in the villages round *Rome*, till they c
heard that *Sicily* had fallen to his lot, and then they appeared as ſuppliants before the ſenate to demand juſtice againſt him. *Marcellus*, who was not a ſtranger to the ſecret plots of his enemies, and knew that ſome of the ſenators out of compaſſion, and others out of jealouſy, laid great ſtreſs on the complaints of the *Syracuſans*, declared, that if his collegue was willing to change provinces, he would not be againſt it. *Lævinus* conſented to the change, and accordingly orders were ſent into *Sicily*, enjoining the prætor *Cornelius Cethegus* to deliver up the troops under his command to the conſul. But before either *Lævinus* or *Marcellus* ſet out for their reſpective provinces, the *Sicilians* were heard in the ſenate, and *Marcellus* cleared. His pro-

Marcellus *cleared.*

ceedings in *Sicily* were declared regular, the pillage of *Syracuſe* approved of, and his d
regulations ratified. Nevertheleſs it was decreed, that *Rome* ſhould for the future conſult the intereſt of *Syracuſe*, and *Lævinus* was exhorted to ſhew the *Syracuſans* all the lenity that was conſiſtent with the welfare of the republic. When the decree was paſſed, the *Sicilians* were brought to the ſenate to hear it, and *Marcellus*, who had retired that the debates of the ſenators might be more free, came in after them, and took his place as conſul. Then the *Sicilians*, confounded at what they had done, threw themſelves at his feet, bathed them with tears, and begged him to pardon the attempts, which the preſent ſenſe of their miſery had induced them to make againſt his honour. *Marcellus* received them very graciouſly, promiſed them his protection, and in conſequence of this promiſe obtained of the ſenate, that the *Sy-* e
racuſans ſhould be reinſtated in their ancient liberties, and treated as allies of *Rome*. Hence proceeded the eternal gratitude of the *Syracuſans* to *Marcellus* and his poſterity. They enacted a decree, wherein it was ordered, that whenever any of his family ſet foot in *Sicily*, the people ſhould walk before him crowned with garlands, and celebrate that happy day with ſacrifices. From thenceforth the whole iſland remained under the patronage of the *Marcelli*, the *Sicilians* becoming clients of that illuſtrious family [o] (Y).

The

[n] Liv. Plut. ibid.

[o] Plut. in Marcell.

(Y) The conduct of *Marcellus* on this occaſion was not intirely approved of at *Rome*. Some of the ſenators, remembering the attachment which king *Hiero* had on all occaſions ſhewn to their republic, could not help condemning their general for giving up the city to be plundered by his greedy ſoldiers. The citizens were not in a condition to make good their party againſt an army of mercenaries, and therefore were obliged againſt their will to yield to the times, and obey the miniſters of *Hannibal* who commanded the army. But they were no ſooner their own maſters, firſt by the death of *Hieronymus*, and afterwards by the flight of *Epicydes*, than they declared for the *Romans*, and put to death ſuch as favoured the *Carthaginian* party; ſo that they were never willingly unfaithful to *Rome*. *Marcellus* nevertheleſs plundered the city, and ſtripped it of all its valuable monuments, as if the citizens had been enemies to *Rome*, not by force, to uſe *Livy*'s expreſſion, but by inclination. The ſame writer imputes to *Marcellus* the cuſtom which prevailed among the *Romans*, of ſtripping the conquered cities of their richeſt ornaments, and embelliſhing their capital with them. It is true, ſays he, theſe ſpoils belonged by right of war to the conqueror; but it muſt be owned, that this cuſtom gave riſe to many evils.

a THE cauſe of the *Sicilians* being thus determined, *Lævinus* ſet out for his province, and on his arrival found the whole iſland reduced by the prætor *Cornelius* except *Agrigentum* and its territory. Having therefore ſettled the government of *Syracuſe* and its dependencies, to the advantage of the *Romans*, and the ſatisfaction of the inhabitants, he turned his arms againſt the only place that was left to *Carthage* in the whole iſland. The city of *Agrigentum* was defended by a numerous gariſon under the command of *Hanno*; but the conſul with little trouble made himſelf maſter of it, more by the good fortune of *Rome* than his own valor. *Hanno*, growing daily more jealous of the great reputation which *Mutines* acquired, at length deprived that brave ſubaltern of his commiſſion, and put his ſon in his room. But his having no
b command did not at all leſſen his credit among the ſoldiers, eſpecially the *Numidians*, who were more attached to him than ever; ſo that all the odium of this removal fell on the general. On the other hand *Mutines*, not being able to brook the affront put upon him, reſolved, at all events, to be revenged on *Hanno*; and accordingly began to maintain a private correſpondence with the conſul, adviſing him to bring his army before *Agrigentum*. Upon the firſt news of the march of the *Romans*, *Mutines* conſpired with the *Numidians* againſt *Hanno*, put himſelf at their head, and having ſeized one of the gates, put the *Romans* in poſſeſſion of it. The *Cartha-* Agrigentum *taken by* Lævinus.
ginian guard was then cut in pieces, and the legionaries, mixed with the *Numidians*, advanced in order of battle into the center of the city. So that the place was taken
e before *Hanno* knew that the *Romans* were before it. He haſtened to the market-place, imagining that the *Numidians*, who often oppoſed the orders of their generals, had raiſed ſome new commotion. But perceiving, while he was yet at ſome diſtance, that the *Romans* were mixed with the *Numidians*, and not doubting but he was betrayed, he turned ſhort, and made the beſt of his way out of the city, and arriving at the port, he imbarqued with *Epicydes* and a ſmall number of officers on a veſſel which was ready to ſet ſail. The reſt of his army betook themſelves to flight, but *Lævinus* having poſted guards in all the avenues and paſſages, they were all killed to a man. All the chiefs of the *Agrigentini* were, by *Lævinus*'s order, firſt beaten with rods, and then beheaded. The common people were reduced to ſlavery, and
d ſold to the beſt bidder. The ſpoils of the pillaged city were publicly put up to ſale, and the money returned to the public treaſury. After the reduction of *Agrigentum*, and flight of *Hanno* and *Epicydes*, moſt of the *Sicilian* cities ſubmitted to the *Romans* of their own accord, and others were either betrayed or taken by force. Thus the *Romans* became maſters of the whole iſland, the conqueſt of which paved them a way to the more diſtant nations in *Africa* and *Aſia*. *Lævinus*, having now

evils. From that time the people began to be very inquiſitive after theſe maſter-pieces of art, which have been the admiration of all ages. And hence came that unbounded licentiouſneſs, which prevails among us to this day, of ſparing nothing either ſacred or profane to gratify our oſtentation and curioſity. Religion itſelf could no longer ſet bounds to the avarice of a greedy conqueror. He laid his ſacrilegious hands on ſacred things. The moſt venerable deities were tore from the places where they had fixed their abode; and the temple, which was built by *Marcellus* himſelf, has met with the ſame fate. The ſtately monuments, with which he enriched it, are now become the prey of an unjuſt uſurper; and there are now but few remains of the fine ſtatues and valuable paintings, which the conqueror of *Syracuſe* reſerved for embelliſhing it. Thus far *Livy* (50). Till the age, in which this general lived, *Rome* had entertained her citizens with no ſights, but what ſuited her martial genius, *viz.* triumphs, trophies, and the military enſigns and arms of conquered nations. This was very ſuitable to the taſte of men, who were enemies to luxury, and had been brought up in the noiſe and hurry of war. The old *Romans* therefore, who were fond of the ancient cuſtoms, thought the conduct of *Fabius* at the taking of *Tarentum* preferable to that of *Marcellus* at the taking of *Syracuſe*. The former was content with the gold and other ſpoils that might fill *Rome* with plenty, and did not touch the famous ſtatues and pictures which adorned the temples and public places, ſaying, *Let us leave the* Tarentines *their angry goas*. *Marcellus*, on the contrary, emboldened by his example the triumphant victors to lead both men and gods in chains after their chariots. From his time, ſays *Plutarch* (51), the citizens were no longer employed, as in earlier ages, in forming great deſigns, and conſpiring to promote the glory of their country. The public places were filled only with idle people, who ſpent great part of the day in diſcourſing on ſtatues of exquiſite workmanſhip, valuable pictures, and thoſe who had excelled in painting and ſculpture. *Polybius* is no leſs ſevere on the *Romans* on this account than *Livy* or *Plutarch*. Theſe ſtatues, ſays he (52), pictures, bas-reliefs, and other rich ſpoils of the conquered nations, were indeed a proof of the conqueſts of *Rome*, and at the ſame of the injuſtice of thoſe who ſeized them. When theſe monuments were ſhewn to ſtrangers, they perpetuated their hatred to the *Roman* name, and put the conquered people in mind of their misfortunes. This inſpired the ſpectators with indignation againſt the conquerors, and with compaſſion for the oppreſſed nations. The rich ſpoils, which *Marcellus* brought out of *Sicily*, were placed by him in the temples of *Virtue* and *Honour*, which he had built in diſcharge of a vow made in the war with the *Gauls* (53).

(50) *Liv. l.* xxv. (51) *Plut. in Marcell.* (52) *Polyb. l.* ix. (53) *Plut. in Marcell. Cornel. Nepos.*

no

And all Sicily *reduced to a* Roman *province.*

no enemies to contend with, ſettled peace throughout the whole iſland, and took upon himſelf the government of it in the name of his republic, making it all but one province. This fruitful country, the cultivating of which had been long interrupted by wars, produced corn an hundred fold; hence from this time it became the granary of *Rome*, and her conſtant refuge in diſtreſs [p]. a

Lævinus, having ſettled *Sicily* in peace, was recalled to *Rome* to preſide in the comitia, which were to be held for the electing of new magiſtrates. Upon his departure, as he was to return ſoon, he left the command of his army and the government of *Sicily* to the prætor *Cincius* during his abſence. When he came to *Rome* he gave the ſenate an account of his expedition, and of the preſent ſtate of the iſland. After which he introduced to the conſcript fathers *Mutines*, and all thoſe who deſerted *Hannibal* to adhere to the republic. They had many honours conferred upon them; and all the advantagious terms, which the conſul had promiſed them, were granted by a decree of the ſenate. *Mutines* himſelf was admitted to enjoy the rights of a *Roman* citizen at the motion of one of the tribunes of the people, and by the authority of the ſenate. He ever afterwards ſerved the *Romans* with great fidelity, and accompanied the two *Scipio*'s into *Aſia* againſt *Antiochus*, on which occaſion he is ſaid to have diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a very particular manner. b

ALL *Sicily* being now become a province of the *Roman* republic, it was not treated as the other countries, which *Rome* ſubdued afterwards, upon which a certain tribute was impoſed; but ſuffered to enjoy its ancient privileges, and retain all its former rights. This diſtinction, as *Tully* obſerves, *Sicily* well deſerved, ſince that iſland was the firſt of all foreign nations that had entered into alliance and amity with *Rome*, and the firſt conqueſt the republic made out of *Italy*. This iſland was afterwards a kind of paſs for their troops into *Africa*; and *Rome* would not have ſo eaſily reduced the formidable power of *Carthage*, had not *Sicily* ſerved her as a magazine to ſupply her armies with proviſions, and been a ſecure retreat to her fleets. Hence *Scipio Africanus*, after having taken and deſtroyed *Carthage*, thought himſelf obliged to adorn the cities of *Sicily* with ſome of the richeſt ſpoils he had brought from *Africa*, to the end that the *Sicilians* might have ſome monuments among them of thoſe victories to which they had greatly contributed [q]. c

BESIDES *Syracuſe* there were ſeveral other free cities in *Sicily*, namely *Leontini*, *Agrigentum*, *Gela*, *Meſſana*, *Himera*, *Catana*, *Ætna*, *Apollonia*, *Selinus*, *Tauromínium*, *Agyris*, and *Centuripe*. Theſe underwent the ſame viciſſitudes as *Syracuſe*, being ſometimes governed by their own laws, and at others enſlaved by their domeſtic tyrants, till they were at laſt all brought under ſubjection by the *Romans*. *Phalaris*, tyrant of *Agrigentum*, is one of the moſt famous on account of his cruelty among the *Sicilian* tyrants. He uſurped the ſovereignty of that city in the ſecond year of the fifty-ſecond olympiad, and maintained it for ſixteen years. We have ſtill remaining ſome letters of *Abaris* to this tyrant, and his anſwers; though ſome aſcribe them to *Lucian*. *Perillus* the *Athenian*, to flatter the cruelty of *Phalaris*, made the famous brazen bull for tormenting of criminals, and was the firſt that ſuffered in it having demanded too great a reward for his contrivance. The people of *Agrigentum*, unable to bear any longer with his unheard-of cruelties, made a general inſurrection, ſeized on the tyrant and put him to death, ſome ſay, by ſhutting him up in his beloved bull [r]. The moſt material tranſactions relating to the other cities of *Sicily* we have delivered in the hiſtory of *Syracuſe*, with which their reſpective hiſtories are inſeparably interwoven, and therefore ſhall now proceed to the hiſtory of the other iſlands, beginning with that of *Rhodes*, which though ſmall in extent, yet makes a very conſiderable figure in hiſtory, perhaps the firſt after *Sicily*. d e

[p] LIV. l. xxvi. c. 40. ZONAR. l. ix. c. 7. EUSEB. in Chron. [q] CIC. in Verr. Act. 3. [r] LUCIAN. dial. 3. de Poet. CIC. l. ii. Off.

SECT.

SECT. III.

The Hiſtory of RHODES.

a THE iſland before us was formerly known by the names of *Ophiuſa*, *Aſteria*, *Æthræa*, *Trinacria*, *Corymbia*, *Poeſſa*, *Atabyria*, *Macria*, *Oloeſſa*, *Stadia*, *Telchinis*, *Pelagia*, and *Rhodus*. In latter ages the name of *Rhodus* or *Rhodes* prevailed, which authors commonly derive from the *Greek* word *Rodon*, ſignifying a roſe, that iſland abounding, as they ſay, above any other with this ſort of flowers. And indeed ſeveral *Rhodian* coins are ſtill to be ſeen repreſenting the ſun, and on the reverſe a roſe. But *Diodorus Siculus* [s] will have it ſo called from one *Rhoda* the daughter of *Apollo* by *Venus* (Z). It lies in the *Mediterranean* over-againſt the coaſt of *Lycia* and *Caria*, from which it is diſtant about twenty miles. This iſland is about an hundred and twenty miles in compaſs, and bleſſed with a moſt fruitful ſoil, *Its names.* *Soil, climate, &c.*
b which gave occaſion to the fable of thoſe golden ſhowers that were once ſaid to have fallen upon it. It formerly produced, in great plenty, all ſorts of delicious fruits, and wines of ſo exquiſite a taſte, that they were uſed by the *Romans* chiefly in their ſacrifices, and thought, as *Virgil* informs us [t], too good for mortals. The air is here ſaid to be ſo ſerene, that no day ever paſſes without ſun-ſhine; whence the poets feigned *Phœbus* to be in love with this iſland, which, ſay they, was a mere marſh altogether uninhabitable, till loved by *Phœbus*, and raiſed out of the waters by his powerful influence.

THE iſland of *Rhodes* had in *Homer*'s time three cities, viz. *Lindus*, *Camirus*, *Ialyſus*; to which in after-ages was added a fourth bearing the name of the iſland. *Cities of Rhodes.*
c *Lindus*, now *Lindo*, ſtood on the eaſt coaſt of the iſland, and was famous in ancient times for a temple dedicated to *Minerva*, whence that goddeſs had the ſurname of *Lindia*. This temple is ſaid to have been built by *Danaus* king of *Egypt*, landing here on his flight from his own kingdom. A certain feſtival was celebrated annually in this city, not with bleſſings and prayers, as *Lactantius* informs us [u], but with curſes and imprecations; inſomuch that if one good word eſcaped any of thoſe that were preſent, it was deemed a very bad omen, and the whole ceremony begun anew. *Lindus* gave birth to *Chares*, the architect of the coloſſus, and to *Cleobulus* one of the ſeven wiſe men of *Greece*. *Camirus* or *Cameiros* was ſituate on the weſtern coaſt of the iſland, and is barely mentioned by the ancients. *Ialyſus*, in the north over-
d againſt the coaſt of *Lycia*, was the moſt ancient city in the whole iſland, but we find nothing relating to it worth mentioning. Theſe three cities were, according to *Diodorus* [w], built by *Tlepolemus* the ſon of *Hercules* before the *Trojan* war. But *Strabo* [x] and *Cicero* [y] tell us, that they were founded by the *Heliades*, or grandſons of *Phœbus*, *Ialyſus*, *Camirus*, and *Lindus*, who imparted their names each to the city he built (A). But the city of *Rhodes* (B) built during the *Peloponneſian* war, ſoon *Lindus.* *Camirus.* *Ialyſus.* *Rhodes.*

[s] DIODOR. SICUL. l. v. c. 3. [t] VIRGIL. Georg. l. ii. [u] LACTAN. l. i. c. 31. [w] DIODOR. SICUL. l. iv. c. 60. [x] STRABO, l. xiv. [y] CIC. de nat. deor. l. iii. c. 21.

(Z) *Bochart* derives the name of *Rhodes* from the *Phœnician* word *Rod*, ſignifying a ſerpent, and adds, that as the *Greeks* called it *Ophiuſa*, becauſe it was once greatly infeſted by thoſe inſects, ſo the *Phœnicians*, who were once maſters of it, named it *Geſirath Rod*, that is, the iſland of ſerpents; to the word *Rod* the *Greeks* adding the termination peculiar to their language formed the name of *Rhodos* (54). Others tell us, that it was called *Rhodus* from the *Greek* word *Rodon*, ſignifying a roſe, not that it abounded with roſes, but becauſe a roſe-bud of braſs was found in laying the foundations of the ancient city of *Lindus* (55).

(A) Some writers tell us, that theſe three cities were built by the *Dorians* not long after their migration, whence they are counted by *Athenæus* among the *Dorian* colonies (56). *Herodotus* ſays they were founded by the daughters of *Danaus*, who landed in this iſland after having put to death the ſons of *Egyptus* their huſbands (57). In the city of *Lindus* was a magnificent temple ſaid by *Plutarch* (58) to have been built by them in honour of the *Lindian Minerva*. *Zoſimus* tells us, that in his time were ſtill to be ſeen at *Conſtantinople* two ſtatues of exquiſite workmanſhip, the one of *Jupiter Dodonæus*, the other of the *Lindian Minerva*, and adds, that the magnificent temple of that goddeſs in the city of *Lindus* having been by an accidental fire reduced to aſhes, theſe two ſtatues were found in the rubbiſh no ways hurt or damaged (59). *Cadmus*, according

(54) *Bochart. Phaleg. l.* i. *c.* 2. (55) *Athenæus, l.* iii. *c.* 4. (56) *Athenæus, l.* iii. (57) *Herodot. l.* ii. (58) *Plut. de ſoler. Animal.* (59) *Zoſimus, l.* v.

eclipſed the other three, and became the metropolis of the whole iſland. It was a ſituate on the eaſt coaſt, at the foot of a hill of a gentle aſcent, and in an agreeable plain, environed at ſome diſtance with ſeveral hills full of ſprings, and covered with all kinds of fruit trees. No city, if we believe *Strabo* [z], was in ancient times preferable to it, whether we conſider the ſtatelineſs of its buildings, or the excellent laws by which it was governed. In the *Roman* times it was famous for the ſtudy of all ſciences, and reſorted to by ſuch of the *Romans* as were deſirous to improve themſelves in literature, being by ſome of the ancients equalled to *Athens* itſelf [a]. It had a very convenient haven, at the entrance of which were two rocks, and on thoſe rocks tho' *The* Coloſſus. fifty foot aſunder the famous *Coloſſus* is ſuppoſed to have ſtood (C). It was a huge

[z] STRAB. l. xiv. [a] SUET. in Tiber.

cording to *Diodorus Siculus* (60), preſented the *Lindian Minerva* with a kettle made after the ancient faſhion, on which was an inſcription in *Phœnician* letters. *Amaſis* king of *Egypt* conſecrated, as *Herodotus* informs us (61), to the ſame goddeſs two ſtatues and a linnen veſt of a wonderful texture. *Pliny* ſays, that each thread of this veſt conſiſted of three hundred and fifty ſmaller threads, and adds, leſt we ſhould queſtion the truth of what he ſays, that the conſul *Mutianus*, having had the curioſity to untwiſt ſeveral threads both of the woof and warp, found that each of them contained exactly the abovementioned number of other threads ſo fine that they were ſcarce diſcernable by the naked eye (62). The ſame author tells us, that *Helena* offered to the ſame goddeſs a cup of amber of exquiſite workmanſhip, and ſpeaks of ſeveral pictures in this temple done by *Parrhaſias*, *Zeuxis*, and other great maſters. The other two cities, *Camiros* and *Ialyſus* contained nothing remarkable; the latter was commanded by a citadel built on a neighbouring hill, and called by *Strabo* (63) *Ochyroma*. *Lindus* and *Ialyſus* were both well fortified in the time of the *Peloponneſian* war, as appears from *Thucydides* (64); but *Camiros*, or as ſome write it *Cameiros*, was then without walls. *Diodorus* (65) ſpeaks of another town, which he calls *Achaia*, and ſuppoſes to have been built by *Ochimus* and *Cercaphus*, two of the ſons of *Apollo*, at a ſmall diſtance from *Ialyſus*; but as no other writer makes mention of this city, we are inclined to believe that *Diodorus* by *Achaia* meant the caſtle of *Ochyroma*, which perhaps in his time was known by that name. The cities of *Lindus*, *Ialyſus*, and *Camiros* were, as *Strabo* informs us (66), three different republics, and quite independent of each other, governing themſelves by their own laws till the inhabitants abandoned their ancient habitations, and went to ſettle in the city of *Rhodes*, which was built in the time of the *Peloponneſian* war, that is many centuries after the other three.

(B) This ſtately city was built by the ſame architect, whom the *Athenians* had employed in building the *Piraus* or port of *Athens*, viz. *Hippodamus*, a native of *Miletus*, and deſervedly counted among the beſt architects *Greece* ever produced (67). *Iſidorus* was greatly miſtaken in making *Cecrops* king of *Athens* the founder of this city (68), ſince it is manifeſt from all the monuments of antiquity, that *Rhodes* was not built before the *Peloponneſian* war; no mention being made by any writer of ſuch a city till that period. It was built, according to *Strabo* (69) and *Ariſtides* (70) in the form of an amphitheatre, ſurrounded with walls like thoſe of *Munychia*, embelliſhed with moſt ſtately buildings, ſtrait and broad ſtreets, pleaſant avenues, fine groves, large ſquares, *&c.* *Dio Chryſoſtomus* (71) tells us, that moſt of the *Pagan* deities had temples in this city; among which that of the ſun, called by the *Dorians Haleium*, was one of the moſt noble ſtructures of antiquity. *Strabo* mentions the temple of *Bacchus*, or, as the *Rhodians* ſtiled him, *Thyonidas*, which, as he tells us, was enriched with a prodigious number of pictures done by the celebrated painter *Protogenes*. *Heſychius*, *Appian*, and *Suetonius* ſpeak of the temples of *Iſis*, of *Ocridion* and *Diana* as maſter-pieces of art. Each of theſe temples contained immenſe treaſures, votaries flocking thither with rich preſents from all parts of *Greece*, *Aſia*, and *Italy*. In the *Dionyſium* or temple of *Bacchus* was a ſtatue of *Pluto* of maſſy gold, and an incredible number of other ſtatues and pictures done by the greateſt maſters. *Pliny* tells us (72) that in his time there were in the city of *Rhodes* above three thouſand ſtatues moſt of them done with great taſte; nay, if *Ariſtides* is to be credited (73), there were more valuable ſtatues and pictures in the city of *Rhodes* alone than in all the other cities of *Greece*. The pictures of *Menander* king of *Caria*, and of *Anaus* the ſon of *Neptune* by *Apelles*, and thoſe of *Perſeus*, *Hercules*, and *Meleager* by *Zeuxis*, are greatly cried up by *Pliny* and other ancient writers. That of *Meleager* was thrice ſinged with lightning, as the ſame *Pliny* informs us (74); but that accident did not in the leaſt deaden the luſtre and brightneſs of its colours.

(C) *Pliny* deſcribes it in the following terms: Of all things that are deſervedly admired, the *Coloſſus* of *Rhodes*, done by *Chares* of *Lindus*, the diſciple of *Lyſippus*, is the moſt worthy of admiration. It was ſeventy cubits high, and is ſtill, though lying on the ground, a great prodigy. Its thumb is a fathom in compaſs, and its fingers larger than moſt ſtatues. It was hollow, and had in its cavities vaſt ſtones employed by the artificer to counterballance its weight, and render it ſteady, *&c.* (75). *Sextus Empiricus* tells us, that it was eighty cubits high, and that *Chares* the *Lindian*, having ſpent the whole ſum which he had demanded for the compleating of the work, before he had half done it, laid violent hands on himſelf out of ſhame for being ſo groſsly miſtaken in his computation. Upon his death one *Laches*, a native of the ſame city, undertook the work, ſays the ſame writer, and put the laſt hand to it. That it was done, at leaſt in part, by *Laches*, he proves from the inſcription which was ſtill extant in his time on the pedeſtal of the ſtatue in the following words: Laches *of* Lindus *made the* Coloſſus *of* Rhodes *eighty cubits high*. We will not call in queſtion the veracity of our author; but after all we cannot help thinking it ſomewhat ſtrange, that no writer either before or ſince his time ſhould mention this inſcription. He flouriſhed in the reign of *Antoninus* ſurnamed the philoſopher.

(60) *Diodor. Sicul. l.* ii. (61) *Herodot. l.* ii. (62) *Plin. l.* v. *c.* 6. (63) *Strabo l.* xiv. (64) *Thucyd. l.* viii. (65) *Diodor. Sicul. l.* v. (66) *Strabo ibid.* (67) *Strabo l.* xiv. (68) *Iſidor. de Origin. l.* i. (69) *Strabo ubi ſupra.* (70) *Ariſtid. in Rhodiac.* (71) *Dio Chryſoſtom. in Rhodiac.* (72) *Plin. l.* iv. *c.* 7. (73) *Ariſtid. in Rhodiac.* (74) *Plin. ibid.* (75) *Plin. l.* 34. *c.* 7.

ſtatue

a ſtatue of braſs erected in honour of the ſun or *Apollo*, the tutelary god of the iſland, and for its ſize accounted one of the ſeven wonders of the world, being ſeventy cubits, or an hundred and five foot high; inſomuch that ſhips in entering the harbour ſailed between its legs. *Demetrius Poliorcetes* having for a whole year beſieged the city of *Rhodes* without being able to take it, at laſt tired out with ſo long a ſiege was reconciled to the *Rhodians*, and on his departure preſented them with all the engines of war he had employed againſt their city. Theſe the *Rhodians* ſold for three hundred talents, and with that money, and other additional ſums of their own, raiſed this famous coloſſus. The artificer, they employed, was *Chares* of *Lindus*, who was twelve years in compleating the work. After it had ſtood ſixty
b years, it was thrown down by an earthquake, which did great damage in the eaſt, eſpecially in *Caria* and *Rhodes* [b]. On this occaſion the *Rhodians* ſent embaſſadors to all the princes and ſtates of the *Greek* origin to repreſent the loſſes they had ſuſtained, and by that means procured great ſums for the repairing of them, eſpecially from the kings of *Egypt*, *Macedon*, *Syria*, *Pontus*, and *Bithynia*. The money they gathered is ſaid to have exceeded five times the value of the damages. But they, inſtead of ſetting up the coloſſus again, for which end moſt of it was given, pretended an anſwer from the oracle of *Delphos*, forbidding it, and kept the money for themſelves [c]. Thus the coloſſus lay where it fell for the ſpace of 894 years, till at length *Moawias*, the ſixth caliph or emperor of the *Saracens*, having taken *Rhodes*,
c ſold the braſs to a *Jew*, who loaded with it nine hundred camels, ſo that allowing eight hundred pound weight to every camel's load, the braſs of the coloſſus, after the waſte of ſo many years, amounted to ſeven hundred and twenty thouſand pound weight [d]. From this coloſſus the iſland is by ſome authors called *Coloſſa*, and the inhabitants *Coloſſians*, whence ſome have falſely imagined that St. *Paul*'s epiſtle to the *Coloſſians* was directed to the *Rhodians*. But the *Coloſſians*, to whom the apoſtle wrote, were the inhabitants of *Coloſſe*, a city in *Phrygia Major*, of which we have ſpoke in the hiſtory of that ancient kingdom.

THE city of *Rhodes* is ſtill a place of no ſmall note, being pleaſantly ſeated on the ſide of a hill, three miles in compaſs, and well fortified with a treble wall.
d The ſtreets, as our modern travellers inform us, are wide, ſtrait, and well paved, and the houſes built after the *Italian* taſte. The chief haven is convenient, ſafe, and well fortified. The city is well peopled, and the inhabitants as wealthy as the *Turkiſh* tyranny permits any to be. It is well known, that this city and iſland belonged in the middle ages to the knights of *St. John of Jeruſalem*, who defended it with incredible bravery againſt the mighty fleet and numerous army of *Solyman* II. till the place was betrayed by a traitor in the town. After the reduction of *Rhodes*, the knights, who were denominated from this iſland, retired to that of *Malta*, which was granted to them by the emperor *Charles* V. where they continue to this day.

THIS iſland, if we believe *Diodorus*, was firſt peopled by the *Telchinæ*, who were *The inhabi-*
e originally from the iſland of *Crete*. The *Telchinæ*, who, according to that writer, *tants.* were well skilled in aſtrology, foreſeeing that the iſland would be ſoon laid under water, and the inhabitants drowned, abandoned their habitations, and made room for the *Heliades* or grandſons of *Phœbus*, who took poſſeſſion of it after that god had cleared it of the mud, with which it had been covered by the deluge. The *Heliades*, as the ſame author informs us, excelled all other men in learning, eſpecially in aſtrology; and were the firſt who found out the art of navigation, and the dividing of the day into hours. One of them by name *Tanges*, continues our author, being through envy killed by his brothers, they were forced to abandon *Rhodes*, and take ſanctuary in other countries. *Macer* fled to *Lesbos*, *Candalus* to *Coos*, *Triopas* to *Caria*,
f and *Actis* to *Egypt*. *Triapas* poſſeſſed himſelf of the promontory in *Caria*, from him called *Triopium*; *Actis* built in *Egypt* a city, which from the name of the ſun he called *Heliopolis*, and taught the *Egyptians* the ſcience of aſtrology. But moſt of the inhabitants of *Greece* being afterwards deſtroyed by the flood, and the ancient monuments loſt, the *Egyptians* took this opportunity of appropriating the ſtudy of aſtrology ſolely to themſelves; and it was generally believed, even by the *Greeks* that the *Egyptians* were the firſt who found out the knowledge of the ſtars [e]. Thus *Diodorus* derives the ſtudy of aſtrology from the inhabitants of *Rhodes*. But

[b] EUSEB. Chron. OROS. l. iv. c. 13. POLYB. l. v. p. 428—429. PLIN. l. xxxiv. c 7. STRAB. l. xiv. p. 652. [c] PLIN. POLYB. & STRAB. ibid. [d] ZONAR. Cedrew. ſub. regno Conſtantis Heral. Nepot. [e] DIODOR. SICUL. l. v. c. 13.

we

we ſhould be glad to know how he came to make this diſcovery after all the ancient monuments, relating thereunto, were loſt. All authors agree, that the *Egyptians* were the firſt who applied themſelves to the ſtudy of aſtrology, and the opinion of *Diodorus* ſupported by no authentic monuments, is not of weight enough with us to counter-ballance their authority. a

IN after-ages the deſcendants of the *Heliades*, who had remained in *Rhodes*, (four of them only being concerned in the death of their brother *Tenages*) being infeſted by great ſerpents, which bred in the iſland, had recourſe to an oracle in *Delos*, which adviſed them to admit *Phorbas* and his followers to ſhare with them the lands in the iſland, if they deſired to be delivered from their preſent calamity. *Phorbas* was the ſon of *Lapithas*, and was at that time with many of his friends in *Theſſaly* ſeeking for a convenient place to ſettle in. The *Rhodians*, according to the direction of the oracle, ſent for *Phorbas*, who being admitted as a proprietor with them in the iſland, deſtroyed the ſerpents, and freed the inhabitants from their former fears. He continued with his followers, who were all *Theſſalians*, in *Rhodes*, where after his death he was honoured as a demi-god [f]. b

AFTERWARDS *Althæmenes*, the ſon of *Catreus* king of *Crete*, conſulting the oracle concerning ſome affairs, was anſwered, that it would be his fate to kill his own father. To avoid this misfortune he of his own accord abandoned *Crete*, and with many *Cretans*, who attended him, paſſed over into *Rhodes*, and ſettled at *Camirus*. There he built a temple on the top of mount *Atamirus* in honour of *Jupiter*, called from thence *Jupiter Atamirus*. He choſe that place becauſe he had from thence a clear proſpect of *Crete* his native iſland. He was greatly honoured by the inhabitants of *Camirus*, and admitted with his followers to enjoy all the rights and privileges of the ancient proprietors. But his father *Catreus* having no other ſon, and being exceeding fond of *Althæmenes*, undertook a voyage to *Rhodes* in order to bring him back to *Crete*. He landed at *Rhodes* in the night with a numerous attendance, which giving jealouſy to the *Rhodians*, they fell upon him, and in this conflict he was killed by his own ſon. *Althæmenes* was ſo concerned for his death that he ever afterwards avoided all manner of company, wandering in the deſerts till he died of grief; but by the direction of the oracle he was afterwards honoured as an hero or demi-god [g]. c

NOT long before the *Trojan* war *Tlepolemus* the ſon of *Hercules*, having killed unawares one *Licymnius*, fled from *Argos*, and having conſulted an oracle about planting a colony, was adviſed to paſs over into *Rhodes*, which he did accordingly and ſettled there. He was afterwards created king of the whole iſland, which he governed with great juſtice and equity. Theſe were, according to *Diodorus*, the firſt inhabitants of the iſland of *Rhodes* [h]. d

AFTER the *Trojan* war the *Dorians* poſſeſſed themſelves of the beſt part of this iſland, after having driven out the ancient proprietors; and hence it is that both *Strabo* [i] and *Pauſanias* [k] call the *Rhodians Dorians* and alſo *Peloponneſians*, the *Dorians* being properly the inhabitants of *Peloponneſus*. As the *Dorians* were, according to *Euſebius* [l], deſcended from *Tharſis*, the ſon of *Javan*, and grandſon of *Japhet*, that writer by *Tharſis* underſtands the *Rhodians*. On the other hand *S. Jerom* is of opinion that the iſland of *Rhodes* was firſt peopled by the deſcendants of *Dodanim* the brother of *Tharſis*, whom the *Greeks* corruptly called *Rhodanim*; and hence came the name of *Rhodes* and *Rhodians* [m]. Be that as it will, all the ancients agree, that the *Rhodians* after the *Trojan* war conſiſted chiefly of *Dorians*, and that the *Doric* dialect was commonly uſed throughout the whole iſland. e

Their trade and navigation

THE *Rhodians* applied themſelves very early to trade and navigation, and ſoon became ſo skilled in maritime affairs, and expert in navigation, that for many ages they were ſovereigns of the ſea, their laws, called the *Rhodian* laws, being the ſtandard whereby to decide all controverſies relating to maritime affairs. Theſe laws and conſtitutions were ſo juſt, that they were afterwards incorporated into the *Roman* pandects, and followed in all the provinces of the *Roman* empire. f

[f] DIODOR. SICUL. ibid. [g] DIODOR SICUL. ibid. [h] DIODOR. SICUL. ibid. [i] STRAB. l. xiv.
[k] PAUSAN. l. ix. [l] EUSEB. Chron. [m] HIERONYM. in quæſt. Hebraic.

THE

Government.

a THE government of *Rhodes* was originally monarchical, and ſeveral kings are ſaid to have reigned there long before the *Trojan* war [n]; but, as the authors (D), who have wrote of *Rhodes*, have not reached our times, we can give no account of thoſe ancient kings. The names of the princes, who reigned in the time of the *Trojan* war, and after that epoch, are *Tlepolemus*, *Dorieus*, *Damagetus*, *Diagoras*, *Evagoras*, *Cleobulus*, *Eraſtides*, *Damagetas* II. *Diagorus* II.

Kings of Rhodes.

Tlepolemus, the ſon of *Hercules*, accompanied *Agamemnon* to the *Trojan* war, leaving the government of his kingdom to *Butas*, who had attended him in his flight from *Argos*. Some ſay that he was killed before *Troy* by *Sarpedon*, others that he returned home loaded with the ſpoils of the plundered city [o]. *Dorieus* is only b mentioned by *Pauſanias*, and ſuppoſed to have reigned, ſince his ſon *Damagetus* enjoyed the royal dignity. All we know of *Damagetus* is, that he was commanded by an oracle to marry the daughter of the beſt man among the *Greeks*, and that in compliance with the injunction of the god he took to wife the third daughter of *Ariſtomenes* the *Meſſenian* [p], by whom he had *Diagoras*, who ſucceeded him in the kingdom, and became ſo famous on account of his equity and juſtice, that the princes who ſucceeded him were all called *Diagoridæ*, as if he had been the head and firſt of the family [q]. *Evagoras* is mentioned only by *Laertius*, who gives us no account of his reign [r]. *Cleobulus* travelled into *Egypt*, where he ſtudied philo-

[n] Vide PINDAR. Olymp. Od. 7. DIODOR. SICUL. l. v. c. 13. STRAB. l. xiv. &c. [o] DIODOR. ibid. DICTYS, PHILOSTRATUS, &c. [p] PAUSAN. l. iv. [q] PAUSAN. ibid. [r] LAERTIUS. in vit. Cleobul.

(D) The *Rhodian* writers mentioned and quoted by *Diodorus Siculus* (76), *Athenæus* (77), *Suidas*, *Plutarch* and others, are *Clitophon*, who, according to *Hieroclides*, wrote a treatiſe on the government of *Rhodes*. *Ergeas* is quoted by *Athenæus* as the author of a hiſtory containing the exploits of the *Phœnicians*, who in ancient times inhabited the iſland of *Rhodes*. *Jaſon* deſcribed in three books the ſtate of *Greece* and *Rhodes*. *Polyzelus* is ſaid by *Strabo* and *Athenæus* to have wrote ſeveral hiſtorical tracts, among others one on the warlike actions of the *Rhodians*. *Zenon* wrote a geographical account of *Rhodes*. *Eudoxus* is mentioned by *Laertius*, who tells us, that he wrote an hiſtory, and by *Suidas*, *Apollonius* and the etymologiſt, who quotes the tenth book of this author's hiſtory. Some writers confound *Eudoxus* the *Rhodian* hiſtorian with another *Eudoxus* of *Cyzicum*, who following *Ptolemy Lathurus* ſailed from the *Perſian* gulf to *Cadix*, as *Strabo* relates on the credit of *Poſſidonius* (78), and *Pliny* on that of *Cornelius Nepos*. *Simmias* flouriſhed about the beginning of the olympiads, and wrote ſeveral poems on the antiquities of *Samos*, where he was born of *Rhodian* parents. *Tzetzes* cites thirteen verſes from his poem, entitled *Apollo*, on men who had dogs heads. Theſe have all wrote the hiſtory or part of the hiſtory of *Rhodes*, and are frequently quoted by the ancients, eſpecially by *Diodorus Siculus*. It would be too tedious to inſert here a catalogue of the many eminent writers, whom this iſland has produced. However we ſhall give a ſuccinct account of thoſe, whom we find to have been moſt admired by the beſt judges of antiquity. Theſe are, *Ariſtophanes*, a native of *Lindos*, whoſe comedies met with ſuch applauſe at *Athens*, that he was declared free of that city, and honoured with a crown made of the branches of an olive tree, which grew in the citadel, and was ſacred to *Minerva*. *Eudemus* counted by *Strabo* among the moſt illuſtrious philoſophers of antiquity (79); he is ſaid to have wrote a learned treatiſe of geometry, aſtronomy, and the power and influence of the ſtars: *Hieronymus*, commended by *Strabo*, *Athenæus* and *Tully* as the chief *Peripatetic* philoſopher of his time. *Leonidas* ranked by *Strabo*, *Heſychius*, and *Vitruvius* among the men, who gained more reputation to their country by the arts of peace, than the greateſt captains by thoſe of war: *Piſander*, a native of *Camiros*, mentioned by *Strabo* and *Macrobius* as the author of a poem ſtiled *Heraclea*, which comprehended in two books all the exploits of *Hercules*: he is ſaid by *Suidas* to have been the firſt that repreſented *Hercules* with a club: *Panetius*, who was preceptor to *Scipio Africanus* the younger, and attended him together with *Polybius* in all his expeditions. Upon *Scipio*'s death he retired to *Athens*, where he was highly eſteemed and admitted into the number of *Athenian* citizens. *Cicero* acknowledges that he followed him in his book of offices: *Molon*, or *Apollonius Molon*, who taught rhetoric firſt at *Rome* afterwards at *Rhodes*, and had in both places a great many diſciples of diſtinction, amongſt others *Cicero*, who followed him from *Rome* to *Rhodes*. *Molon* wrote ſome hiſtorical works; for *Joſephus* (80) complains of him as undeſervedly traducing the *Jews*, and diſparaging ſome of the moſt glorious actions of their princes: *Ideus*, who took upon him to correct the *Iliad*, but did not ſucceed ſo well in that undertaking, as he did in an epic poem of his own, wherein he ſet forth the memorable actions of the *Rhodians*: *Timocreon*, a famous poet and wreſtler, who in the olympic games was victor in five different ſorts of combats. *Athenæus* tells us, that his epitaph was wrote by *Simonides*, and conceived in the following terms: *Here lies* Timocreon *the* Rhodian, *who of all things liked good eating and drinking, and never ſpoke well of any body*. *Praxiphanes*, a native of *Lindus*, wrote a moſt learned comment on the obſcure paſſages of *Sophocles*, and is often mentioned by *Strabo*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and *Heſychius*: *Antheas*, born likewiſe in *Lindus*, was the firſt inventor, as *Suidas* informs us, of the *Adonic* verſe, ſo called from *Adonis*, that poet having firſt made them to bewail his death. Many other writers of great note have formerly flouriſhed in this iſland; but as we cannot pretend to give an account of them all in this place; we muſt refer our readers to *Meurſius* in his learned treatiſe on the iſland of *Rhodes*, printed at *Amſterdam* in 1675, and publiſhed with thoſe on *Crete* and *Cyprus* by the ſame author.

(76) *Diodor. Sicul. l.* v. *c.* 13. (77) *Athenæus, l.* viii. *c.* 11. (78) *Strab. l.* vi. (79) *Idem, l.* xv. (80) *Joſeph. contra. App.*

 loſophy,

ſophy, and on his return to *Rhodes* was highly eſteemed not only by his countrymen, but by all the *Greeks*, and counted among the ſeven wiſe men of *Greece*. His daughter *Cleobulina* is ſaid to have been a woman of great learning, well verſed in philoſophy, aſtrology, poetry, *&c.* and to have had an admirable talent in making of ænigmas [s]. *Cleobulus* died in the 70th year of his age, leaving the kingdom, as he had no male iſſue, to his daughter, who reſigned it to *Eraſtides*, one of the deſcendants of *Diagoras*, and conſequently of the ſame family. *Eraſtides*, it ſeems, performed nothing worth mentioning; he is called by *Pindar* a pacific prince, and ſaid to have reigned without giving trouble to his neighbours, or being troubled by them. After him reigned ſeveral other princes of the ſame family, as we gather from the ſcholiaſt of *Pindar* [t]; but the only one we find mentioned by the ancients is *Diagoras* II. who was cotemporary with *Pindar*. He proved conqueror in the *Olympic*, *Iſthmian*, *Nemæan* and *Argian* games, and is on that account highly commended by *Pindar*. He had two daughters *Calipateras* and *Pherenice*, and three ſons, *Acuſilaus*, *Damagetus*, and *Dorieus*. Theſe ſons were all three victors at the ſame time in the *Olympic* ſports, *Acuſilaus* in boxing, *Dorieus* in wreſtling, and *Damagetus* in the exerciſe called *Pancration*, which conſiſted of the two former. After the judges had paſſed ſentence, and the public herald proclaimed their names, they flew to embrace their father, who was preſent, and placing their crowns on his head, carried him in triumph through the crowd, all *Greece* extolling with loud acclamations their piety, which made that numerous aſſembly in a manner forget their victory. The father, not able to bear ſuch an exceſs of joy, died in their arms, envied more for his death, as our author expreſſes it, than for the many victories, which during his life had equalled him to the gods [u]. *Dorieus* was three times ſucceſſively victor in the *Olympic* games, eight times in the *Iſthmian*, ſeven times in the *Nemæan*, and once in the *Pythic*, no one daring to contend with him. Being driven from *Rhodes*, he retired with his nephew *Piſidorus* to *Thuriam* in *Italy*. What was laid to his charge, we know not; but *Thucydides* informs us, that he was ſoon recalled, and that on his return he not only openly declared for the *Lacedæmonians*, but ſerved in their fleet with gallies equipped at his own expence till he was in an engagement taken priſoner by the *Athenians*, who at firſt deſigned to put him to death, but afterwards ſent him home untouched, and without ranſom, in conſideration of the many victories he had gained in the public ſports [w]. His ſiſter *Pherenice*, after the death of her husband, privately inſtructed her ſon *Piſidorus* in the exerciſes uſed at *Olympia*, and attended him herſelf in diſguiſe to the ſports; for women were not allowed to be preſent at thoſe games; nay, ſo ſevere were the laws in this particular, that if any woman was found ſo much as to have paſſed the river *Alpheus*, during the time of the ſolemnity, ſhe was to be thrown headlong from a rock on the top of mount *Timæus*. *Pherenice*, after her ſon had won the prize, diſcovered herſelf, and being apprehended was brought before the judges, who acquitted her, out of reſpect to her father, brothers, and ſon [x]. From *Diagoras* I. to *Diagoras* II. chronologers count two hundred and fifty years; whence it is manifeſt, that neither the actions, nor even the names of ſeveral intermediate kings have reached us. Upon the death of *Diagoras* II. ſome great revolution muſt have happened; for we find another family on the throne, *viz.* that of the *Aſclepiadæ*, while his children were ſtill alive [y]. But we are quite in the dark both as to their names and actions. All we know is, that they did not long enjoy the ſovereignty, the *Rhodians* having no king at the time of *Xerxes*'s expedition into *Greece*, which, according to *Diodorus* [z], happened a few years after the death of *Diagoras*. After the death or expulſion of the laſt king, the republican government prevailed all over the iſland, during which the *Rhodians* applied themſelves to trade and navigation, and, as *Strabo* informs us [a], became very powerful by ſea, and planted ſeveral colonies in diſtant countries, namely *Rhodus* in *Spain*, and *Parthenope* in the country of the *Opici*. The ſame author adds, that the *Rhodians* at this time were maſters of the *Balearic* iſlands, called then the *Gymneſian* iſlands. During the *Peloponneſian* war, the *Rhodians* firſt ſided with the *Athenians*, but after their great overthrow in *Sicily*, revolted from them and joined the *Lacedæmonians*, whom they likewiſe abandoned, and renewed their ancient

The republican form of government introduced.

[s] Idem, ibid. [t] Scholiaſt. PIND. p. 59. [u] PAUSAN. l. vi. AUL. GELL. l. iii. c. 15. [w] THUCYD. l. iii. & viii. XENOPH. l. i. DIODOR. SICUL. l. xiii. PAUSAN. l. vi. [x] PAUSAN. in Eliac. p. 457. ÆLIAN. var. hiſt. l. x. c. 1. VAL. MAX. l. viii. PLIN. l. vii. c. 41. [y] ARISTID. orat. in Aſclepiad. & ad. Rhodios de concordia. [z] DIODOR. SICUL. l. xi. [a] STRAB. l. xiv.

alliance

a alliance with the *Athenians*, after the former had been defeated by *Conon* admiral of the *Perſian* fleet. In the time of the *Peloponneſian* war, and for ſeveral years after, the republic of *Rhodes* was rent into two factions, the people favouring the *Athenians*, and the nobles the *Lacedæmonians*; but the latter at laſt prevailed, the democracy was aboliſhed, and an ariſtocracy introduced in its room. Under this form of government the ſtate enjoyed a profound tranquillity till the third year of the hundred and fifth olympiad, which was the third year of the reign of *Philip* the ſon of *Amyntas*, when that war broke out, which was called the *Social War*, and laſted four years. The *Rhodians*, *Chians*, *Coans*, and *Byzantines*, being weary of their alliance with the *Athenians*, by whom they were treated rather like ſubjects than
b allies, reſolved to take up arms againſt *Athens*, and reinſtate themſelves in their ancient independency. To reduce them the *Athenians* employed great forces, and the moſt experienced officers of their republic, viz. *Chabrias*, *Iphicrates*, and *Timotheus*. Theſe were the laſt of the *Athenian* generals, who diſtinguiſhed themſelves either at home or abroad [b]. The war was begun by the ſiege of *Chius*, where *Chares* commanded the land-forces, and *Chabrias* the fleet. All the allies, eſpecially the *Rhodians*, exerted themſelves in ſending aid to the *Chians*. But in ſpite of their utmoſt efforts *Chabrias*, having forced the paſſage, entered the port, and fell upon the enemy's fleet. The other gallies under his command, ſeeing him in great diſtreſs, and ſurrounded by the enemy, betook themſelves to flight, leaving *Chabrias* to the
c mercy of the allies. But he, chuſing rather to die, than to retire or ſurrender, fought with incredible bravery till he received a wound, which ſoon put an end to his life [c].

The ſocial war. Year of the flood 2643. Before Chriſt 356.

THUS the firſt attempt of the *Athenians* having miſcarried, both ſides made vaſt preparations for renewing the war. The *Athenians* fitted out a fleet of ſixty gallies, giving the command of it to *Chares*, and appointed *Iphicrates* and *Timotheus* to command another fleet conſiſting of the ſame number of gallies which was to be employed againſt the *Rhodians*, and to prevent their joining the other allies. But the *Rhodians* were before-hand with them, and the confederate fleet to the number of an hundred ſail being united early in the ſpring, they ravaged the iſlands of *Imbros*
d and *Lesbos*, took all the ſhips they met, and raiſing contributions among the allies of *Athens* got together ſuch ſums of money as were ſufficient to defray all the expences of that campaign. Being encouraged with this ſucceſs they ſailed to *Samos*, which adhered to the *Athenians*, and beſieged the place both by ſea and land. On the other hand the *Athenians*, to oblige the allies to raiſe the ſiege, inveſted *Byzantium*, which had the deſired effect, the allies making all poſſible haſte to its relief. When the two fleets were in ſight of each other, the allies began to prepare for an engagement, but a violent ſtorm ariſing, *Timotheus* and *Iphicrates* thought it not adviſeable to hazard a battle in ſuch a conjuncture. *Chares*, who was for engaging, after having earneſtly preſſed, but in vain, his collegues to follow his advice, wrote
e to *Athens* accuſing them of cowardice and treaſon. Upon his accuſation, the people, who were naturally jealous of ſuch as were diſtinguiſhed by their extraordinary merit, recalled the two generals, and laid a heavy fine upon them, which *Timotheus* being unable to pay, retired to *Chelos*, where he died of grief [d].

Chare by the recal of his two collegues having the ſole command of the fleet, engaged in a very raſh enterprize, whereby he hoped to do his country great ſervice. *Pharnabazus*, having revolted from the king of *Perſia*, was upon the point of being attacked by the governors of the neighbouring provinces at the head of ſeventy thouſand men, he himſelf having but a very ſmall army. In this critical conjuncture he prevailed upon *Chares* to join him with his forces, and by his aſſiſtance
f totally routed the king's generals; for which ſignal piece of ſervice *Pharnabazus* rewarded him with ſuch ſums of money as were ſufficient to pay his fleet and army. When the news of this victory firſt reached *Athens*, *Chares*'s conduct was highly applauded; but after the king had complained by his embaſſadors of the injury done him by *Chares*, and it was ſpread abroad that the *Perſians* deſigned to join the confederates with a fleet of three hundred ſail, the *Athenians* changed their notes, and treated *Chares* as a traitor, who had not only abandoned the ſervice of his country for a foreign war, but infringed the articles of peace with the *Perſians*, and thereby

[b] CORN. NEPOS. in Timoth. [c] DIODOR. SICUL. l. xvi. [d] CORN. NEPOS. DIODOR. SICUL. JUSTIN. ibid.

provoked

provoked that mighty monarch againſt the *Athenian* republic. However the credit of *Chares* ſaved him upon this as it had done upon ſeveral other occaſions. But the people were ſo terrified with the threatnings of the king of *Perſia*, that they reſolved to conclude a peace with the ſtates, which had revolted, almoſt upon their own terms: accordingly a treaty was agreed on very little to the honor of *Athens*, and an end put to the ſocial war, after it had continued for the ſpace of four years [e]. By this treaty *Rhodes*, *Chios*, *Cos* and *Byzantium*, were to enjoy full liberty, and be quite independent of *Athens*. It was on this occaſion that *Iſocrates* wrote that famous oration which is entitled, *of peace* or *ſocial*, wherein he repreſents to the *Athenians*, that real and laſting greatneſs does not conſiſt in making conqueſts, which cannot be effected without violence and injuſtice, but in governing the people with wiſdom, and rendering them happy, in protecting their allies, and by good offices, obliging and gaining over their neighbours, without having recourſe to arms, except when all other means prove ineffectual. This oration is ſtill extant and well worth the reader's peruſal.

The Rhodians *oppreſſed by* Mauſolus *king of* Caria.

THE peace, which put an end to the war of the allies, did not procure for all of them the tranquillity they had reaſon to expect. The people of *Cos* and *Rhodes*, who had been declared free by the treaty, ſeemed only to have changed their maſter. *Mauſolus*, king of *Caria*, who had aſſiſted them in throwing off the *Athenian* yoke, declared for an ariſtocracy, and by that means having oppreſſed the people, came by degrees to be abſolute maſter of both iſlands, the nobility not daring, as they were hated by the people, to oppoſe him. But *Mauſolus* dying two years after the treaty of peace with *Athens*, the people and nobility uniting together, drove out the garriſons of *Mauſolus*, and recovered their ancient liberties. Having thus cleared their reſpective iſlands of foreign forces, the *Rhodians*, to revenge the injuries they had ſuffered from *Mauſolus*, having equipped a fleet, invaded *Caria* with a deſign to poſſeſs themſelves of that country, which lay very convenient for them. The famous queen *Artemiſia*, who had ſucceeded her husband in the kingdom of *Caria*, being acquainted with their deſign, ordered the inhabitants of *Halicarnaſſus*, where it was moſt likely they would land, to keep within the walls, and when the enemy arrived, to expreſs by ſhouts and clapping of hands, a readineſs to ſurrender. The inhabitants followed her directions; whereupon the *Rhodians*, not ſuſpecting any treachery, left their fleet without any to guard it, and entered the city. In the meantime *Artemiſia* came with her gallies out of the little port through a ſmall canal, which ſhe had cauſed to be cut on purpoſe, entered the great port, and ſeizing the enemy's fleet without reſiſtance, ſet ſail for *Rhodes*. The *Rhodians*, who had entered the city, having no means to make their eſcape, were all cut in pieces. But before this melancholy news reached *Rhodes*, *Artemiſia* had got poſſeſſion of that city. When the inhabitants ſaw their veſſels approach adorned with wreaths of laurel, they admitted them into the port with extraordinary marks of joy, not doubting but they had taken *Halicarnaſſus*. Then *Artemiſia*, landing her troops, fell upon the unarmed multitude, diſperſed them, and having poſſeſſed herſelf of the city, put the chief citizens, who had promoted the *Carian* expedition, to death. Being now miſtreſs of the metropolis, ſhe cauſed a noble trophy to be erected in the market-place, and two ſtatues of braſs; one of which repreſented the city of *Rhodes*, and the other *Artemiſia* branding it with an hot iron. The *Rhodians* afterwards ſurrounded that trophy with a building, which prevented it entirely from being ſeen, religion forbidding them to demoliſh any monuments which had once been conſecrated [f]. From this, and from what we read in one of *Demoſthenes*'s orations [g], it appears, that *Artemiſia* did not, like a forlorn and inconſolable widow, paſs her whole time in grief and lamentation, as ſome writers would make us believe. A modern author of no mean character [h] ſuſpects, that whatever has been reported of her exceſſive grief is without any foundation, being advanced by ſome, and perhaps believed on account of the magnificent monument ſhe erected to the memory of her deceaſed husband, and afterwards copied by others. And truly her whole conduct diſcovers rather the active courage of a queen, than the ſevere affliction and retirement of a widow. The *Rhodians*, being thus reduced by a woman, and unable to bear any longer ſo ſhameful a ſervitude,

Artemiſia *poſſeſſes herſelf of the city of* Rhodes. *Year of the flood* 2653. *Before Chriſt* 351.

[e] DIODOR. PLUT. COR. NEP. ibid. [f] VITRUVIUS. l. 2. c. 10. [g] DEMOSTHEN. de libertat. Rhodior. [h] BAYLE Diction. Hiſtor. *&c.*

had

a had recourſe to the *Athenians*, and privately ſent embaſſadors to implore their protection. They had but lately provoked the *Athenians* by their revolt and the many miſchiefs which they had brought upon their republic, during the ſocial war. However, *Demoſthenes* took upon him to back their embaſſadors, and ſpeak to the people in their favour. He began by ſetting their revolt in its full light, and enlarging on their injuſtice and perfidy; inſomuch that ſome imagined the orator was going to declare againſt them in the ſtrongeſt terms. But all this was only to inſinuate himſelf into the favour of his auditors, and afterwards ſtir them up to compaſſion for a people, who acknowledged their fault, and owned themſelves unworthy of that protection, which they were come to implore. He ſet before them
b the great maxims, which in all ages had gained ſo much glory to *Athens*, the forgiving of injuries, the pardoning of their enemies, and the taking upon them the defence of the unfortunate. To the motives of glory he added thoſe of intereſt, ſhewing how neceſſary it was, that they ſhould declare for a city, that favoured the democratic government, and not abandon to a foreign power, ſo wealthy an iſland as that of *Rhodes*. This is the ſubſtance of that famous diſcourſe, entitled, *For the liberty of the* Rhodians. What impreſſion this ſpeech made on the minds of the *Athenians* we know not. All we can advance with certainty is, that the *Rhodians* were ſoon after delivered from the yoke they groaned under. Some writers tell us, that they were indebted to the *Athenians* for their liberty,
c while others affirm, that, *Artemiſia* dying the ſame year ſhe poſſeſſed herſelf of the iſland, the *Rhodians* reinſtated themſelves in their former condition with their own forces [i].

Rhodians reſtored to their ancient liberty.

From this time the *Rhodians* enjoyed a profound tranquillity till the reign of *Alexander the Great*, to whom they delivered up of their own accord their cities and harbours, and were on that account highly favoured by that prince [k]. *Diodorus* tells us, that *Alexander* lodged his laſt will in the archives of the city of *Rhodes*, and ſhewed on all occaſions a greater value for the *Rhodians* than for any other of the *Greek* nations. However, they no ſooner heard the news of his death, but taking up arms they drove out the *Macedonian* garriſon, and once more became a
d free people [l]. About this time happened a dreadful inundation at *Rhodes*, which being accompanied with violent ſtorms of rain, and hail-ſtones of an extraordinary bigneſs, beat down many houſes, and killed great numbers of the inhabitants. As the city of *Rhodes* was built in the form of an amphitheatre, and no care had been taken to clear the pipes and conduits which conveyed the water into the ſea, the lower parts of the city were in an inſtant laid under water, ſeveral houſes quite covered, and the inhabitants drowned before they got to the higher places. As the deluge encreaſed, and the violent ſhowers continued, ſome of the inhabitants made to their ſhips, and abandoned the place, while others attempting to remedy the evil, miſerably periſhed in the waters. The city being thus threat-
e ened with utter deſtruction, the wall all on a ſudden burſt aſunder, and the water diſcharging itſelf with a violent current into the ſea, unexpectedly delivered the inhabitants from all danger [m].

They ſurrender to Alexander.

An inundation at Rhodes.

The *Rhodians* ſuffered greatly by this unexpected misfortune, but ſoon repaired their loſſes by applying themſelves more cloſely than ever to trade and navigation, the only ſources of their wealth and power. As the city of *Rhodes* was at this time very powerful at ſea, and, according to *Diodorus* [n], the beſt governed of any city among the *Greeks*, all the princes, who were then at variance with each other courted her friendſhip. But the *Rhodians* carefully declined favouring one againſt another, and by thus obſerving a ſtrict neutrality in the wars that were
f kindled in thoſe times, became one of the moſt opulent ſtates of all *Aſia*; inſomuch that for the common good of all *Greece*, they undertook the *Piratic war*, and at their own charges cleared the ſeas of the pirates, who had for many years infeſted the coaſts both of *Europe* and *Aſia*. Though they were thus in amity with all the neighbouring princes, yet their inclination as well as intereſt ſecretly attached them to *Ptolemy*; for the moſt advantagious branches of their commerce ſprung from *Egypt*. Wherefore when *Antigonus*, engaged in a war againſt *Ptolemy* for the iſland of *Cyprus*, demanded ſuccours of them, they earneſtly entreated him not to compel them to declare againſt their ancient friend and ally. But this an-

Antigonus *makes war upon the* Rhodians. *Year of the flood*, 2700. *Before Chriſt*, 304.

[i] Aul. Gell. l. 10. c. 18. Strabo l. 14. [k] Curt. l. 4. [l] Diodor. l. 18. [m] Diodor. Sicul. l. 19. [n] Diodor. Sicul. l. 20. c. 4.

ſwer, as prudent as it was, drew upon them the diſpleaſure of *Antigonus*, who immediately ordered one of his admirals to ſail with his fleet to *Rhodes*, and ſeize all the ſhips that made out of the harbour for *Egypt*. The *Rhodians* finding their harbour blocked up by the fleet of *Antigonus* equipped a good number of gallies, fell upon the enemy, and obliged him with the loſs of many ſhips to quit his ſtation. Hereupon *Antigonus* charging them as the aggreſſors and beginners of an unjuſt war, threatened to beſiege their city with the ſtrength of his whole army. The *Rhodians* endeavoured by frequent embaſſies to appeaſe his wrath, repreſenting to him, that not they, but his admiral had begun hoſtilities by ſeizing their trading veſſels, and interrupting their navigation. But all their remonſtrances ſerved rather to provoke than allay his reſentment; and the only terms, upon which he would hearken to any accommodation, were; that the *Rhodians* ſhould declare war againſt *Ptolemy*; that they ſhould admit his fleet into their harbour; and that an hundred of the chief citizens ſhould be delivered up to him as hoſtages for the performance of theſe articles. The *Rhodians* foreſeeing the ſtorm which was then impending, ſent embaſſadors to all their allies, and to *Ptolemy* in particular, imploring their aſſiſtance, and repreſenting to the latter, that their attachment to his intereſt had drawn upon them the danger to which they were expoſed. The preparations on both ſides were immenſe. As *Antigonus* was near fourſcore years of age at that time, he committed the whole management of the war to his ſon *Demetrius*, who appeared before the city of *Rhodes* with two hundred ſhips of war, an hundred and ſeventy tranſports having on board forty thouſand men, and a thouſand other veſſels, loaded with proviſions, and all ſorts of warlike engines. As *Rhodes* had enjoyed for many years a profound tranquillity, and been free from all devaſtations, the expectation of booty in the plunder of ſo wealthy a city allured multitudes of pirates and mercenaries to join *Demetrius* in this expedition; inſomuch that the whole ſea between the continent and the iſland was covered with ſhips, which ſtruck the *Rhodians*, who had a proſpect of this mighty armada from the walls, with great terror and conſternation. *Demetrius*, having landed his troops without the reach of the enemy's machines, detached ſeveral ſmall bodies to lay waſte the country round the city, and cut down the trees and groves, employing the timber, and materials of the houſes without the walls to fortify his camp with ſtrong ramparts, and a treble paliſade; which work, as many hands were employed, was finiſhed in a few days [o].

Demetrius arrives before the city of Rhodes *with a mighty fleet.*

THE *Rhodians* on their part prepared for a vigorous defence. Many great commanders, who had ſignalized themſelves on other occaſions, threw themſelves into the city being deſirous to try their skill in military affairs againſt *Demetrius*, who was reputed one of the moſt experienced captains in the conduct of ſieges, that antiquity had produced. The beſieged began with diſmiſſing from the city all ſuch perſons as were uſeleſs; and then taking an account of thoſe, who were capable of bearing arms, they found that the citizens amounted to ſix thouſand, and the foreigners to a thouſand. Liberty was promiſed to all the ſlaves, who ſhould diſtinguiſh themſelves by any glorious action, and the public engaged to pay the maſters their full ranſom. A proclamation was likewiſe made declaring, that whoever died in the defence of his country, ſhould be buried at the charge of the public, that his parents and children ſhould be maintained out of the treaſury, that fortunes ſhould be given to his daughters, and his ſons, when they were grown up, ſhould be crowned and preſented with a compleat ſuit of armour at the great ſolemnity of *Bacchus*. This decree kindled an incredible ardour in all ranks of men. The rich came in crouds with money to defray the charges of the war, and the artificers applied themſelves with indefatigable induſtry to the forging of arms, making of engines, and contriving new ſorts of warlike machines, which did great execution on the enemy. In a word, every thing was in motion throughout all the quarters of the city, the workmen and artificers ſtriving to outdo each other, and the rich ſupplying them with materials at their own charge.

THE beſieged firſt ſent out three nimble veſſels againſt a ſmall fleet of merchant ſhips that ſupplied the enemy with proviſions. Theſe falling upon them ſunk ſome, took others, and burnt the greateſt part of them, carrying back with them to *Rhodes* a great number of priſoners. By this firſt expedition the *Rhodians*

[o] Idem, ibid.

gained

a gained a conſiderable ſum of money; for it had been mutually agreed between them and *Demetrius*, that a thouſand drachma's ſhould be paid for the ranſom of every freeman, and five hundred for each ſlave.

Demetrius, having planted all his engines began to batter with incredible fury, the walls on the ſide of the harbour, but was for eight days ſucceſſively repulſed by the beſieged, who ſet fire to moſt of his warlike machines, and thereby obliged him to allow them ſome reſpite, which they made good uſe of in repairing the breaches, and building new walls, where the old ones were either weak or low. When *Demetrius* had repaired his engines, he ordered a general aſſault to be made, and cauſed his troops to advance with loud ſhouts, thinking by this means to ſtrike terror into the enemy, and drive them from the walls. But the beſieged were ſo far from be-
b ing intimidated, that they repulſed the aggreſſors with great ſlaughter, and performed the moſt aſtoniſhing feats of bravery *Demetrius* returned to the aſſault the next day, but was in the ſame manner forced to retire after having loſt a great number of men, and ſome officers of diſtinction. He had ſeized at his firſt landing an eminence at a ſmall diſtance from the city, and having fortified this advantagious poſt he cauſed ſeveral batteries to be erected there with engines, which inceſſantly diſcharged againſt the walls, ſtones of an hundred and fifty pounds weight. The towers being thus furiouſly battered night and day began to totter, and ſeveral breaches were opened in the walls. Then the *Rhodians* unexpectedly ſallying out
c drove the enemy from their poſt, overturned their machines, and made a moſt dreadful havock; inſomuch that ſome of them retired on board their veſſels, and were with much ado prevailed upon to come aſhore again.

THE ardor of *Demetrius* was not diminiſhed by this loſs, he ordered a ſcalade by ſea and land at the ſame time, and ſo employed the beſieged, that they were at a loſs what place they ſhould chiefly defend. The attack was carried on with the utmoſt fury on all ſides, and the beſieged defended themſelves with the greateſt intrepidity. Such of the enemies as advanced firſt were thrown down from the ladders, and miſerably bruiſed. Several of the chief officers, having mounted the walls to encourage the ſoldiers, by their example, were there either killed or taken priſoners. After the combat had laſted many hours with great ſlaughter on both
d ſides, *Demetrius*, notwithſtanding all his valor, thought it neceſſary to retire in order to repair his engines, and give his men ſome days reſt P.

Demetrius, being ſenſible, that he could not reduce the city till he was maſter of the port, after having refreſhed his men, returned with new vigor againſt the fortifications, which defended the entry into the harbour. When he came within the caſt of a dart, he cauſed a vaſt quantity of burning torches and firebrands to be thrown into the *Rhodian* ſhips, which were riding there, and at the ſame time galled with dreadful ſhowers of darts, arrows and ſtones, ſuch as offered to extinguiſh the flames. However, in ſpite of their utmoſt efforts the *Rhodians* put a ſtop to the fire, and having with great expedition manned three of their ſtrongeſt ſhips, drove with ſuch violence againſt the veſſels, on which the enemy's machines were
e planted, that they were ſhattered in pieces, and the engines diſmounted and thrown into the ſea. *Exceſtus* the *Rhodian* admiral, being encouraged with this ſucceſs, attacked the enemy's fleet with his three ſhips, and ſunk a great many veſſels, but was himſelf at laſt taken priſoner; the other two veſſels made their eſcape, and regained the port.

As unfortunate as this laſt attack had proved to *Demetrius*, he determined to undertake another; and in order to ſucceed in his attempt, he ordered a machine of a new invention to be built, which was thrice the heighth and breadth of thoſe he had lately loſt. When the work was finiſhed, he cauſed the engine to be placed near the port, which he was reſolved at all adventures to force. But as it was up-
f on the point of entering the harbour a dreadful ſtorm ariſing, drove it againſt the ſhore with the veſſels, on which it had been reared. The beſieged, who were attentive to improve all favourable conjunctures, while the tempeſt was ſtill raging, made a ſally againſt thoſe, who defended the eminence mentioned above, and tho' repulſed ſeveral times, carried it at laſt, obliging the *Demetrians*, to the number of four hundred, to throw down their arms and ſubmit. After this victory gained by the *Rhodians*, there arrived to their aid an hundred and fifty *Gnoſſians*, and five

P Idem, ibid.

hundred

hundred men ſent by *Ptolemy* from *Egypt*, moſt of them being natives of *Rhodes*, a
who had ſerved among the king's troops q.

The Helepolis. *Demetrius* being extreamly mortified to ſee all his batteries againſt the harbour rendered ineffectual, reſolved to employ them by land, in hopes of carrying the city by aſſault, or at leaſt reduce it to the neceſſity of capitulating. With this view having got together a vaſt quantity of timber and other materials, he framed the famous engine called *Helepolis*, which was by many degrees larger than any that had ever been invented before. Its baſis was ſquare, each ſide being in length near fifty cubits, and made up of ſquare pieces of timber, bound together with plates of iron. In the middle part he placed thick planks about a cubit diſtance from each other; and on theſe the men were to ſtand, who forced the engine for- b
ward. The whole was moved upon eight ſtrong and large wheels, whoſe felloes were ſtrengthened with ſtrong iron plates. In order to facilitate and vary the movements of the *Helepolis*, caſters were placed under it, whereby it was turned in a trice to what ſide the workmen and engeneers pleaſed. From each of the four angles a large pillar of wood was carried to about the heighth of an hundred cubits, and enclining to each other; the whole machine conſiſting of nine ſtories, whoſe dimenſions gradually leſſened in the aſcent. The firſt ſtory was ſupported by forty three beams, and the laſt by no more than nine. Three ſides of the machine were plated over with iron, to prevent its being damaged by the fire that might be thrown from the city. In the front of each ſtory were windows of the ſame ſize c
and ſhape as the engines that were to be diſcharged from thence. To each window were ſhutters to draw up for the defence of thoſe who managed the machines, and to deaden the force of the ſtones thrown by the enemy, the ſhutters being covered with ſkins ſtuffed with wool. Every ſtory was furniſhed with two large ſtaircaſes that whatever was neceſſary might be brought up by one, while others were going down by the other, and ſo every thing might be diſpatched without tumult or confuſion. This huge machine was moved forwards by three thouſand of the ſtrongeſt men of the whole army, but the art, with which it was built, greatly facilitated the motion. *Demetrius* cauſed likewiſe to be made ſeveral teſtudos or pent-houſes, to cover his men while they advanced to fill up the trenches d
and ditches, and invented a new ſort of galleries, through which thoſe, who were employed at the ſiege might paſs and repaſs at their pleaſure without the leaſt danger. He employed all his ſeamen in levelling the ground, over which the machines were to be brought up to the ſpace of four furlongs. The number of workmen, who were employed on this occaſion, amounted to thirty thouſand men.

In the mean time the *Rhodians*, obſerving theſe formidable preparations, were buſy in raiſing a new wall within that which the enemy intended to batter with the *Helepolis*. In order to accompliſh this work, they pulled down the wall, which ſurrounded the theatre, ſome neighbouring houſes, and even ſome temples, after having ſolemnly promiſed to build more magnificent ſtructures in honour of the e
gods, if the city were preſerved. At the ſame time they ſent out nine of their beſt ſhips to ſeize ſuch of the enemy's veſſels as they could meet with, and thereby diſtreſs them for want of proviſions. As theſe ſhips were commanded by their braveſt ſea officers, they ſoon returned with an immenſe booty, and a great many priſoners. Among other veſſels they took a galley richly laden, on board of which they found great variety of valuable furniture and a royal robe, which *Phila* herſelf had wrought and ſent as a preſent to her huſband *Demetrius*, accompanied with a letter written with her own hand. The *Rhodians* ſent the furniture, the royal robe, and even the letter to *Ptolemy*, which exaſperated *Demetrius* to a great degree. In this proceeding they did not imitate, as *Plutarch* obſerves, the polite f
conduct of the *Athenians*, who having once ſeized one of *Philip*'s couriers, with whom they were then at war, opened all the packets but that of *Olympias*, which they ſent ſealed as they were to *Philip* r.

WHILE *Demetrius* was preparing to attack the city, the *Rhodians* having aſſembled the people and magiſtrates to conſult about the meaſures they ſhould take, ſome propoſed in the aſſembly the pulling down of the ſtatues of *Antigonus* and his ſon *Demetrius*, which till then had been had in the utmoſt veneration. But this

q Idem, ibid. & PLUT. in Demetr. r DIODOR. SICUL. ibid. PLUT. in DEMETRI.

propoſal

a propoſal was generally rejected with indignation, and their prudent conduct greatly allayed the wrath both of *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*. However, the latter continued to carry on the ſiege with the utmoſt vigor, thinking it would reflect no ſmall diſhonour on him, were he obliged to quit the place without making himſelf maſter of it. He cauſed the walls to be ſecretly undermined; but when they were ready to fall, a deſerter very opportunely gave notice of the whole to the townſmen, who having with all expedition drawn a deep trench all along the wall, began to countermine, and meeting the enemy under ground, obliged them to abandon the work. While both parties guarded the mines, one *Athenagoras*, a *Mileſian*, who had been ſent to the aſſiſtance of the *Rhodians* by *Ptolemy* with a body of mercenaries,
b promiſed to betray the city to the *Demetrians*, and let them in through the mines in the night-time. But this was only in order to enſnare them; for *Alexander*, a noble *Macedonian*, whom *Demetrius* had ſent with a choice body of troops to take poſſeſſion of a poſt agreed on, no ſooner appeared, but he was taken priſoner by the *Rhodians*, who were waiting for him under arms. *Athenagoras* was crowned by the ſenate with a crown of gold, and preſented with five talents of ſilver.

Demetrius now gave over all thoughts of undermining the walls, and placed all his hopes of reducing the city in the battering engines which he had contrived. Having therefore levelled the ground under the walls, he brought up his helepolis with four teſtudo's on each ſide of it. Two other teſtudo's of an extraordinary
c ſize, bearing battering rams, were likewiſe moved forwards by a thouſand men. Each ſtory of the helepolis was filled with all ſorts of engines for diſcharging of ſtones, arrows and darts. When all things were ready, *Demetrius* ordered the ſignal to be given, when his men ſetting up a ſhout, aſſaulted the city on all ſides, both by ſea and land. But in the heat of the attack, when the walls were ready to fall by the repeated ſtrokes of the battering-rams, embaſſadors arrived from *Cnidus*, earneſtly ſolliciting *Demetrius* to ſuſpend all further hoſtilities, and at the ſame time giving him hopes that they ſhould prevail upon the *Rhodians* to ſubmit to an honourable capitulation. A ſuſpenſion of arms was accordingly agreed on, and embaſſadors ſent from both ſides. But the *Rhodians* refuſing to capitulate on
d the conditions offered them, the attack was renewed with ſo much fury, and the machines played off in ſo briſk a manner, that a large tower built with ſquare ſtones, and the wall that flanked it, were battered down. The beſieged nevertheleſs fought in the breach with ſo much courage and reſolution, that the enemy, after various unſucceſsful attempts, was forced to abandon the enterprize and retire [s].

In this conjuncture a fleet, which *Ptolemy* had freighted with three hundred thouſand meaſures of corn and different kinds of pulſe for the *Rhodians*, arrived very ſeaſonably in the port, notwithſtanding the vigilance of the enemy's ſhips, which cruiſed on the coaſts of the iſland to ſurprize them. A few days after
e came in ſafe two other fleets, one ſent by *Caſſander* with an hundred thouſand buſhels of barley, the other by *Lyſimachus*, with four hundred thouſand buſhels of corn, and as many of barley. This ſeaſonable and plentiful ſupply, arriving when the city began to ſuffer for want of proviſions, inſpired the beſieged with new courage, and raiſed their drooping ſpirits. Being thus animated, they formed a deſign of ſetting the enemy's engines on fire, and with this view ordered a body of men to ſally out the night enſuing, about the ſecond watch, with torches and firebrands, having firſt placed on the walls an incredible number of engines to diſcharge ſtones, arrows, darts, and fire-balls againſt thoſe, who ſhould attempt to oppoſe their detachment. The *Rhodian* troops, purſuant to their orders, all on a ſudden
f ſallied out, and advancing in ſpite of all oppoſition to the batteries, ſet them on fire, while the engines from the walls played inceſſantly on thoſe, who endeavoured to extinguiſh the flames. The *Demetrians* on this occaſion fell in great numbers, being incapable in the darkneſs of the night either to ſee the engines, that continually diſcharged ſhowers of ſtones and arrows upon them, or to join in one body and repulſe the enemy. The conflagration was ſo great, that ſeveral plates of iron falling from the helepolis, that vaſt engine would have been entirely conſumed, had not the troops, that were ſtationed in it, with all poſſible ſpeed quenched the fire with water before prepared, and ready in the apartments of the engine againſt ſuch accidents. *Demetrius* fearing leſt all his machines ſhould be conſumed, called toge-

[s] Diodor Sicul. & Plut. ibid.

ther by ſound of trumpet thoſe, whoſe province it was to move them, and by their help brought them off before they were entirely deſtroyed. When it was day he commanded all the darts and arrows, that had been ſhot by the *Rhodians*, to be carefully gathered, that he might from their number form ſome judgment of the number of machines in the city. Above eight hundred fire-brands were found on the ſpot, and no fewer than fifteen hundred darts, all diſcharged in a very ſmall portion of the night. This ſtruck the prince himſelf with no ſmall terror, for he never imagined that they could have been able to bear the changes of ſuch formidable preparations. However, after having cauſed the ſlain to be buried, and given directions for the curing of the wounded, he applied himſelf to the repairing of his machines which had been diſmounted and rendered quite unſerviceable. a b

IN the mean time the beſieged, improving the reſpite allowed them by the removal of the machines, built a third wall in the form of a creſcent, which took in all that part that was moſt expoſed to the enemy's batteries; and beſides drew a deep trench behind the breach to prevent the enemy from entering the city that way. At the ſame they detached a ſquadron of their beſt ſhips under the command of *Amyntas*, who made over to the continent of *Aſia*, and there meeting with ſome privateers, who were commiſſioned by *Demetrius*, took both the ſhips and the men, among whom were *Timocles*, the chief of the pirates, and ſeveral officers of diſtinction belonging to the fleet of *Demetrius*. On their return they fell in with ſeveral veſſels laden with corn for the enemy's camp, which they likewiſe took and brought into the port. Theſe were ſoon followed by a numerous fleet of ſmall veſſels loaded with corn and proviſions ſent then by *Ptolemy*, together with fifteen hundred men commanded by *Antigonus*, a *Macedonian* of great experience in military affairs. *Demetrius* inthe mean time having repaired his machines, brought them up anew to the walls, which he inceſſantly battered till he opened a great breach, and threw down ſeveral towers. But when he came to the aſſault, the *Rhodians* under the command of *Aminias* defended themſelves with ſuch reſolution and intrepidity, that he was in three ſucceſſive attacks repulſed with great ſlaughter, and at laſt forced to retire. The *Rhodians* likewiſe on this occaſion loſt ſeveral officers, and amongſt others the brave *Aminias* their commander. c d

WHILE the *Rhodians* were thus ſignalizing themſelves in the defence of their country, a ſecond embaſſy arrived at the camp of *Demetrius* from *Athens*, and the other cities of *Greece*, ſolliciting *Demetrius* to compoſe matters, and ſtrike up a peace with the *Rhodians*. At the requeſt of the embaſſadors, who were in all above fifty, a ceſſation of arms was agreed upon, but the terms offered by *Demetrius* being anew rejected by the *Rhodians*, the embaſſadors returned home without being able to bring the contending parties to an agreement. Hoſtilities were therefore renewed, and *Demetrius*, whoſe imagination was fertile in expedients for ſucceeding in his projects, formed a detachment of fifteen hundred of his beſt troops, under the conduct of *Alcimus* and *Mancius*, two officers of great reſolution and experience, ordering them to enter the breach at midnight, and forcing the entrenchment behind it, to poſſeſs themſelves of the poſts about the theatre, where it would be no difficult matter to maintain themſelves againſt any efforts of the townſmen. In order to facilitate the execution of ſo important and dangerous an undertaking, and amuſe the enemy with falſe attacks, he at the ſame time upon a ſignal given ordered the reſt of the army to ſet up a ſhout, and attack the city on all ſides, both by ſea and land. By this means he hoped, that the beſieged being alarmed in all parts, his detachment might find an opportunity of forcing the entrenchments, which covered the breach, and afterwards of ſeizing the advantagious poſt about the theatre. This feint had all the ſucceſs the prince could expect; for the troops having ſet up a ſhout from all quarters, as if they were advancing to a general aſſault, the detachment commanded by *Alcimus* and *Mancius* entered the breach, and fell upon thoſe, who defended the ditch, and the wall that covered it, with ſuch vigor that having ſlain the beſt part of them, and put the reſt in confuſion, they advanced to the theatre, and ſeized on the poſt adjoining to it. This occaſioned a general uproar in the city, as if it had been already taken: But the commanding officers diſpatched orders to the ſoldiers on the ramparts not to quit their poſts, nor ſtir from their reſpective ſtations. Having thus ſecured the walls, they put themſelves at the head of a choſen body of their own troops, and of thoſe who were lately come from *Egypt*, and with theſe charged the enemy's detachment. But the darkneſs of the night prevented them from diſlodging the enemy, e f g

and

a and regaining the advantagious poſts they had ſeized. But the day no ſooner appeared than they renewed their attack with wonderful bravery. The *Demetrians* without the walls with loud ſhouts endeavoured to animate thoſe who had entered the place, and inſpire them with a reſolution to maintain their ground till they were relieved with freſh forces. The *Rhodians*, being ſenſible that their fortunes, liberties, and all that was dear to them in the world lay at ſtake, fought like men in the utmoſt deſpair, the enemy defending their poſts for ſeveral hours without giving ground in the leaſt. At length the *Rhodians* encouraging each other to exert themſelves in defence of their country, and animated by the example of their leaders, made a laſt effort, and breaking into the very heart of the enemy's battalion, there killed
b both their commanders. After their death the reſt were eaſily put in diſorder, and all to a man either killed or taken priſoners. The *Rhodians* likewiſe on this occaſion loſt many of their beſt commanders, and among the reſt *Damotetis*, their chief magiſtrate, a man of extraordinary valor, who had ſignalized himſelf during the whole time of the ſiege [t].

Demetrius, not at all diſcouraged by this check, was making the neceſſary preparations for a new aſſault, when he received letters from his father *Antigonus* enjoining him to conclude a peace with the *Rhodians* upon the beſt terms he could get, leſt he ſhould loſe his whole army in the ſiege of a ſingle town. From this time *Demetrius* wanted only ſome plauſible pretence for breaking up the ſiege. The *Rhodians*
c likewiſe were now more enclined to come to an agreement than formerly, *Ptolemy* having acquainted them that he intended to ſend them a great quantity of corn, and three thouſand men to their aſſiſtance, but that he would have them firſt to try whether they could make up matters with *Demetrius* upon reaſonable terms. At the ſame time embaſſadors arrived from the *Ætolian* republic ſolliciting the contending parties to put an end to a war, which might involve all the eaſt in endleſs calamities.

An accident, which happened to *Demetrius* in this conjuncture, did not a little contribute towards the wiſhed-for pacification. This prince was preparing to advance his helepolis againſt the city, when a *Rhodian* engineer found means to render it quite uſeleſs. He undermined the tract of ground over which the helepolis was to paſs
d the next day in order to approach the walls. *Demetrius*, not ſuſpecting any ſtratagem of this nature, cauſed the engine to be moved forward, which coming to the place that was undermined, ſunk ſo deep into the ground, that it was impoſſible to draw it out again. This misfortune, if we believe *Vegetius* and *Vitruvius*, determined *Demetrius* to hearken to the *Ætolian* embaſſadors, and at laſt to ſtrike up a peace upon the following conditions: that the republic of *Rhodes* ſhould be maintained in the full enjoyment of their ancient rights, privileges and liberties without any foreign gariſon; that they ſhould renew their ancient alliance with *Antigonus*, and aſſiſt him in his wars againſt all ſtates and princes, except *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*; and that for the effectual performance of the articles ſtipulated between them, they ſhould deliver an
e hundred hoſtages, ſuch as *Demetrius* ſhould make choice of, except thoſe who bore any public employment [u].

Thus the ſiege was raiſed after it had continued a whole year, and the *Rhodians* amply rewarded all thoſe, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the defence of their country; the ſlaves were ſet free, and admitted to the rights and privileges of citizens, and many of the freemen crowned with crowns of gold, and honoured with rich preſents out of the public treaſury. They likewiſe ſet up ſtatues to *Ptolemy*, *Caſſander* and *Lyſimachus*, who had greatly contributed to the preſervation of the place. But to expreſs their gratitude to *Ptolemy* above the reſt, they ſent ſome of their prieſts to conſult the oracle of *Ammon*, whether they ſhould worſhip him as a
f god, or no; and being anſwered, that they might pay him divine honours, they conſecrated to him a ſquare grove in the city, encloſing it with a ſumptuous portico, which was a furlong in length, and from him called *Ptolemeum* or *Ptolemy's portico*; and in order to perpetuate the memory of their deliverer in this war by another method, they gave him the appellation of *Soter*, that is, *Saviour*. By this ſirname he is diſtinguiſhed by the hiſtorians from the other *Ptolemies*, who ſucceeded him in the kingdom of *Egypt* [w]. Some writers have imagined, that the ſirname of *Soter* was given him for having ſaved *Alexander* in the city of the *Oxydracans* [x]; but in this particular we chuſe with the learned *Uſher* to follow *Diodorus*.

The ſiege of Rhodes *raiſed.* *Year of the flood, 2696. Before Chriſt* 303.

[t] Diodor. Sicul. & Plut. ibid. [u] Diodor. & Plut. ibid. Veget. de re militari. [w] Diodor. Sicul. ibid. [x] Arrian. l. vi. p. 131. Steph. ad verbum Oxydrac.

Demetrius,

The commendable conduct of Demetrius *toward* Protogenes *a celebrated painter.*

Demetrius, now reconciled with the *Rhodians*, at his departure preſented them with the helepolis and all the other machines he had employed in the ſiege, which they ſelling, erected, with the money accruing from the ſale, and with ſome additional ſums of their own, the famous coloſſus, as we have hinted above. We cannot help taking notice here of one circumſtance, which greatly redounds to the honour of *Demetrius*. *Rhodes* was, at the time of the ſiege, the reſidence of a celebrated painter named *Protogenes*, who was a native of *Caunus* a city of *Caria*. The houſe, where he lived, was in the ſuburbs without the city when *Demetrius* firſt beſieged it. But neither the preſence of the enemy, who ſurrounded him, nor the noiſe of the arms that perpetually rung in his ears, could induce him to quit his habitation or interrupt his work. The king, ſurprized at this, asked him, *Why he did not, like the other inhabitants, ſave himſelf within the walls? Protogenes* replied, that he was under no apprehenſion, ſince he was ſenſible that *Demetrius* had declared war againſt the *Rhodians*, and not againſt the ſciences. The prince was ſo pleaſed with this anſwer, that from that time he took him under his protection, and placed a ſafe-guard round his houſe to protect him from the inſults of the ſoldiery. The maſter-piece of *Protogenes* was the picture of one *Ialyſus* (E), ſuppoſed by the *Rhodians* to have founded their city. *Pliny* pretends, that the city was ſaved by this piece; it was lodged, as he informs us, in that quarter of the city, by which alone it was poſſible for *Demetrius* to ſtorm the place; but he choſe rather to retire from before the city than to expoſe ſo valuable a monument of art to the danger of being conſumed in the flames [x]. This indeed would have been carrying his taſte to a ſurprizing exceſs; but we have already intimated the true reaſons which obliged *Demetrius* to raiſe the ſiege.

The *Rhodians* having finiſhed this war, and concluded a peace upon very honourable and advantagious terms, applied themſelves entirely to trade and navigation, by which they not only became maſters of the ſea, as *Polybius* ſtiles them [y], but the moſt opulent and flouriſhing ſtate of all *Greece*. They endeavoured to maintain as much as lay in their power a ſtrict neutrality in the wars that broke out in the eaſt, eſpecially after the death of *Antigonus*, but however could not help being involved in one with the *Byzantines*, which laſted but a ſhort time, and did not prove very expenſive. The ground of this war is thus related by *Polybius*: the *Byzantines* being obliged to pay a yearly tribute of fourſcore talents to the *Gauls*, in order to raiſe this ſum came to a reſolution of laying a toll on all the ſhips that traded to the *Pontic* ſea. This reſolution provoked the *Rhodians*, who were a trading nation,

War between the Rhodians *and* Byzantines. *Year of the flood* 2781. *Before Chriſt* 258.

[x] Plin. l. vi. c. 4. [y] Polyb. l. iv.

(E) This *Ialyſus* was but a fabulous hero, the ſon of *Orchimus* and grandſon of *Apollo* and the nymph *Rhoda*. *Protogenes* is ſaid to have employed ſeven years in finiſhing this piece, during which time he condemned himſelf to a very rigid and abſtemious life, eating nothing but lupines, leſt the vapours, which a richer food might ſend up to the brain, ſhould darken his imagination. To make the picture the more laſting, he covered it with four lays of colours, that as time ſhould wear one away, another underneath ſhould ſtill appear freſh. When *Apelles* firſt ſaw it, he was ſo tranſported with admiration, that his ſpeech failed him for ſome time; and when he began to recover from his aſtoniſhment, he cried out, *Prodigious work! Wonderful performance! However it has not all thoſe graces which the world admires in my works.* One of the figures in this picture was a dog, which had coſt the painter immenſe pains without his being able to expreſs to his own ſatisfaction the idea he had conceived. He endeavoured to repreſent the dog in a panting attitude with his mouth foaming, as after a long courſe, and exerted all the skill he could, but ſtill was diſſatisfied with what he had done. Art, in his opinion, was more viſible than it ought to have been, and he wanted to make the foam appear not painted, but actually flowing out of the dog's mouth. He frequently retouched it, but could not expreſs thoſe ſimple traces of nature of which he had formed the ideas in his mind. At laſt finding all his attempts unſucceſsful, in a violent emotion of rage and deſpair he darted at the picture the ſponge, with which he uſed to wipe off his colours, and chance accompliſhed, to uſe *Pliny*'s expreſſion, what art had not been able to effect (81). In the ſame piece was a ſatyr repreſented with wonderful art leaning againſt a column, on the top of which was a thruſh ſo well done, that when the picture was expoſed to view, ſome fowlers with thruſhes having ſtopt to ſee it, their birds miſtakeing the painted thruſh for a real one began to ſing as ſoon as they diſcovered it (82). This piece *Cicero* admired above all the pictures he had ever ſeen; for in his time it was ſtill in *Rhodes*. It was afterwards carried to *Rome* by *Caſſius*, and conſecrated in the temple of *Peace*, where it remained in *Pliny*'s time; but was in the reign of the emperor *Commodus*, as *Herodianus* informs us, conſumed with the temple by fire. *Protogenes* is cenſured by the ancients for often retouching his pictures without ever being ſatisfied with what he had done. Of him it was that *Apelles* ſaid, *Naſcit manum de tabula tollere*, as *Pliny* expreſſes it; a defect to be equally avoided, as *Tully* obſerves, by painters and writers; we ought, ſays that great orator, to know how far it is proper to expatiate on every ſubject: for *Apelles* juſtly cenſured ſome painters, who could never quit the pencil, nor put the laſt hand to their work (83).

(81) *Plin. l.* xxxvii. *c.* 10. (82) *Idem ibid.* (83) *Cic. Orat. n.* 73.

above

a above all the reſt. Wherefore they immediately diſpatched embaſſadors to the *Byzantines* complaining of this new tax; but as the *Byzantines* had no other means of raiſing money wherewithal to ſatisfy the avarice of the *Gauls*, and redeem their country from the rapines of thoſe barbarians, they perſiſted in their former reſolution. Whereupon the *Rhodians* declared war againſt them, and at the ſame time ſent to ſollicit *Pruſias* king of *Bithynia* to join them, being well aſſured that *Pruſias* wanted only a favourable opportunity of venting his reſentment upon the *Byzantines* for having endeavoured to reconcile *Attalus* and *Achæus*, who were both declared enemies to the king of *Bithynia*. The *Byzantines* likewiſe diſpatched embaſſadors to *Attalus* and *Achæus* ſoliciting aid from them. They found *Attalus* diſpoſed to aſſiſt them; but
b he was not then in a condition to give them a proof of his friendſhip, having been lately confined by *Achæus* to the ancient limits of his father's kingdom. As for *Achæus*, who was at this time in poſſeſſion of all *Aſia* on this ſide mount *Taurus*, and had lately aſſumed the title of king, he readily eſpouſed the cauſe of the *Byzantines*, and promiſed to aſſiſt them with the whole power of his kingdom [1].

In the mean time *Pruſias*, taking the field, poſſeſſed himſelf of *Hieron*, which town formerly belonged in common to the merchants trading to the *Pontic* ſea, but had been lately purchaſed by the *Byzantines* with a great ſum of money by reaſon of its convenient ſituation for protecting their trade. He likewiſe ſeized on all that portion of *Myſia* in *Aſia* which they had enjoyed for many ages. At the ſame time the
c *Rhodians* with their fleet ravaged the coaſts of the *Byzantine* territories, and ſeized all their ſhips trading to the *Pontic* ſea. But theſe loſſes were not ſufficient to make them comply with the requeſt of the *Rhodians*, or to hearken to the terms propoſed to them by *Xenophon* the *Rhodian* admiral. They chiefly depended upon the promiſes made them by *Achæus*, who was both inclined to aſſiſt them, and had a powerful army on foot. The *Rhodians* therefore, to draw *Achæus* off from the *Byzantines*, ſent embaſſadors to *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*, entreating him to deliver up to them *Andromachus*, the father of *Achæus*, who was at that time a priſoner in *Alexandria*. They hoped, that by ſending him back to his ſon without ranſom, they ſhould ſo gain the good-will of *Achæus*, as to prevent him at leaſt from ſending any ſuccours
d to their enemies. *Ptolemy* did not readily yield to the demand of the *Rhodians*; for *Andromachus* being both father to *Achæus*, and brother to *Laodice* the wife of *Seleucus*, he propoſed to make a better bargain of him for himſelf. For the diſputes between him and *Antiochus* were not yet compoſed; and *Achæus* was become very powerful, extending his conqueſts far and wide. However *Ptolemy* was at length prevailed upon to gratify the *Rhodians* by delivering up *Andromachus* to them. The *Rhodians* immediately reſtored him without ranſom to his ſon, and by that grateful office and other honours decreed to *Achæus*, gained him over to their party, and ſo deprived the enemy of their chief ſupport. Another misfortune at the ſame time befel the *Byzantines*, which proved no leſs prejudicial to their affairs. They had
e ſent for *Tibites*, who was then in *Macedon*, and had as juſt a claim to the kingdom of *Bithynia* as *Pruſias*, who was his nephew. *Tibites* immediately ſet out from *Macedon* in hopes of raiſing diſturbances in *Bithynia*, and making good his title to that kingdom, when ſupported by the power of the *Byzantines*. But he died on his journey, and his death ſo diſheartened the *Byzantines*, that they began to deliberate how they might extricate themſelves out of their preſent difficulties. *Cavarus*, king of the *Thracian Gauls* happened to be at that time in *Byzantium*, and being deſirous to have the glory of putting an end to the war, offered his mediation, which being readily accepted by the contending parties, a peace was concluded between the *Rhodians* and *Byzantines* upon condition that the *Byzantines* ſhould forbear exacting toll on
f ſhips trading to the *Pontic* ſea; which was all the *Rhodians* had in view in declaring war. As for king *Pruſias*, the articles of the treaty with him were, that there ſhould be perpetual peace between him and the *Byzantines*; that *Pruſias* ſhould reſtore to the *Byzantines* all the lands, towns, people, &c. which he had taken during the war, and that he ſhould repair all the damages ſuffered by the *Byzantines* and *Myſians* ſubject to them. Thus a period was put to the war between the *Byzantines* on one ſide, and king *Pruſias*, ſurnamed *Cholos* or the *Lame*, and the *Rhodians* on the other [2].

Peace concluded between the Rhodians *and* Byzantines.

[1] Polyb. l. i. p. 158. & l. iv. p. 305, 306.

[2] Polyb. in excerpt. Val. p. 26. & l. iv. Athen. l. vi. c. 6.

The coloſſus and ſeveral public buildings thrown down by an earthquake.

ABOUT this time happened that dreadful earthquake, which, as we have hinted above, threw down the famous coloſſus, the arſenal, and great part of the walls of the city of *Rhodes*; which calamity the *Rhodians* improved to their advantage, ſending embaſſadors to all the princes and ſtates of the *Greek* name, who exaggerating their loſſes procured immenſe ſums for the repairing of them. *Hiero* king of *Syracuſe* preſented them with an hundred talents, and beſides exempted from all taxes and duties ſuch as traded to *Rhodes*. *Ptolemy*, king of *Egypt*, gave them an hundred talents, a million of meaſures of wheat, materials for building twenty quinqueremes, and the like number of triremes, and beſides ſent them an hundred architects, three hundred workmen, and materials for repairing their public buildings to a great value, paying them moreover fourteen talents a year for the maintenance of the workmen he ſent them. *Antigonus* gave them an hundred talents of ſilver with ten thouſand pieces of timber, each piece being ſixteen cubits long, ſeven thouſand planks, three thouſand pounds of iron, as many of pitch and roſin, and a thouſand meaſures of tar. *Chryſeis*, a woman of diſtinction, ſent them an hundred thouſand meaſures of wheat, and three thouſand pounds of lead. *Antiochus* exempted from all taxes and duties the *Rhodian* ſhips trading to his dominions, preſented them with ten gallies, and two hundred thouſand meaſures of corn, with many other things of great value. *Pruſias*, *Mithridates*, *Lyſanias*, *Olympicus*, *Limnæus*, and all the princes then reigning in *Aſia* made them proportionable preſents. In ſhort all the *Greek* towns and nations, all the princes of *Europe* and *Aſia* contributed, according to their ability, to the relief of the *Rhodians* on that occaſion; inſomuch that their city not only ſoon roſe from its ruins, but attained to a higher pitch of riches and ſplendor than ever [b].

The Rhodians *join with* Attalus *againſt* Philip *king of* Macedon. *Year of the flood* 2766. *Before Chriſt* 203.

A FEW years after the *Rhodians* could not help engaging in a war againſt *Philip* king of *Macedon*, which coſt them immenſe treaſures. *Philip* without any provocation had invaded the territories of *Attalus* king of *Pergamus*, and becauſe the *Rhodians* ſeemed to favour their ancient friend and ally, the king of *Macedon* ſent one *Heraclides* by birth a *Tarentine*, to ſet fire to their fleet, and at the ſame time diſpatched embaſſadors into *Crete* in order to ſtir up the *Cretans* againſt the *Rhodians*, and thereby prevent them from lending any aſſiſtance to *Attalus*. Theſe proceedings ſo provoked the *Rhodians*, that they entered into an alliance with *Attalus*, and proclaimed war againſt *Philip* [c]. That prince at firſt gained an inconſiderable advantage over the *Rhodians* in a naval engagement fought near the iſland of *Lada*, over againſt the city of *Miletus*, having taken two of their quinqueremes and diſperſed the reſt. The next year he ventured a ſecond battle off the iſland of *Chios* againſt the united fleets of *Attalus* and the *Rhodians*; but was defeated with the loſs of three thouſand *Macedonians* and ſix thouſand allies; and beſides two thouſand *Macedonians* and ſeven hundred *Egyptians*, who ſerved on board his fleet, were taken priſoners, the *Rhodians* having loſt in all but ſixty men, and *Attalus* ſeventy. Notwithſtanding this loſs, which was the greateſt he had ever ſuſtained to that day either by ſea or land, he gave out that he had been victorious, becauſe he happened to take the ſhip which carried *Attalus* after it had been driven aſhore. However he afterwards carefully avoided coming to a ſea engagement either with *Attalus* or the *Rhodians*. After this victory the two fleets ſteered their courſe towards the iſland of *Ægina*, where they came to an anchor, hoping to intercept *Philip* as he returned on board his fleet into *Macedon*. But failing in their attempt, they ſailed to *Pyræus* the port of *Athens*, and there renewed their alliance with the *Athenians*, who having been lately inſulted by *Philip*, paid them extraordinary honours, adding to their ten tribes, each of which bore the name of one of their heroes, an eleventh, which they called *Attalis*, in honour of *Attalus*, and preſenting the *Rhodians* with a crown of gold, after having made all the inhabitants of *Rhodes* free of *Athens*. The king of *Pergamus* and the *Rhodians*, better pleaſed with the treaty than the honours beſtowed upon them, returned on board their gallies, and ſet ſail, *Attalus* to the iſland of *Ægina*, and the *Rhodians* to their own iſland. In their paſſage they drew into their confederacy all the *Cyclades*, except *Andros*, *Paros* and *Cythnos*, where *Philip* kept *Macedonian* gariſons. Nevertheleſs this ſeparation of *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* proved of very bad conſequence for the common cauſe. Had they kept united, and purſued *Philip* in his retreat, or at leaſt ſhut up all the entrances into *Greece*,

[b] POLYB. l. v. [c] POLYB. l. xiii.

they

a they would have re-eſtabliſhed its liberty, and deprived the *Romans* of that glory. But while the *Rhodians* and *Attalus* were loſing time in negotiations with the inhabitants of the *Cyclades* and *Ægina*, *Philip*, who knew how to improve the faults of his enemies to his own advantage, having divided his forces into two bodies, ſent one under the command of *Philocles* to ravage the territory of *Athens*; the other he put on board his fleet, with orders to ſail to *Meronea*, a city on the north coaſt of *Thrace*. As for himſelf he marched by land to the ſame place, attended only by two thouſand foot and two hundred horſe. The city, being attacked at the ſame time by ſea and land, was taken at the firſt aſſault. The city of *Ænos*, which ſtood on the ſame coaſt, was betrayed to the *Macedonians* by the governor of the place; and b then all the caſtles along the ſhore ſubmitted of their own accord to the conqueror, who paſſed on from thence to *Thracian Cherſoneſus*, where he took *Eleus*, *Alopeconeſus*, *Callipolis* and *Madytos*. From the *Cherſoneſus* the king paſſed over the *Helleſpont*, and laid ſiege to *Abydos*, which city ſtopped the rapidity of his conqueſts, but was at laſt taken by aſſault, as we ſhall relate at length in the hiſtory of the ſucceſſors of *Alexander* [d].

Before *Philip* began the ſiege of *Abydos*, the *Rhodians* and *Attalus* had ſent embaſſadors to *Rome* to complain of him, and inform the ſenate, that he was ſolliciting ſeveral ſtates in *Aſia* to take up arms with a deſign to enſlave the *Greek* cities that refuſed to join him, and then purſue his conqueſts both in *Europe* and *Aſia*. The c *Rhodians* had in the very beginning of this war entered into an alliance with *Rome*, and on that conſideration their embaſſadors were received with marks of great diſtinction by the ſenate, who promiſed to diſpatch embaſſadors to *Philip* and employ their good offices with that prince in behalf of the *Greeks* in *Aſia* and *Europe*. They were as good as their word, but *Philip* diſmiſſed their embaſſadors without ſhewing any inclination to treat of a peace. Whereupon the *Romans*, *Attalus* and the *Rhodians* having renewed their alliance, war was proclaimed at *Rome* againſt *Philip*, and *P. Sulpitius* the conſul ſent with an army into *Macedon*. On his arrival he found *Athens* beſieged by part of the king's troops, and the king himſelf buſy in making the neceſſary preparations for invading the kingdom of *Pergamus*. *Sulpitius* immediately d detached a ſquadron of twenty gallies to the relief of *Athens*, under the conduct of *Claudius Centho*, who obliged the *Macedonians* to raiſe the ſiege, and performed ſuch exploits in *Greece* as were worthy of the conſul himſelf. *Sulpitius* was not in a condition to undertake any thing elſe the reſt of the year; he had left *Rome* too late, and did not arrive in *Epirus* before the end of autumn, when the ſeaſon did not allow him to keep out at ſea, or take the field [e].

Early in the ſpring the *Rhodians* ſent twenty gallies under the command of *Ageſimbrotus* to join *Attalus*, and *Apuſtius* the *Roman* admiral, and theſe three fleets ſtruck ſuch terror into the *Macedonians*, that they durſt not venture out of their harbours; ſo that the confederates laying ſiege to *Oreos*, a ſtrong city ſubject to *Philip* e on the eaſtern coaſt of *Eubœa*, made themſelves maſters of that important place, and afterwards laid waſte all the neighbouring countries which adhered to *Philip*. The enſuing year the *Rhodians* in conjunction with *Attalus* and *L. Quinctius*, brother to *Titus Quinctius Flaminius*, after having ravaged the country of the *Caryſtii*, laid ſiege to *Eretria*, a city near the *Euripus*, which they took by aſſault; and then returning to *Caryſtus* carried that place likewiſe. From *Caryſtus* they entered the *Saronic* gulf, and appeared before *Cenchrea* one of the ports of *Corinth*, which they likewiſe reduced. But *Corinth* itſelf, being gariſoned by ſome of the choiceſt of the *Macedonian* troops, and the *Roman* deſerters, the conſul, who attacked the place by land while his brother with the *Rhodians* inveſted it by ſea, was forced to raiſe the ſiege f after he had made a breach in the walls [f].

These exploits the *Rhodians* performed in conjunction with the *Romans* and king *Attalus*. But the province of *Peræa* they recovered from *Philip* with their own forces alone. *Peræa* was a ſmall province of *Caria*, ſeparated by the *Carpathian* ſea from the iſland of *Rhodes*, to which it had been formerly ſubject. This province the *Rhodians* undertook to recover, while *Philip*'s forces were engaged with *Attalus* and the *Romans*, committing the whole conduct of this expedition to *Pauſiſtratus*, who was then their prætor or chief magiſtrate. *Pauſiſtratus* put to ſea with his fleet, and landed in *Caria* at the head of two thouſand nine hundred men. With this ſmall

The Rhodians *recover the province of* Peræa *from* Philip.

[d] Polyb. l. xvi. p. 736, 737, 738. Liv. l. xxxi. [e] Polyb. & Liv. ibid. [f] Liv. l. xxxii. c. 18.

army

army he encamped in the plain, which led to *Stratonice*, one of the richeſt cities in *Caria*, and anciently peopled, according to *Strabo*, by a colony from *Macedon*. The *Rhodian* general on his landing had the precaution to ſeize on a ſtrong hold, called *Tendeba*, where he was reinforced by a thouſand *Achæans* and an hundred horſe ſent him by the *Achæan* republic. *Dinocrates*, one of the king of *Macedon*'s generals, hearing that the *Rhodians* had made a deſcent in *Caria*, and poſſeſſed themſelves of *Tendeba*, immediately haſtened thither to recover the place, and oblige the enemy to reimbark. But finding them well fortified, he turned towards *Aſtragon*, a fortreſs on the borders of the territory of *Stratonice*. Under the walls of this caſtle he ſtrengthened his army with all the *Macedonian* gariſons in that neighbourhood, and then marched to *Alabanda*, where the *Rhodians* were encamped, with a deſign to draw them to a deciſive action. The *Rhodians* were ſo far from declining a battle, that they came to meet him, and encamped at a ſmall diſtance from his army. The two generals drew up their troops in battalia. *Dinocrates* poſted five hundred *Macedonians* on the right, the *Argives* on the left, and the *Carians* in the center. *Pauſiſtratus* placed moſt of his auxiliaries in the center, and the *Cretans* and *Thracians* in the wings. Both armies advanced in good order, and continued ſome time within reach of each other before they began the attack, being ſeparated by a rivulet. At laſt *Pauſiſtratus* advancing at the head of his mercenaries, charged the *Macedonian* phalanx with ſuch fury that he put it in diſorder; then the reſt of his army forcing their way through the ranks already broke by the confuſion and flight of the *Phalangites*, ſpread terror and ſlaughter every where. *Dinocrates* in vain endeavoured to rally his diſordered troops; the affrighted ſoldiers would not hearken to the voice of their commander, and the general himſelf was forced to retire with the ſmall remains of his army to *Bargyliæ*, a city of *Caria*. The *Rhodians* ſpent the reſt of the day in purſuing the fugitives, and in the evening returned to their camp. Nothing now prevented them from marching directly to *Stratonice*, which city they might have made themſelves maſters of without ſtriking a blow. There was no enemy in the field, and *Dinocrates* had drawn out the gariſon to reinforce his army before the battle. But not knowing how to uſe their victory, they loſt a favourable opportunity of extending their conqueſts all over *Caria*. They reduced indeed all the caſtles and towns of *Peræa*; but in the mean time gave the *Macedonian* general leiſure to ſupply *Stratonice* with proviſions, and throw himſelf into it with the remains of his army; ſo that all the efforts of *Pauſiſtratus* in attempting afterwards to reduce it, proved ineffectual [g].

The Rhodians *give a ſignal proof of their attachment to the* Romans, *and of their zeal for the common intereſt of* Greece

ABOUT this time *Antiochus*, ſurnamed *the Great*, having reduced in one campaign *Cœlo-Syria*, *Phœnice*, and *Judæa*, was making vaſt preparations in order to conquer *Cilicia* and *Caria*, and then paſs into *Europe* and join his old ally *Philip*. With this view having raiſed a mighty army, he ſent it under the command of his two ſons *Ardues* and *Mithridates* to wait for him at *Sardis*, while he with a powerful fleet, conſiſting of an hundred large ſhips of war and two hundred other veſſels, reduced the cities on the coaſts of *Caria* and *Cilicia*, which were ſubject to the king of *Egypt*. On this occaſion the *Rhodians* gave a ſignal proof of their attachment to *Rome*, and zeal for the common intereſts of *Greece*. *Antiochus* had already taken *Zephyrium*, *Soli*, *Aphrodiſias*, *Selinus*, and ſeveral other caſtles along the coaſt, and was actually beſieging *Coraceſium* an important place in *Cilicia*, when the *Rhodians* ſent an embaſſy to him, requiring him not to extend his conqueſts beyond *Nephelis*, a famous promontory of *Cilicia*, and threatening him with war in caſe he did not comply with their requeſt. The embaſſadors were ordered to add, that the *Rhodians* were not prompted to take up arms againſt him out of any grudge or hatred to his perſon; but becauſe they would not ſuffer him to join *Philip* and interrupt the progreſs of the *Romans* in reſtoring *Greece* to its ancient liberty. When the embaſſadors were brought into his tent, for he was then encamped before *Coraceſium*, and acquainted him with their buſineſs, the proud monarch, who was uſed to give law to others, was highly provoked; but however had command enough over his temper not to expreſs any reſentment. He only anſwered, that he would take care not to quarrel with the *Rhodians* or the *Romans*, with whom he deſigned always to keep up a good underſtanding; that he would ſend embaſſadors to renew the ancient treaties, which his anceſtors had made with *Rhodes*, and that he had been always deſirous to live in

[g] LIV. ibid. POLYB. l. xvi.

amity

a amity with the *Romans*; and in proof of the friendſhip then ſubſiſting between him and that republic, he gave them an account of the embaſſy he had lately ſent to *Rome*, and of the great honours which had been beſtowed upon his embaſſadors by the ſenate. Soon after *Antiochus* ſent embaſſadors to *Rhodes*, who upon their arrival there heard the news of the entire defeat of *Philip* at *Cynocephalæ*. This news emboldened the *Romans*, and moſt of them were for putting a fleet out to ſea and engaging *Antiochus*. But the *Rhodians* adviſed them rather to ſecure the liberty of the cities in alliance with the king of *Egypt*, which were not yet ſubdued by *Antiochus*. Their advice was followed, and the cities of *Caunus*, *Myndus*, *Halicarnaſſus*, and the iſland of *Samos* were by this means preſerved from the *Syrian* yoke. However *Antiochus* reduced *Coraceſium*, *Coricus*, *Andriace*, *Limyra*, *Patara*, *Xanthus*, all
b which cities belonged to *Ptolemy*, and laſtly *Epheſus* itſelf[h].

In the mean time a peace being concluded between *Philip* and the *Romans*, the *Rhodians* were, by the articles of the treaty, put in poſſeſſion of *Stratonice* and the beſt part of *Caria*. This regard ſhewn them by the *Romans* encouraged them to aſſiſt the republic to the utmoſt of their power in the war, which was ſoon after proclaimed at *Rome* againſt *Antiochus*. They ſent *Pauſiſtratus* with thirty ſhips of war to join *Livius* the *Roman* admiral, and act in conjunction with him againſt *Antiochus*. But the beſt part of his fleet was, by the artifice of *Polyxenidas*, *Antiochus*'s admiral, *The Rhodian fleet ſurprized by the artifice of* Polyxenidas. ſurprized and deſtroyed. *Polyxenidas* was himſelf by birth a *Rhodian*, but having
c been baniſhed his country, had gone into the ſervice of the king of *Syria*, and was now commander in chief of the *Syrian* fleet. *Pauſiſtratus* had advanced with his fleet as far as the iſland of *Samos*, where he received an expreſs from *Polyxenidas*, telling him that being now maſter of the *Syrian* fleet, it was in his power to do *Pauſiſtratus* and his country ſignal ſervice, provided *Pauſiſtratus* would engage in the name of his republic to reſtore him to his native country, and to the honours he enjoyed before his baniſhment. *Pauſiſtratus* thinking that ſuch a propoſal ought neither to be implicitly believed, nor abſolutely neglected, deſired *Polyxenidas* to explain himſelf more fully, and promiſed ſecrecy. Then the latter ſent a ſecond expreſs, acquainting him that he was ready to deliver up *Antiochus*'s fleet, provided only he might be permitted to return to his country, and be reinſtated in his former
d condition there. This *Pauſiſtratus* thought a propoſal of too much importance to be rejected, and in order to give *Polyxenidas* time to follow him, he retired with his ſquadron to a port of *Samos*, called *Panormus*, and there waited to ſee the concluſion of the affair. From thence he ſent an expreſs to *Polyxenidas* promiſing him whatever he demanded; and *Polyxenidas* on his ſide ſent him a letter written with his own hand, wherein he promiſed to deliver up the whole *Syrian* fleet. Upon this open declaration *Pauſiſtratus* was no longer in ſuſpence. He had it in his power to ruin *Polyxenidas*; and he could not believe, that a wiſe man would make a promiſe, which might coſt him his life, without deſigning to perform it. Nothing therefore remained but to take the proper meaſures for putting the deſign in execution. To this end *Polyxenidas* promiſed to cauſe all duty to be neglected on board the *Syrian* fleet;
e to ſeparate the ſoldiers and ſeamen under ſeveral pretences, to ſend them away from the port of *Epheſus*, where his fleet was then at anchor, and by that means expoſe them to be taken without the leaſt difficulty. This method pleaſed *Pauſiſtratus*, who affected the ſame negligence, which he was aſſured he ſhould find in the enemy's fleet, and quietly waited for notice when he ſhould go and attack them in the port of *Epheſus*. In the mean time *Polyxenidas*, the better to cover his real deſign, ſent away ſome of his gallies, ordered the harbour to be cleanſed, and ſeemed in no haſte to put to ſea. While *Pauſiſtratus* was daily expecting to be called to *Epheſus*, a private perſon happened to come from that city to *Samos*, who being examined by *Pau-*
f *ſiſtratus* concerning the proceedings of *Polyxenidas*, and the condition of his fleet, ingenuouſly told him, that the port of *Epheſus* was full of ſhips, that the ſoldiers and mariners were all aſſembled at a place within reach of it, and that the *Syrian* admiral was making great preparations as if he had ſome great enterprize in view. Notwithſtanding this ſincere report of an indifferent perſon, *Pauſiſtratus* was ſo prepoſſeſſed with the promiſe of an artful enemy, that he ſtill continued at *Samos* in hopes of being ſoon ſent for to take the *Syrian* fleet. But *Polyxenidas* took quite different meaſures; he ſailed from *Epheſus* with ſeventy ſhips of war, ſteering his courſe to

[h] Liv. l. xxxiii. Hieronym. in Dan. c. 11.

Pygela, a city on the coaſt of *Ionia*, whence the *Aſiatic* fleets generally ſet out for *Greece*. But before he weighed anchor, he ordered one *Nicander*, commander of a ſquadron of privateers, to make a deſcent in the iſland of *Samos*, and conceal his men there till the reſt of the fleet arrived. From *Pygela Polyxenidas* ſet ſail for the port of *Panormus*, where, arriving in the night, he found the *Rhodians* lying on the ſhore without any apprehenſion of an enemy. But the noiſe of a fleet entering the port ſoon awakened them. As they were all veteran troops, *Pauſiſtratus*, at laſt convinced of the treachery of his adverſary, thought it more adviſeable to make uſe of them in a fight at land than at ſea; and accordingly drew them up in order of battle to the right and left upon two promontories, which formed the mouth of the harbour. They were ſcarce drawn up when they were, to their great ſurprize, attacked in the rear by *Nicander*, who had therein followed the directions of *Polyxenidas*. The *Rhodians*, fearing leſt they ſhould be ſurrounded, retired with precipitation to their ſhips; but the mouth of the harbour being ſtopped up by the *Syrian* fleet, they found it neceſſary to force a way through it in order to gain the high ſeas. The galley, on board of which was *Pauſiſtratus*, was the firſt that faced the enemy at the mouth of the port, and broke through their fleet in ſpite of all oppoſition; but being immediately inveſted by five quinqueremes commanded by *Polyxenidas* in perſon ſhe was overpowered and ſunk. Thus periſhed *Pauſiſtratus*, who had on all occaſions diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his courage and prudent conduct, and was at laſt overcome by a baſe ſtratagem. After the death of the admiral, the *Rhodian* fleet was ſoon deſtroyed; ſome of the gallies were taken in ſight of the port, others in the port itſelf, while they attempted to force their way out; inſomuch that of this great armament only ſeven ſhips eſcaped, *viz.* five belonging to *Rhodes*, and two to the iſland of *Cos*. Theſe, in order to force their way through the enemy's fleet, lighted great fires in their prows, and from thence held out long poles with kettles full of burning bitumen, which, by the terror they gave the enemy, favoured their eſcape. In their flight they were met by ſome *Erytræan* gallies, that were coming to their aſſiſtance; and with them they turned towards the *Helleſpont*, where they joined the *Roman* fleet, which under the command of *Livius* was carrying on the ſiege of *Abydos* [i].

The *Rhodians*, notwithſtanding this loſs, did not renounce their alliance with *Rome*, or their engagement to aſſiſt her with all their forces. They immediately fitted out twenty new gallies, and gave the command of them to *Eudamus*, a man indeed leſs brave and experienced than *Pauſiſtratus*, but more diſtruſtful and circumſpect. *Eudamus* having joined the *Roman* admiral at *Samos*, the confederates ſailed from thence together to *Epheſus*, where they not only inſulted the *Syrian* fleet under the command of *Polyxenidas*, but even challenged them to an engagement at land. But the challenge not being accepted, they returned to *Samos*, whence *Livius*, after he had reſigned his command to his ſucceſſor *Æmilius*, was detached with part of the fleet to reduce *Patara* in *Lycia*, which place was a great check upon the *Rhodians* while in the enemy's hands. But *Livius* failed in his attempt; whereupon the *Roman* and *Rhodian* fleets ſailing to *Adramyttium*, where *Antiochus* was encamped, obliged him to retire to *Sardis*, and then the confederate fleets returned to *Samos*, where they parted. *Eumenes* went to the *Helleſpont* to convoy the *Scipio's*, who were appointed to carry on the war againſt *Antiochus*, over into *Aſia*. *Eudamus* returned to *Rhodes* with his gallies to receive there new reinforcements; and *Æmilius* continued at *Samos* to watch the motions of *Polyxenidas*, who was ſtill ſhut up in the port of *Epheſus* [k].

In the mean time news being brought that a formidable fleet was coming out of *Syria* under the command of the famous *Hannibal*, *Eudamus*, the *Rhodian* admiral, having reinforced his ſquadron with ſeventeen other ſhips, went out to meet him, in order to prevent his joining *Polyxenidas* in the port of *Epheſus*. *Eudamus* firſt advanced to the iſland of *Megiſte* near the coaſts of *Lycia*, with a deſign to wait for him there. But the heat being exceſſive, and the air there very unwholeſome, he ſailed from thence to the mouth of the *Eurymedon*, a river of *Pamphylia*, where he was informed by the inhabitants of *Aſpendus*, that *Hannibal*'s fleet appeared off *Sida* a maritime city on the borders of *Pamphylia*. It conſiſted of thirty-ſeven large ſhips, among which were three *ſeptiremes*, and four *hexaremes*, and ten *triremes*; whereas the

The Rhodians *defeat* Hannibal *in a ſea-fight.*
Year of the flood 2809.
Before Chriſt 190.

[i] Liv. l. xxxvii. c. 11. Appian. p. 101. [k] Liv. ibid.

a *Rhodian* fleet conſiſted only of thirty-two *quadriremes*, and four *triremes*. When the *Syrian* fleet diſcovered the *Rhodians* advancing to attack them, they made a large front and faced the enemy. *Hannibal* commanded the right wing, and *Apollonius*, one of the king's chief favourites, the left. The *Rhodians* ſailed on in a line, with *Eudamus* at their head; *Chariclitus* brought up the rear, and *Pamphilidas* commanded in the center. When they came to draw up in line of battle, *Eudamus* ſailed out, but did not leave room enough for his gallies to be drawn up with the due diſtances in one line. This inadvertency cauſed ſome diſorder in his fleet. However while they were diſentangling themſelves in the beſt manner they could, *Eudamus* with five gallies only attacked *Hannibal*'s wing, and the experience of the *Rhodians* ſoon
b repaired the fault of their admiral, for the ſhips widened of themſelves, ſo that each had room enough to turn about and ply their oars. Then the onſet began, and not one of the *Rhodian* gallies attacked *Antiochus*'s ſhips without ſucceſs. The largeſt ſhip in the royal navy was by a very ſmall *Rhodian* galley ſunk in the very beginning of the engagement, which greatly terrified and diſheartened the *Syrians* in the left wing. But *Eudamus* was hard preſſed by *Hannibal* in the right wing. The *Carthaginian* had already ſurrounded the five *Rhodian* gallies, which the others obſerving haſtened to his relief, and attacked *Hannibal* on all ſides with ſuch vigor, that he was forced to crowd all the ſail he could and ſave that part of the ſquadron by flight. The *Rhodians* after having purſued him ſome time and taken one of his hexaremes,
c returned to *Rhodes* with the glory indeed of having conquered, but reproaching one another for not having utterly deſtroyed the *Syrian* fleet. However they had at leaſt the advantage of blocking him up in the ports of *Pamphylia* ſo cloſe, that it was impoſſible for him to do the king the leaſt ſervice. *Chariclitus* lay at anchor with twenty ſhips of war off *Patara* and the iſland of *Megiſte* in order to intercept him in his paſſage, if he attempted to join *Polyxenidas*. As for *Eudamus* he returned with only ſeven great ſhips to join the prætor *Æmilius* at *Samos*. While the *Rhodians* kept *Hannibal* thus blocked up, *Æmilius*, being joined by another *Rhodian* ſquadron, entirely defeated the fleet of *Antiochus* off the iſland of *Teos*. In this engagement the *Syrians* loſt fifty-two of their beſt ſhips, and the *Romans* only two. The news of
d this defeat ſo dejected *Antiochus*, that he raiſed the ſiege of *Colophon*, and retired into *Cappadocia* to his ſon-in-law *Ariarathes*. He was ſoon after totally defeated by land in the famous battle, which was fought near *Magneſia*, and determined that unhappy prince to accept a peace upon ſuch conditions as it pleaſed the conqueror to impoſe. On this occaſion king *Eumenes* went in perſon to *Rome* to congratulate the republic on the ſucceſs of her arms in the *Levant*, and was received by the ſenate with all poſſible marks of honour and gratitude for his ſervices, and preſſed to declare what recompence would be moſt agreeable to him. The king for a long time modeſtly declined ſaying any thing in his own praiſe, or asking any particular reward, referring that matter wholly to the determination of the conſcript fathers. But they
e ſtill inſiſting that he ſhould give an account of his exploits, and declare what *Rome* could do to ſhew her gratitude in the moſt acceptable manner, he at length comply'd; and having run over his father's ſervices and his own, and anſwered the objections he foreſaw the *Rhodians* would make as republicans againſt the encreaſe of his territories, and in favour of the *Aſiatic Greeks*, whoſe liberty and independence they would contend for, he thus concluded: "As to my deſires, ſince I muſt declare them, "they are theſe. You have confined the king of *Syria* within mount *Taurus*, and "if *Rome* keeps for herſelf the countries which extend from thoſe parts to the "ſea, I ſhall lay no claim to them; it will be both a pleaſure to me and a ſecurity "to my dominions to have you for my neighbours. But if you ſhould deſpiſe ſo
f "diſtant a conqueſt, and think it will not anſwer the expence of keeping it, I will "venture to ſay, that none of your allies have better deſerved it than myſelf". The ſenate received his propoſal with approbation, and was diſpoſed to grant him his requeſt, but the *Rhodian* deputies, when they were admitted to audience, pleaded for the liberty of the *Greek* cities in *Aſia*, as *Eumenes* had apprehended. "Your "victories, ſaid they to the ſenate, have made you maſters of a great many *Greek* "colonies on this ſide mount *Taurus*, and ſhall they alone not partake of that "general regard for liberty, which has made you the deliverers of *Greece*? Subject "as many of the other nations to *Eumenes* as you pleaſe; they do not know the value "of liberty; they have been ſo long accuſtomed to kingly government, that it is "ſcarce any burden to them. But the *Greeks* have the ſame ſpirit as the *Romans*;

The Rhodian *deputies oppoſe at* Rome *the pretenſions of king* Eumenes.

"they

" they love, nay they adore liberty, and expect to receive from you this ineſti- a
" mable preſent, for which they will be eternally indebted to your glorious arms.
" It may indeed be ſaid, that theſe *Greek* cities declared for *Antiochus*. And ſo
" likewiſe did many of the *Greek* cities in *Europe*, which nevertheleſs you reſtored to
" their laws and liberties. And this is all we ask for the *Aſiatic Greeks*. Cannot you
" deny *Eumenes* what you denied yourſelves? This, conſcript fathers, is our only
" requeſt. Have not the paſt ſervices of the *Rhodians* deſerved your favour for a
" people, who came originally from *Greece* as well as themſelves? Beſides, to
" grant our deſires is to give the higheſt inſtance poſſible of that true magna-
" nimity, which is peculiar to *Roman* minds".

The Rhodians *rewarded by the* Romans.

THIS ſpeech made an impreſſion on the minds of the fathers, who at length deter- b
mined to ſend ten commiſſioners into the *Levant* to ſettle all diſputes there, but de-
clared before hand, that *Lycaonia*, the two *Phrygia's* and *Myſia* ſhould for the
future be ſubject to *Eumenes*. *Lycia*, that part of *Caria* which was next to *Rhodes*,
and part of *Piſidia* were beſtowed on the *Rhodians* as a reward for their eminent
ſervices during the war. However in both theſe diſpoſitions thoſe cities were excepted
which enjoyed their liberty before the war. The diſpoſal of *Soli* raiſed a diſpute
between the *Rhodians* and the embaſſadors of king *Antiochus*. *Soli* was a city of
Cilicia beyond mount *Taurus*, and had been founded by a *Greek* colony from *Argi*.
The *Rhodians* therefore thought it ſhould be declared free as well as the other
Greek cities. But the king's embaſſadors claiming it in virtue of the treaty concluded c
with the *Romans*, the *Rhodians* acquieſced, and *Soli* was allotted to king *Antiochus* [l].

The Lycians *complain to the ſenate of the* Rhodians.

THE *Rhodians*, tho' ſuch zealous aſſertors of liberty, yet oppreſſed in a moſt cruel
manner the *Lycians*, who had been ſubjected to them by the *Roman* ſenate. The
Lycians, not able to bear the oppreſſions they groaned under, ſent deputies to
Rome, to complain of their new maſters, and procure ſome redreſs for their cala-
mities. When they were introduced to the ſenate, they addreſſed the fathers thus:
We were formerly ſubject to the king of *Syria*, and found his government very mild
in compariſon of the oppreſſions we endure under the *Rhodians*. We now undergo all
the hardſhips of ſlavery. All kinds of ſeverity are uſed, not only againſt particular
perſons, but againſt the whole nation. The honour of our wives and daughters is d
not ſafe; our eſtates are at the mercy of our maſters; our lands are pillaged; in
ſhort we are treated like ſlaves bought in the market. The ſenate, touched with
compaſſion, wrote a letter to the *Rhodians*, which was carried by the *Lycian* envoys
themſelves, to this effect: We never intended to enſlave the countries we gave you.
None of thoſe people, who were born free, have been reduced to a ſtate of ſlavery
by us. Remember therefore, that the *Lycians* are allies of the people of *Rome*, at
the ſame time that they are your ſubjects. The *Rhodians*, taking it very much
amiſs that their ſubjects ſhould dare to have recourſe to any foreign power, began to
treat them with more ſeverity than ever. Whereupon the *Lycians*, at the inſtigation
of *Eumenes*, as is ſuppoſed, taking up arms, attempted to ſhake off the yoke. But e
the *Rhodians* ſoon reduced them, and uſed them in ſo cruel a manner, that they
were obliged to have recourſe anew to *Rome*, where they found many patrons, the
Rhodians having diſobliged the *Romans*, by conveying with their fleet *Laodice* the
daughter of *Seleucus*, whom *Perſes* had lately married, into *Macedon*. The ſenate
therefore appointed new commiſſioners to compoſe matters between the *Lycians* and
Rhodians, enjoining them to favour the former as much as they could, without
wronging the latter. The commiſſioners were not received at *Rhodes* with the
uſual marks of friendſhip and affection; but however the *Rhodians* complied with
their injunctions, and treated the *Lycians* thenceforth more like allies than ſub-
jects [m]. f

Year of the flood 2825. *Before Chriſt* 177.

IN the mean time *Eumenes* arriving at *Rome*, acquainted the ſenate with the vaſt
preparations which *Perſes* the ſon of *Philip* was making, with a deſign, as he rightly
ſuppoſed, to kindle a new war in the eaſt, and recover the countries which had been
taken from his father by the *Romans*. The *Rhodians* taking it for granted, that
Eumenes had included their republic in the informations he had given againſt the king
of *Macedon*, ſent to *Rome* one of their chief men, named *Satyrus*, to clear them
from all ſuſpicion of favouring *Perſes*. *Satyrus* was a man of a violent temper, and

[l] POLYB. legat. 25, 36. DIODOR. SICUL. legat. 10. LIV. l. 37, 38. APPIAN. in Syriac. p. 116. [m] LIV. l. 41, 42. POLYB. legat. 60, 61, 62, APPIAN. legat. 25.

therefore

a therefore being, by the help of his friends and patrons, admitted to an audience of the ſenate together with *Eumenes*, he broke outinto reproaches againſt him. It is you, ſaid he, who have ſtirred up *Lycia* againſt the *Rhodian* government. You have done more miſchief in *Aſia* than ever *Antiochus the Great* did. Theſe invectives were agreeable to the *Aſiatics*, who now began to favour *Perſes*; but the only effect they had at *Rome*, was to render the *Rhodians* ſuſpected, and increaſe the affection of the *Romans* for *Eumenes*. As the *Romans* were then on the point of engaging in a war with *Perſes*, three commiſſioners were ſent to the coaſts of *Aſia*, to watch the motions and inclinations of the *Rhodians*. *Rhodes* thought herſelf injured by the *Romans* in her diſputes with the *Lycians*, and had given ſome plain proofs of her affection to b *Perſes*. She actually had at this time a fleet of forty ſail in her ports, and it was not known for what expedition they were deſigned. But when the commiſſioners arrived at *Rhodes*, they found the inhabitants better diſpoſed than they expected. *Hegeſilochus*, a man entirely addicted to the *Romans*, was then prytanes (F) or the chief magiſtrate. He had no ſooner diſcovered that *Rome* intended to carry the war into *Macedon*, but he aſſembled the people, and addreſſed himſelf to them thus: The *Roman* forces are coming once more to exert themſelves in the eaſt; what can we do better than join that republic? We are become rich and powerful by having aſſiſted her in her former expeditions; what then do we not owe her in point of gratitude? Beſides, our common ſafety depends upon our not dividing our intereſts from hers. Let us not then be both ungrateful and imprudent; and if it be neceſſary c for us to declare for *Rome*, let us not delay to the laſt minute the ſuccours which ſhe has a right to demand of us. Our gallies lie unemployed in our harbours; let us equip them, and by our diligence anticipate the expectations of our friends and benefactors. Let *Rome* find us prepared to ſerve her. This propoſal of *Hegeſilochus* had been approved, and forty gallies immediately equipped; ſo that, upon the arrival of the *Roman* deputies, the *Rhodians* offered themſelves ready to ſerve them, and engage in the war whenever the republic thought fit to call upon them [n].

The Rhodians *ſuſpected by the* Romans.

The *Roman* envoys were ſcarce reimbarked, highly ſatisfied with the zeal of the *Rhodians*, when embaſſadors arrived at *Rhodes* from *Perſes*. They brought from d the king a letter to the ſenate, wherein he gave them an account of his negotiations with the *Romans*, and added, that he hoped all differences would be ſoon compoſed in an amicable manner; but that, at all events, he depended on their affection. The ſenate of *Rhodes* aſſembled to give audience to the *Macedonian* embaſſadors, who employed all their eloquence to perſuade the *Rhodians* to ſtand neuter till war was openly declared. By that means, ſaid they, *Rhodes* will be in a condition to prevent a war, by interpoſing her good offices, which will be very acceptable to both parties, ſo long as ſhe ſides with neither; but if afterwards *Rome* perſiſts in troubling the repoſe of the eaſt, it will be then your buſineſs to take up arms, and oppoſe, to the utmoſt of your power, thoſe who are for involving you in new wars. This ſpeech was heard with attention; but the ſenators were already prepoſſeſſed in e favour of the *Romans*, ſo that the anſwer they received was not agreeable to the king. The prytanes gave it in theſe words. We entreat *Perſes* to ask nothing of us which may be prejudicial to the intereſts of *Rome*. After this the embaſſadors withdrew, and returned to *Macedon*, without any poſitive anſwer to their demands [o].

Perſes *endeavours to perſuade the* Rhodians *to ſtand neuter.* *Year of the flood* 2828. *Before Chriſt* 170.

Not long after war being declared with *Perſes*, the *Rhodians* ſent ſome of their gallies to join *Caius Lucretius* the *Roman* admiral; but the greateſt number of their ſhips of war they kept in their own harbours, expecting the iſſue of the firſt battle between *Perſes* and the *Romans*; for tho' many of the leading men favoured *Rome*, yet the people was generally inclined to *Perſes*. Hence no ſooner was news brought of the defeat of the conſul *Licinius* in *Theſſaly*, but the *Rhodians* entered into negotia-

The haughty embaſſy of the Rhodians *to the* Roman *ſenate.*

[n] Liv. ibid. Polyb. legat. 64.

[o] Polyb. legat. 65. Liv. ubi ſupra.

(F) The chief magiſtrate in the city of *Rhodes* was called *Prytanes*, which name the *Rhodians*, in all likelihood, borrowed of the *Athenians*. The latter choſe annually by lot five hundred ſenators to govern their ſtate; that is, fifty in each of the ten tribes of which their republic conſiſted, as each tribe had its turn of precedency. The fifty ſenators in office were called *Prytanes*, the place where they uſed to aſſemble *Prytaneon*, and the ſpace of time they continued in office *Prytaneia*. The *Prytanes*, among the *Rhodians*, had much the ſame power and authority as the *Prætor* in the other ſtates of *Greece*, but was choſen every ſix months, at the end of which his authority expired, unleſs he was, by a plurality of votes, continued in his office; which, as *Polybius* tells us, ſometimes happened, but ſeldom, the *Rhodians* being, to a great degree, jealous of their liberties.

tions with *Perſes*, and taking upon them to be mediators between the contending powers, ſent embaſſadors to *Rome*, commanding, rather than entreating, the ſenate to put an end to the war. If *Rome*, ſaid they, addreſſing the ſenate, was formerly victorious in the eaſt, to what did ſhe owe her ſucceſs but to our arms and fleets? The victories you gained over *Antiochus*, were our victories as much as yours. As for *Macedon*, it was then at peace with us, and our entering into engagements with *Perſes* could be therefore no juſt offence to you. But we at laſt broke with this prince, merely out of complaiſance to *Rome*. We followed your ſtandards to the prejudice of our ally, contrary to our own inclinations, and without any provocation from him. Had he done any thing which could give us juſt cauſe to abandon him? We have indeed been very juſtly puniſhed for ſeparating from him. How many misfortunes have we ſuffered for the three years that you have made war with him? Our navigation is loſt, and our iſland wants neceſſaries. We can no longer ſail with ſafety along the coaſts of *Aſia*, and raiſe our impoſts in the tributary cities there. The *Rhodian* republic therefore, fatigued with your hoſtilities, which all recoil upon her, thought herſelf obliged to entreat the *Macedonian* to make peace with *Rome*. She ſent embaſſadors to require it of him; and now ſhe ſends others to the ſenate to warn them to put an end to the war with *Perſes*, which if you refuſe to do, we ſhall find proper means to bring the obſtinate to reaſon [p].

IT is eaſy to judge in what manner ſo vain and preſumptuous a ſpeech was received. Some hiſtorians tell us, that the only anſwer the ſenate returned, was to order a decree to be read in their preſence, whereby the *Lycians* and *Carians* were declared free. This was touching them to the quick, and mortifying them in the moſt ſenſible part. The intrepid chief of the embaſſy was ſo ſtruck with this decree, that he fell into a ſwoon. Others ſay the ſenate anſwered in few words, that the diſpoſition of the *Rhodians*, and their ſecret intrigues with *Perſes*, had been long known at *Rome*; that when they ſhould have conquered *Perſes*, which, they hoped, would be very ſoon, they ſhould, in their turn, find means to reward or puniſh the good or ill offices they had received during the war. They had ordered the embaſſadors however the uſual preſents; but the proud *Rhodians* refuſed to accept them.

The embaſſadors, upon their return to *Rhodes*, found there deputies from *Perſes* and *Gentius* king of *Illyricum*, ſent by their reſpective maſters, to conclude an alliance with the *Rhodians*, and engage them to turn their arms againſt *Rome*. The advantages which the *Macedonian* fleet had lately gained over the allies of *Rome*, inclined the *Rhodians* to give a favourable reception to the embaſſadors of the confederate kings. They made harangues in the ſenate, and before the people, and were heard with attention. In ſpite of all the oppoſition they met with from *Thetetes* and a few others, who ſtill adhered to the *Romans*, the *Rhodian* ſenate promiſed not to lend the *Romans* ſhips or men, and thereby oblige them to finiſh the war with *Macedon*, by a peace which ſhould be advantageous to the eaſt. Purſuant to this engagement, they recalled the ſhips which they had ſent to the aſſiſtance of the *Romans*, and ſoon after ſent new embaſſadors to *Rome* in favour of *Perſes*. But they, unfortunately for the republic of *Rhodes*, arrived at *Rome* juſt when the news of the entire defeat of *Perſes* was publiſhed; and the ſenate maliciouſly choſe that very time to give them audience. But the chief of the embaſſy turned the haughty demands he was ordered to make in favour of the king of *Macedon* into congratulations. I came hither, conſcript fathers, ſaid he, to repreſent to you how burdenſome the war in the *Levant* was to you, and how prejudicial to us; but your proſperity has prevented my repreſentations, and left nothing for me to do, but to rejoice with you upon your great ſucceſs. The ſenate ordered ſuch an anſwer to be given, as was ſuitable to the ſuſpicions they entertained of the *Rhodians*. Neither the intereſts of *Greece*, ſaid they, nor your own ſafety, brought you hither. It was your attachment to the *Macedonian* party that induced you to croſs the ſeas, in order to intimidate us. Had your concern been only for *Greece*, or yourſelves, you would have come and implored the aſſiſtance of *Rome*, when *Perſes* entered *Theſſaly*, and threatened both the continent and your iſland with a ſudden invaſion. On the contrary, you knew, that *Paulus Æmilius* had opened a way into *Macedon*; your fears were for that kingdom, and therefore you came to treat of peace. Go, perfidious

The Rhodians *engage with* Perſes *to ſtand neuter.*

[p] LIV. l. 44. POLYB. legat. 86.

a men, and carry back word to your republic, that her care for the intereſts of *Perſes* is now out of ſeaſon. This anſwer ſo terrified the *Rhodians*, that they returned home, and exhorted their countrymen to regain the good-will of the ſenate by all ſorts of ſubmiſſion [9].

The Rhodians endeavour to appeaſe the wrath of the ſenate.

EMBASSADORS were accordingly ſent to appeaſe the wrath of the ſenate, who, on their arrival at *Rome*, were not only refuſed audience, but even threatened with war. The ſenate firſt decreed, that the *Rhodian* embaſſadors ſhould not be treated with the uſual hoſpitality, nor looked upon as friends. *Junius* the conſul was charged to acquaint them with this decree. As ſoon as the conſul appeared, the embaſſadors, who were waiting in the curia for an anſwer, advancing ſome paces
b towards him, aſſured him, that they were come only to congratulate the *Romans* on their late victory, and efface the ſuſpicions which the fathers might entertain of their republic. But *Junius*, putting on a grave air, We deſire no congratulations, ſaid he, from a people whoſe fidelity we ſuſpect. Go and condole with *Perſes*. We admit none within the walls of *Rome*, or into the ſenate, but the embaſſadors of nations which are our friends; and are you ſo? Did you even preſerve the appearances of friendſhip during the war? The *Rhodians* were thunder-ſtruck at theſe words, fell proſtrate with tears in their eyes, and entreated the conſul to have more regard to the ſervices they had formerly done *Rome*, than to the ill conduct into which they had been ſeduced for ſome years. Then they changed their habits, and
c running from houſe to houſe in the attire of criminals, endeavoured to raiſe the compaſſion of the *Roman* citizens. But *Juventius Thalna*, the prætor, moved the tribes to declare war againſt *Rhodes*, and to ſend one of the preſent magiſtrates to begin hoſtilities. This motion being oppoſed by ſome of the tribunes, and the conteſt growing warm, the ſenate was at laſt obliged to admit the *Rhodian* embaſſadors to an audience, and give them leave to ſpeak in their own vindication. *Aſtymedes*, who was at the head of the embaſſy, made a long harangue, wherein he confeſſed, that vanity was indeed the vice of his countrymen, and that they were very apt to talk arrogantly; but he hoped that the *Romans* would not think any inſtance of this national weakneſs ſuch a crime as to be puniſhed with the total ruin
d of their country. He urged the many important ſervices which *Rhodes* had formerly rendered the republic, and that tho' of late ſhe had ceaſed to aſſiſt the *Romans*, yet ſhe had never committed hoſtilities againſt them. He concluded with declaring the entire ſubmiſſion of the *Rhodians* to the good-will and pleaſure of *Rome*, and their reſolution to make no reſiſtance to her arms in caſe of an attack. As ſoon as *Aſtymedes* had done ſpeaking, the embaſſadors and their retinue fell proſtrate, and held out branches of olive in their hands, as a token of their ſuing for peace. Then they withdrew, and the matter was diſcuſſed in the ſenate. Such of the ſenators as had ſerved in the *Macedonian* war, voted warmly againſt the *Rhodians*, and were for engaging *Rome* in a new war. But *Cato* put an end to the debate by a ſpeech *Cato ſpeaks in their favour.*
e full of ſpirit and good ſenſe. He reproached the ſenators with being blinded by proſperity, ſince nothing elſe could have made them deliberate, whether they ſhould deſtroy a republic, againſt which the only charge was ſecret thoughts and proud words. O! ye immortal gods, ſaid he, ſhall we then uſurp your rights? Shall we ſearch into mens thoughts to find enemies? Have we not open and declared enemies enough? I ſhall readily grant, that the *Rhodians* were heartily grieved for the defeat and captivity of *Perſes*; nay, I ſhall allow, that compaſſion for him had not ſo great a ſhare in their affliction as their own intereſt; but is it then unlawful to wiſh for liberty? *Rome* is a powerful ſtate, and capable of ſwallowing up all the countries of the eaſt. *Macedon*, the only bulwark againſt her, was deſtroyed.
f The inundation was drawing near, and hence their fears and alarms. Did the *Rhodians* hate you? No; but they loved themſelves. Are there any among us who would not be uneaſy to ſee a formidable neighbour in poſſeſſion of lands adjoining to ours? What would we not do to get rid of ſuch a neighbourhood? Any means but violences are lawful. This is the preſent caſe. The *Rhodians* wiſhed that *Perſes* might not be ruined, and that the barrier which ſeparated them from us, might not be thrown down; and what is there criminal in this? Beſides, are bare wiſhes puniſhable? But it is alſo ſaid, that the *Rhodians* ſhewed their pride by words; and indeed one of their embaſſadors did drop ſome very arrogant and haughty

[9] POLYB. legat. 88. LIV. l. 45.

expreſſions;

expreſſions; but what can be inferred from thence more than this, that there is a nation in the world more haughty and imperious than ourſelves? Is an indiſcreet expreſſion ſo highly criminal, that it ought to be expiated with rivers of blood? What will the conſequence of an unjuſt ſeverity be but inſurrections among the timorous nations, and revolts, or, at leaſt, diſtruſts among our allies? Foreign nations will fear us more, but love us leſs. The *Rhodians*, after all, have not carried their ingratitude to exceſs. *Perſes*, when in his greateſt glory, could not ſeduce them ſo far as to prevail on them to take up arms againſt us; I therefore vote for rejecting the motion of the prætor *Juvencius*, and leaving the *Rhodians* in peaceable poſſeſſion of their iſland [r]. a

Lycia and Caria taken from the Rhodians.

THE advice and repreſentations of *Cato* were of ſuch weight with the ſenate, that war was not declared againſt the *Rhodians*, which was the main point. The ſenate only renewed the decree they had formerly made, whereby the *Rhodians* were ordered to withdraw their gariſons from *Lycia* and *Caria*, and reſtore the inhabitants to their ancient liberty. After the publication of this decree, *Philocrates*, one of the embaſſadors, returned to *Rhodes*; but *Aſtymedes* continued at *Rome*, to give his republick notice of what was tranſacted there. The news which *Philocrates* brought to *Rhodes*, where they were all in the utmoſt conſternation, and under great apprehenſions of a war with *Rome*, was received with inexpreſſible joy; inſomuch that the loſs of *Lycia* and *Caria* ſeemed to them but a ſlight puniſhment. They now made it their whole buſineſs to regain the affection of the *Romans*. The alliance which they had formerly entered into with *Rome*, was not yet complete. They had reſerved to themſelves a liberty to make alliances with any king or independent ſtate they pleaſed, whether in *Europe* or *Aſia*; but now the times were changed. Since the conqueſt of *Macedon*, there was no power in all the eaſt to be feared or courted, except the *Romans*; the *Rhodians* therefore were deſirous to enter into a more ſtrict alliance with *Rome*, and, in order to gain the affection of the *Roman* citizens, they commanded a crown of gold to be made at *Rhodes* of great value (G), which *Theodotus*, their admiral, was ordered to carry to *Rome*, and there negotiate this new alliance (H). Nevertheleſs, as the *Rhodians* were vain-glorious, they enjoined *Theodotus* not to offer his petition in writing, leſt, in caſe his requeſt was not granted, it might be conveyed down to poſterity, and be a ſtanding monument of reproach to them. The admiral ſet ſail, came to *Rome*, and made his preſents, which were accepted; but as for the alliance, *Rome* made his republic ſollicit it a long time, taking pleaſure in humbling the *Rhodian* pride. They were ordered firſt to evacuate *Caria* and *Lycia*, and alſo to withdraw their gariſons from the two cities of *Caunus* and *Stratonice*, the firſt of which they had purchaſed of one of *Ptolemy*'s generals with two hundred talents; and the ſecond had been given them by *Antiochus* and *Seleucus*. b c d

The Rhodians *admitted to an alliance with* Rome.

However, they not only readily gave up both places, but moreover, either put to death, or baniſhed, all thoſe, who, during the courſe of the war, had favoured *Perſes*; whereupon the ſenate complied at laſt with their requeſt, and admitted them into an alliance with *Rome* [s]. e

SOME years after, the *Rhodians* gave a ſignal inſtance of the great deference they paid to *Rome*. *Calynda*, a famous city of *Caria*, being beſieged by the inhabitants of *Caunus*, ſent embaſſadors to the *Rhodians*, imploring their aſſiſtance, and offering to ſurrender to them. Notwithſtanding this advantageous offer, the *Rhodians* deliberated ſome time, whether they ſhould relieve the *Calyndians*, or no, without the conſent of the *Roman* ſenate; but as the ſiege was purſued with vigor, and an anſwer

[r] LIV. l. 45. POLYB. legat. 93. DIODOR. SICUL. legat. 19. & in PHOCII Biblio. cod. 244. [s] POLYB. legat. 93. & 140. LIV. l. 43. APPIAN. Syriac. p. 116.

(G) *Livy* (84) fixes the value of this rich crown at twenty thouſand of thoſe pieces of gold, which the *Romans* called *aurei*; but *Polybius* values it only at ten thouſand. The *aureus* among the *Romans* was worth twenty-five *Attic drachmæ* or twenty-five *denarii*, according to *Dio Caſſius* (85). It weighed two drams and an half. Suppoſing therefore, that, in theſe ages of the republic, the proportion of gold to ſilver was as ten to one, which we have reaſon to infer from ſeveral paſſages, this piece of gold could not be worth leſs than twenty-five drams.

(H) The negotiating of this new alliance with *Rome* was, according to *Polybius*, committed to the care of another embaſſador, whom he calls *Rhodopho*; but a little lower he gives him the name of *Theetetes*. He was eighty years of age, and died at *Rome*, before he could put the laſt hand to the negotiation.

(84) *Liv. l. 45. c. 23.* (85) *Dio Caſſ. l. 45*

a from *Rome* would come too late, they at laſt ſent ſuccours to the beſieged city, and forced the *Caunians* to retire. However, before they took poſſeſſion of the place, they ſent two of their chief citizens, *Lydamis* and *Cleagoras* to *Rome*, to lay their laurels at the feet of the conſcript fathers, and to draw what advantages they could from their ſubmiſſion. Indeed nothing could be more agreeable to the haughty ſenators, than to ſee thoſe *Rhodians*, who, a few years before, pretended to give law to *Rome*, now reduced ſo low, as not to dare to take poſſeſſion of a city without their leave. The deputies were graciouſly received, and their reception encouraged them to deſire of the fathers, that the private ſubjects of *Rhodes* might be reſtored to the enjoyment of all the lands they had formerly poſſeſſed in *Caria* and *Lycia*. Their b requeſt was granted, and the embaſſadors returned as well ſatisfied with the ſenate, as the ſenate was with them. The *Rhodians*, out of gratitude, deſired leave to erect, in the temple of *Minerva* at *Rome*, a ſtatue of that goddeſs, thirty cubits high. Thus all jealouſies between the two republics were removed, and the good underſtanding, which had long ſubſiſted between them, entirely reſtored [t].

And favoured by the ſenate.

Year of the flood 2837. *Before Chriſt* 162.

FROM this time, to the breaking out of the *Mithridatic* war in *Aſia*, the *Rhodians* performed nothing which hiſtorians have thought worth tranſmitting to poſterity. They enjoyed their liberties, while all the other ſtates and colonies of *Greece* were brought under the *Roman* yoke, and become provinces of that republic. They continued to maintain an inviolable attachment to *Rome*, and gave a ſignal c inſtance of their fidelity in the above-mentioned war; for the *Rhodians*, and the little country of *Lydia* near mount *Sipylus*, were the only allies who remained faithful to the *Romans* on all the coaſts of *Aſia*, after *Mithridates* had proclaimed war with the republic; *Rhodes* eſpecially ſerved as a ſanctuary for all the *Romans*, whom the *Aſiatics* drove in great numbers out of their countries: and *Caſſius* himſelf, formerly governor of the province of *Pergamus*, fled thither for refuge. The King of *Pontus* therefore reſolved to turn all his forces by ſea and land againſt that iſland; and the inhabitants choſe rather to ſuſtain a ſiege than renounce their alliance with *Rome*. They put their ports in a ſtate of defence, and covered their ramparts with all ſorts of military machines. The *Romans* who had fled thither, made up the beſt Part of d the *Rhodian* army, and the inhabitants relying upon them, and their own skill in maritime affairs, were not at all diſmayed at the vaſt fleets and land-forces which *Mithridates* was bringing againſt them. They poſted their fleet before their iſland, and divided it into three ſquadrons; one, drawn up in a line, covered the entrance of the port, and the other two were placed, like wings, to hinder the enemy's approach. *Mithridates* appeared on board a quinqeremis, at the head of a fleet much more numerous than that of the enemy's. He divided it into three ſquadrons, ordering two of them to inveſt the wings of the *Rhodians*, whilſt he himſelf attacked the ſquadron that faced the port. The *Rhodians* therefore, leſt they ſhould be overpowered with numbers, retired by degrees, till they came to the mouth of the e harbour, which they entirely ſtopped up; and, after this, the ſeveral engagements that followed, turned to their advantage. *Mithridates* loſt many ſhips, and narrowly eſcaped himſelf being made priſoner in his quinqueremis, which was taken.

Rhodes *beſieged by* Mithridates.

Year of the flood 2911. *Before Chriſt* 88.

DURING theſe ſea-engagements, *Mithridates* embarked his numerous army on tranſports, which being diſperſed by a violent ſtorm, and driven to the right and left of the iſland, the *Rhodians* ſent out their fleet, fell on the veſſels, which the ſtorm had put in diſorder, ſunk ſome, burnt others, and took four hundred men priſoners. Upon this *Mithridates* reſolved to attack the city by ſea in the night, and ordered a ſambuca, built on two gallies, to advance to the walls. He had been informed, that the wall of the city was but of a moderate height on the ſide of the temple of f *Jupiter Atabyrius*, and reſolved to ſtorm it there. To this end he embarked his troops ſilently, furniſhed them with ſcaling ladders, and ordered them to wait till a ſignal was given them by a perſon hired for that purpoſe, from the top of the temple. In the mean time the king himſelf made a falſe attack on the ſide of the port, with great ſhouts, which cauſed the beſieged to kindle many fires in the city. Thoſe who were to wait for the ſignal before they began the attack on the ſide of the temple, miſtaking theſe fires for it, were too haſty in the attempt, and miſcarried. Early in the morning the *Rhodians* made a vigorous ſally, and drove off the aggreſſors. The ſambuca, after having done ſome damage, ſunk with its own

The ſiege raiſed.

[t] POLYB. legat. 210, 211. LIV. ubi ſupra.

weight; and *Mithridates*, diſheartened at theſe diſappointments, broke up the ſiege, a
after having loſt a great many men, and the beſt part of his navy [u]. The behaviour of the *Rhodians* on this occaſion was highly applauded at *Rome*, and orders were ſent to *Sylla* to return them thanks in the name of the ſenate, and renew the ancient alliance between the two republics. In the war which *Pompey* made upon the *Cilician* pirates, the *Rhodians* aſſiſted him with all their naval forces, and had a great ſhare in all the victories which he gained, tho' that proud *Roman* aſſumed the whole glory of ſuppreſſing thoſe robbers to himſelf [w].

In the civil war between *Cæſar* and *Pompey*, they aſſiſted the latter with a numerous fleet, under the command of one *Euphranor*, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf above all the commanders of *Pompey*'s navy, and gained very conſiderable advantages over b
Cæſar's fleets [x]. After the death of *Pompey*, they ſided with *Cæſar*, which drew
The Rhodians *defeated in a ſea-fight by* Caſſius. upon them the reſentment of *C. Caſſius*, who advanced to the iſland of *Rhodes* with a powerful fleet, after having reduced the greateſt part of the continent. The *Rhodians*, terrified at his approach, ſent embaſſadors entreating him to make up matters in an amicable manner, and promiſing to ſtand neuter, and recal the ſhips which they had ſent to the aſſiſtance of the triumviri. *Caſſius* inſiſted upon their delivering up their fleet to him, and putting him in poſſeſſion both of their harbour and city. This demand the *Rhodians* would, by no means, comply with, and therefore began to put themſelves in a condition to ſtand a ſiege; but firſt ſent *Archelaus*, who had taught *Caſſius* the *Greek* tongue, while he ſtudied at *Rhodes*, to intercede with his c
diſciple in their behalf. *Archelaus* could not, with all his authority, prevail upon him to moderate his demands; wherefore the *Rhodians*, having created one *Alexander*, a bold and enterprizing man, their prætor or prytanis, equipped a fleet of three-and thirty ſail, and ſent it out under the command of *Mnaſeus*, an experienced ſea-officer, to offer *Caſſius* battle. Both fleets fought with incredible bravery, and the victory was long doubtful; but the *Rhodians* being at length overpowered with numbers, were forced to return with their fleet to *Rhodes*, two of their ſhips being ſunk, and the reſt very much damaged by the heavy ſhips of the *Romans*. This was the firſt time, as our author obſerves, that the *Rhodians* were fairly overcome in a ſea-fight [y]. d

Year of the flood 2957. *Before Chriſt* 42. *Caſſius*, who had beheld this fight from a neighbouring hill, having refitted his fleet, which had been no leſs damaged than that of the *Rhodians*, repaired to *Loryma*, a ſtrong hold on the continent belonging to the *Rhodians*. This caſtle he took by aſſault, and from hence conveyed his land-forces, under the conduct of *Fanius* and *Lentulus*, over into the iſland. His fleet conſiſted of fourſcore ſhips of war, and above two hundred tranſports. The *Rhodians* no ſooner ſaw this mighty fleet appear, but they went out again to meet the enemy. This ſecond engagement was far more bloody than the firſt; many ſhips were ſunk, and great numbers of men killed on both ſides. But victory anew declared for the *Romans*, who immediately blocked up the city of *Rhodes* both by ſea and land. As the *Rhodians* had e
Rhodes *taken by* Caſſius, *and plundered.* not had time to furniſh the city with ſufficient ſtore of proviſions, ſome of the inhabitants fearing, that if it were taken either by aſſault or by famine, *Caſſius* would put all the inhabitants to the ſword, as *Brutus* had lately done at *Xanthus*, privately opened the gates to him, and put him in poſſeſſion of the town, which he nevertheleſs treated as if it had been taken by aſſault. He commanded fifty of the chief citizens, who were ſuſpected to favour the adverſe party, to be brought before him, and ſentenced them all to die; others, to the number of twenty-five, who had commanded the fleet or army, becauſe they did not appear when ſummoned, he proſcribed. Having thus puniſhed ſuch as had either acted or ſpoke againſt him or his party, he commanded the *Rhodians* to deliver up to him all their f
ſhips, and whatever money they had in the public treaſure. He then plundered the temples, ſtripping them of all their valuable furniture, veſſels and ſtatues. He is ſaid not to have left one ſtatue in the whole city, except that of the ſun, bragging at his departure, that he had ſtript the *Rhodians* of all they had, leaving them nothing but the ſun. As to private perſons, he commanded them, under ſevere penalties, to bring to him all the gold and ſilver they had, promiſing, by a public cryer a tenth part to ſuch as ſhould diſcover any hidden treaſures. The *Rhodians*

[u] Appian. in Mithridat. Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. Valeſii. p. 402. Liv. l. 78. Memn. c. 33.
[w] Appian. in Mithridat. Florus. l. 3 c. 5. [x] Hirtius de Bell. Alexandrin. [y] Appian l. 4. p. 630. Dio. l. 47. p. 346.

at

a at firſt concealed ſome part of their wealth, imagining, that *Caſſius* intended by this proclamation only to terrify them; but when they found that he was in earneſt, and ſaw ſeveral wealthy citizens put to death for concealing only a ſmall portion of their riches, they deſired, that the time prefixed for the bringing in of their gold and ſilver might be prolonged. *Caſſius* willingly granted them their requeſt, and then, through fear, they dug up what they had hid under ground, and laid at his feet all they were worth in the world. By this means he extorted from private perſons above eight thouſand talents. He then fined the city in five hundred more, and leaving *L. Varus* there with a ſtrong gariſon to exact the fine without any abatement, he returned to the continent [z].

b AFTER the death of *Caſſius*, *Marc Anthony* reſtored the *Rhodians* to their antient rights and privileges, beſtowing upon them the iſlands of *Andros*, *Naxos*, *Tenos*, and the city of *Myndus*. But theſe the *Rhodians* ſo oppreſſed and loaded with taxes, that the ſame *Anthony*, tho' a great friend to the *Rhodian* republic, was obliged to diveſt her of the ſovereignty over thoſe places, which he had a little before ſo liberally beſtowed upon her [a]. From this time, to the reign of the emperor *Claudius*, we find no mention made of the *Rhodians*. That prince, as *Dion* informs us [b], deprived them of their liberty, for having crucified ſome *Roman* citizens. However, he ſoon reſtored them to their former condition, as we read in *Suetonius* [c] and *Tacitus* [d]. The latter adds, that they had been as often deprived of, as reſtored to,

c their liberty, by way of puniſhment or reward for their different behaviour, as they had obliged the *Romans* with their aſſiſtance in foreign wars, or provoked them with their ſeditions at home. *Pliny*, who wrote in the beginning of *Veſpaſian*'s reign, ſtiles *Rhodes* a beautiful and free town. But this liberty they did not long enjoy, the iſland being ſoon after reduced by the ſame *Veſpaſian* to a *Roman* province, and obliged to pay a yearly tribute to their new maſters [e]. This province was called the province of the iſlands. The *Roman* prætor, who governed it, reſided at *Rhodes*, as the chief city under his juriſdiction; and *Rome*, notwithſtanding the eminent ſervices rendered her by this republic, thenceforth treated the *Rhodians* not as allies, but vaſſals.

[z] PLUT. in Bruto. APPIAN. p. 631, &c. OROS. l. 6. c. 18. DIO. p. 346. [a] APPIAN. l. 3. de bell. civil. [b] DIO. l. 60. p. 681. [c] SUETON. in Claud. [d] TACIT. Annal. 12. [e] SUETON. in Veſpaſ. EUSEB. in Chron. OROS. l. 7. c. 9.

SECT. IV.

The Hiſtory of Crete.

d THE iſland of *Crete*, now called *Candia*, from its capital, was known to the antients by the names of *Aeria*, *Chthonia*, *Idæa*, *Curete*, *Macaris*, &c. It is one of the largeſt iſlands in the *Mediterranean*, being, according to *Strabo* [f], 287 miles in length; according to *Pliny* [g], 270, and according to *Scylax*, 312. As to its breadth, it is not, as *Pliny* obſerves [h], above 55, where wideſt. Whence it was ſtiled, as *Stephanus* informs us, the *Long Iſland*. It lies between the *Archipelago* to the north; the *African* ſea to the ſouth; the *Carpathian* to the eaſt; and the *Ionian* to the weſt. The name of *Crete*, which generally prevailed among the antients, ſome derive from *Curetes*, who are ſaid to have been the firſt inhabitants of the iſland; others from the nymph *Crete*, daughter of *Heſperus*, or from *Cretus* e the ſon of *Jupiter*, who is ſuppoſed to have reigned here (1). *Names.*

[f] STRABO, l. 10. [g] PLIN. l. 4. c. 12. [h] Idem ibid.

(1) *Euſebius*, St. *Hierom*, *Marcianus*, *Iſidorus* and *Cedrenus* derive the name of *Crete* from *Cres*, one of the *Curetes*, who brought up *Jupiter*. *Diodorus Siculus* ſays it was called *Crete* from *Cretes* the daughter of one of the *Curetes*, whom *Jupiter* married, giving her name to the iſland, which before was named *Idea* (86). It is at preſent known by the name of *Candia*, which *Moroſini* (87) derives from the *Latin* word *Candidus*, ſignifying *white*, ſuch being the colour of its ſoil. Others derive the name of *Candia* from the word *Chandax*, which, in the language of the *Saracens*, ſignifies, as *Scylitzas* informs us (88), an intrenchment. The *Saracens* built a town, as we read in the ſame author, in the place, where, by the advice of a *Greek* monk, they had intrenched themſelves in the time of the emperor *Michael* ſurnamed the *Stammerer*. The town they called *Chandax*, that is, *intrenchment*. In proceſs of time the name of *Chandax* was changed into that of *Candia*, which became common to the city and iſland.

(86) *Diodor. Sicul. l.* 3. (87) *Moroſini Hiſt. Venet. l.* 12. (88) *Scylitz. p.* 509.

THIS

Climate, ſoil, &c.

THIS iſland, as lying between the 34th and 35th degrees of north latitude, was, a in antient times, greatly celebrated for its fertility. It abounded in all ſorts of grain, its plains being covered with a deep rich ſoil, and plentifully watered by ſmall rivers. The fruits it produced infinitely ſurpaſſed, as *Pliny* obſerved, all of the ſame kind that were produced in other countries [j]. The wines of this iſland are greatly commended both by the antient and modern writers. Tho' they are, generally ſpeaking, pretty ſtrong, yet *Galen* met with a ſort in this place, which was temperate enough to be given in fevers [k]. The air was antiently deemed moſt pure and wholſome, and is to this day, tho' great part of the country lies uncultivated; a misfortune too common in ſuch regions as groan under the *Mohammedan* yoke. From the fruitfulneſs of its ſoil, and purity of its air, it had the appellation b of *Macaris*, or the *Fortunate Iſland*.

Cities.

IN former times there were reckoned in this iſland an hundred cities, ninety before the *Trojan* war, and ten more after the *Dorians* ſettled here; and hence ſprung the name of *Hecatompolis*. Of theſe hundred cities forty only were remaining in the time

Gnoſſus.

of *Ptolemy*, for ſo many he enumerates. Thoſe of moſt note were, *Gnoſſus*, antiently called *Ceratus*, where king *Minos* is ſaid to have fixed his reſidence. This city was once the capital of the iſland, and, according to *Strabo* [l], a wealthy and populous place, being thirty furlongs in compaſs, and full of inhabitants. The ſaid writer places it twenty furlongs off the *Ægean* or *Archipelago*, and ninety from the *African* ſea. Some of our modern travellers think it ſtood near the preſent town of *Caſtel* c *Pediada*; while others pretend to diſcover ſome of its ruins at a ſmall diſtance from the village of *Cynoſa*. From this city *Ariadne*, the daughter of *Minos*, ſo much celebrated by the poets, had the name of *Gnoſſis*. The river *Ceratus* waſhed its

Cydonia, *or* Cydon.

walls; whence it is by ſome antient writers called by the ſame name. *Cydonia* ſtood, according to *Strabo* [m], *Pliny* [n], and *Diodorus Siculus* [o], on the coaſt oppoſite to the *Lacedæmonian* territories in *Peloponneſus*, and was the moſt powerful and wealthy city of all *Crete*, ſince, in the civil wars of that iſland, it withſtood the united forces of *Gnoſſus* and *Gortyna*, after they had reduced the greater part of the iſland. *Cydonia* was deemed the ſtrongeſt place in the whole iſland. It had been often beſieged, but never taken till the time of *Metellus*, to whom that glory was reſerved, *Cydonia* open- d ing its gates to him after the defeat of *Laſthenes* and *Panares* [p]. This city was the moſt antient in the whole iſland, moſt of the others having been built and peopled by *Cydonian* colonies; and on this account it was commonly called by the *Greeks* the *Mother of cities*. From *Cydonia* the quince-tree was firſt brought into *Italy*, and thence the fruit called by the *Latins*, *malum Cydonium*, or the *Cydonian* apple.

Gortyna.

Gortyna or *Gortyn*, an inland city, being, according to *Strabo* [q], near ninety furlongs diſtant from the *African* ſea. The origin of *Gortyna* is as obſcure as that of moſt of the antient cities, ſome telling us, that it was founded by *Gortyn* the ſon of *Radamanthus*, and others aſcribing that glory to *Taurus*, who carried of *Europa* [r]. Be that as it will, *Gortyna*, in proceſs of time, eclipſed all the other cities of *Crete*, e eſpecially after the iſland was reduced by the *Romans*, who made it their chief buſineſs to humble *Gnoſſus*, and raiſe, as it were, upon her ruins, her rival *Gortyna* [s]. We may judge of the antient ſplendor and greatneſs of this city from its ruins, which are ſtill to be ſeen about ſix miles from mount *Ida*, at the entrance of the plain of *Meſſaria*, which is properly the granary of the iſland. Among theſe ruins *Tournefort* [t] obſerved one of the gates, which is an arch finely turned, ſtill remaining, with part of the wall joining to it, which he takes to be the wall that *Ptolemy Philopater* is ſaid by *Strabo* [u] to have built. Not far from the gate are two pillars of granate eighteen foot long, and near them divers pedeſtals ranged two by two, on the ſame line, for ſupporting the columns of the frontiſpiece of ſome temple. Among f the many columns ſtill remaining, there are ſome of granate, fluted ſpirally, and wonderfully beautiful. Many of them have been carried away by the *Turks*. Our author obſerved at a village not far diſtant from theſe ruins, two columns of an extraordinary beauty, with a hurdle between them, ſerving as a gate to a garden. The inhabitants are unacquainted with the value of theſe remains of antiquity. Few ſtatues are to be met with, the *Venetians*, who were long maſters of the iſland,

[j] PLIN. l. 25. c. 8. [k] COMMENT. 3. in libr. HIPPOCR. de victus ratione in morbis acutis. [l] STRABO, ibid. [m] STRABO. l. 10. [n] PLIN. l. 4. c. 12. [o] DIODOR. SICUL. l. 5. [p] FLORUS. l. 3. c. 7. [q] Idem, ibid. [r] CEDRENUS Compend. Hiſt. STRABO. l. 10. [s] STRABO. ibid. [t] TOURNEFORT. Voyage au Levant, &c. [u] STRABO. ibid.

having

a having tranſported the beſt part of them to *Venice*. The ſtatue, which ſtands on the fountain of *Candia*, and is deemed a maſter-piece, was found among theſe ruins; but is at preſent without a head, the *Turks* having a ſuperſtitious abhorrence to the repreſentation of the heads of living creatures, except upon coins, of which no people are more fond. *Gortyna* was in ancient times famous for the temples of *Apollo*, *Diana* and *Jupiter Hecatombeus* ſo called, if we believe *Ptolemæus Hepheſtion* as quoted by *Phocius* [w], becauſe *Menelaus* there ſacrificed to *Jupiter* an hundred oxen, when news was brought him of *Helena*'s flight. At the further end of the ruins between the north and weſt, near a brook, without all doubt the river *Lethe*, which, as *Strabo* informs us, waſhed the walls of *Gortyna* [x], are to be ſeen ſome curious ruins with a piece of painting half effaced, but quite of the *Gothic* taſte. Theſe ruins are the remains of ſome ancient church, which the modern *Greeks* would make us believe to have been built by *Titus*, to whom St. *Paul* wrote one of his epiſtles, and who was the firſt biſhop of *Crete*. *Theophraſtus* [y], *Varro* [z] and *Pliny* [a] ſpeak of a plane-tree near *Gortyna* which never ſhed its old leaves till new ones ſprouted forth. This ſeemed ſo ſtrange to the ancient *Greeks*, that they feigned the firſt converſation between *Jupiter* and *Europa* to have happened under this ever-green plane-tree; and this fabulous adventure probably gave occaſion to the inhabitants of *Gortyna* to repreſent on a medal *Europa* ſitting melancholy and thoughtful on a plane-tree, and turning her back to an eagle hovering about her. On the reverſe is *Europa* ſitting on a bull encompaſs'd with a border of bay-leaves [b]. *Pliny* [c] tells us, that endeavours were uſed to multiply in the iſland this ſpecies of plane-tree, but to no effect, ſince they ſhed their leaves, when tranſplanted, in winter like the common plane-trees.

c

Lychus was in ancient times a city of no ſmall note, and originally a colony of the *Lacedæmonians*, as *Polybius* informs us [d]. It was an inland town, and is ſuppoſed to have ſtood where we now find *Paleo Caſtro*. Some place it near the preſent town of *Aguſtini*, and others pretend to diſcover ſome of its ruins near *Girapietra*. *Hierapytna*, called alſo *Cyrrha*, *Pytna* and *Camyros*, is ſuppoſed to be the ſame place that *Ptolemy* calls *Hiera Petra*, or the ſacred rock. *Strabo* tells us, that it ſtood on a hill, which he calls *Pytna*, and ſuppoſes to have been a part of mount *Ida*. The ruins of this city are ſtill to be ſeen on the coaſt over-againſt the rocks called by the ancients the *Iſles of Aſſes* [e]. *Hierapytna* was one of the ſtrongeſt places in the iſland, when *Metellus* undertook the conqueſt of *Crete*, but is at preſent only a village, known by the name of *Girapietra*. *Eleuthera*, called alſo *Saorus* and *Aorus*, was an inland city, and in the *Roman* times a place well peopled and of great ſtrength. *Rithymna*, *Heraclea*, *Præſos*, *Apteron* and *Arcadia* were in ancient times cities of no ſmall note. *Rithymna*, now *Retimo*, is ſtill a place well peopled, and had formerly a very convenient haven, which is now utterly neglected. *Heraclea* ſtood, according to *Pliny* [f], oppoſite to the iſland of *Via*, or, as others will have it, *Dia*. It was the ſea port of the *Gnoſſians*, and is ſuppoſed to have ſtood on the ſame ſpot where the town of *Candia*, which gave name to the whole iſland, was built in after ages. *Præſos* was the capital of the *Eteocrates*, mentioned by *Homer*, and famous for a temple conſecrated to *Jupiter Dictæus*. In the civil wars of the iſland it was razed by the inhabitants of *Hierapytna*. *Apteron* was in *Ptolemy*'s time a very conſiderable place, and ſtood on a ſteep rock, at the foot of which, between the town and the ſea, lay that famous field, where the *Syrens*, being overcome by the *Muſes* in a trial of skill in muſic, forfeited their wings. From this fable ſome writers tell us [g], that the city took its name, the word *Apteron* ſignifying *without wings*. *Euſebius* ſays it was ſo called from one *Apteras* king of *Crete*, whom he ſuppoſes to have been the founder of it [h]. There are ſome ruins of this ancient city ſtill to be ſeen, but nothing that deſerves particular notice. *Arcadia* is mentioned by *Ptolemy*, *Theophraſtus*, *Seneca*, *Pliny*, &c. they all tell us, that this town being once deſtroyed, all the ſprings in that neighbourhood dried up, and began again to run aſſoon as the city was rebuilt. Theſe were the moſt conſiderable cities of *Crete* in ancient times.

Lychus.

Hierapytna.

Eleuthera. Rithymna, Heraclea, &c.

d

e

f

THE chief mountains of *Crete* are, *Ida* ſo much ſpoke of by the poets, and by many degrees the higheſt of the whole iſland. From the top of this mountain both ſeas are clearly diſcern'd; in all other reſpects it is inferior to the other hills of the country, being for the greateſt part of the year covered with ſnow, and ſo barren,

Mountains.

w PHOT. in Bibliot. l. v. x STRAB. l. x. SOL. n. c. xi. y THEOPH. hiſt. plant. l. i. c. 15.
z VAR. de re ruſt. a PLIN. l. xii. c. 1. b ANTON. AUGUST. Dialog. 1. c PLIN. ibid.
d POLYB. l. iv. e STRAB. l. 10. f PLIN. l. iv. c. 12. g STEPH. Etym. magn. SUIDAS h EUSEB. Chron.

that it produces nothing except the *Tragacantha*, a ſhrub ſo prickly, that the *Greeks* gave it the name of *Goats Thorn*. *Theophraſtus*[l] and *Pliny*[k] ſpeak of a ſort of vine growing here naturally; but our modern travellers have not been able to diſcover any ſuch thing. *Theophraſtus* advances many things upon the report of others, and *Pliny* frequently copies, or rather tranſlates, what he finds in *Theophraſtus*, without troubling himſelf with any further enquiries. It was called *Ida* from the fine proſpect it affords, the word *Idein* ſignifying in the *Greek* tongue to ſee[l]. Nay, *Suidas* tells us, that all places, whence a great extent of country could be ſeen, were called *Idæ*. *Jupiter* is ſaid to have been ſecretly nurſed here, and thence called *Idæus*. Some of the ancients tell us, that the foreſts on this mountain being burnt by lightning, about ſeventy-three years after the deluge of *Deucalion*, the art of melting iron was firſt diſcovered on that occaſion by the *Dactyli*[m]. *Ida* is now known by the name of *Pſiloriti*. *Dicte*, now called *Sethia*, and alſo *Laſthi*, is next in heighth to mount *Ida*, and covered great part of the year with ſnow, whence it is called by *Strabo*, *Pliny* and *Ptolemy*, the white mountain. However cypreſs trees, as the ſame writers aſſure us, grew there anciently amidſt the ſnow, and throve as well as in the vallies. This mountain was called *Dicte* from *Dictynna*, a nymph of *Crete*, who is ſuppoſed to have firſt found out hunting-nets, and to have had the name of *Dictynna* from thence, having been called before *Britomartis*. *Leuci*, a long chain of mountains, ſo called from their whiteneſs, being like the others covered great part of the year with ſnow. They are now known by the names of *Madura* and *Spacia*.

Rivers. RIVERS of note in this iſland are but very few; the *Nilopotamus*, the *Scaſinus*, and the *Epicidnus* are ſpoke of by the ancients, but none of them are at preſent navigable. This defect is ſufficiently ſupplied by a great many creeks and bays, and ſome capacious and ſafe harbours. Near mount *Ida* the preſent inhabitants pretend to ſhew ſome remains of the ancient labyrinth made by *Dædalus*; but *Bellonius* takes *The labyrinth.* this labyrinth to be nothing but an ancient quarry, out of which were dug the ſtones that ſerved to build the towns of *Gortyna* and *Gnoſſus*. And indeed *Pliny* tells us, that in his time no footſteps of the ancient labyrinth were to be ſeen in the iſland.

Inhabitants. THE firſt inhabitants of *Crete*, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, were the *Idæi Dactyli*, who inhabited mount *Ida*: they were, as ſome authors write, a hundred in number; according to others only ten, being called *Dactyli*, as they ſuppoſe, from the ten *Idæi Dactyli.* fingers, to which they were equal in number. The *Idæi Dactyli* were, if we believe *Ephorus* as quoted by *Diodorus*, originally from mount *Ida* in *Phrygia*, and paſſed from thence over into *Europe* with King *Minos*. They ſettled firſt in *Samothrace*, where they taught the inhabitants ſacred and religious rites, inſtituted ſacrifices, and introduced a ſet form of religious worſhip. *Orpheus*, who was naturally inclined to muſic and poetry, is thought to have been their diſciple, and the firſt who carried ſacred rites and ceremonies over into *Greece*. The *Dactyli* are likewiſe ſaid to have firſt found out the uſe of fire, and to have diſcovered the nature of iron and braſs to the inhabitants of the country adjoining to mount *Berecynthus*, and to have taught them the way of working them. For this and many other uſeful diſcoveries they were after their death worſhipped as gods. One of them, they ſay, was called *Hercules*, who inſtituted the *Olympic* games, which were by poſterity thought to have been appointed by *Hercules* the ſon of *Alcmena*.

Curetes. NEXT to the *Idæi Dactyli* were the nine *Curetes*, ſome of them ſuppoſed to have ſprung from the earth, and others to be deſcended from the *Idæi Dactyli*: Theſe dwelt on the monntains, under the ſhade of thick trees, and in caves and other places, which naturally afforded them a ſhelter and covering, the building of houſes not being then found out. They were very ingenious, and invented many things that proved very uſeful to mankind: they firſt taught how to manage flocks, to gather honey, to tame horſes, to hunt, to caſt darts, *&c.* They brought men into ſocieties and communities, and ſhewed them by their example the happineſs of a peacable and orderly life. They are likewiſe ſaid to have invented ſwords and helmets, and dancing in armour, and by the noiſe they made to have prevented *Saturn* from hearing the cries of *Jupiter* when he was an infant, and by that means to have ſaved him from being deſtroyed by his father.

The Titans. THE *Titans* were contemporary with the *Curetes*, and dwelt in the country where the city of *Gnoſſus* was built many ages after. The *Titans* were in number ſix men

[l] THEOPH. hiſt. Plant. l. iii. c. 17. [k] PLIN. l. xiv. c. 3. [l] HELLAD. apud Phot. in Bibliioth.
[m] HELLAD. ibid.

and

a and five women, the offspring, as ſome ſay, of *Uranus* and *Terra*; according to others, of one of the *Curetes* and *Titæa*, being called *Titans* after the name of their mother. The ſons were *Cronus* or *Saturn*, *Hyperion*, *Cæus*, *Iapetus*, *Crius* and *Oceanus*; the daughters *Rhea*, *Themis*, *Mnemoſyne*, *Phœbe* and *Thetis*. Each of theſe invented ſomething of great uſe to mankind, and were on that account placed among the gods. *Saturn* the eldeſt obtained the kingdom of *Crete*, and brought his ſubjects from a wild and barbarous to a more polite courſe of life, perſuading them to live according to the ſtricteſt rules of honeſty, which gave occaſion to the many fables of the poets concerning the golden age. *Hyperion* was the firſt who found out the motions of the ſun and moon and other ſtars, meaſuring by them the ſeaſons of
b the year; and hence he was called the father of the planets. *Latona* was the daughter of *Cæus* and *Phœbe*; and *Prometheus*, ſo famous among the poets, the ſon of *Iapetus*: he is ſaid to have found out the way of ſtriking fire out of flint, which gave occaſion to the poets to feign that he ſtole fire from the gods, and beſtowed it upon men. *Mnemoſyne* invented many things conducing to the help of man's memory, whence ſhe had her name, *Mnemoſyne* ſignifying in *Greek* memory. *Themis* taught the art of divination, inſtructed men in holy rites, and preſcribed laws for the worſhip of the gods, and for the preſervation of peace and good government amongſt men. *Veſta*, *Ceres*, *Juno*, *Jupiter*, *Neptune* and *Pluto* are ſuppoſed to have been the children of *Saturn* and *Rhea*. *Veſta* invented the building of houſes, *Ceres* the uſe of corn, *Nep-*
c *tune* the art of navigation, and *Pluto* funeral ſolemnities. Hence the latter was ſtiled king of the infernal ſhades, and the former prince of the ſea [n].

THE *Curetes*, mentioned here by *Diodorus*, were according to *Herodotus* [o] and *Strabo* [p] originally *Phœnicians*, and accompanied *Cadmus* out of *Phœnicia*, ſome of them ſettling in *Phrygia*, where they were called *Corybantes*, ſome in *Crete*, where they were known by the name of *Idæi Dactyli*, ſome in *Rhodes*, where they bore the name of *Telchines*, &c. *Clemens Alexandrinus* calls the *Idæi Dactyli* barbarians, that is ſtrangers, and tells us, that they were the firſt who brought letters into *Greece*, *Phrygia* and *Crete*; and adds, that by their aſſiſtance king *Minos* built a fleet, and gained the ſovereignty of the ſea [q]. According to theſe authors the *Curetes* and *Idæi*
d *Dactyli* were one and the ſame people, and did not ſettle in *Crete* till the time of *Minos*. *Bochart* brings the *Curetes* from *Paleſtine*, induced thereunto by the likeneſs there is between their name and that of the *Crethim* or *Cerethites*, a people among the *Philiſtines* [r]. The *Philiſtines* indeed conquered *Sidon*, and it is not unlikely that ſome of them, mixed with the *Phœnicians*, attended *Cadmus* into *Crete* and *Greece*. But long before they ſettled in *Crete*, a colony of *Pelaſgians* had peopled the eaſtern coaſt of the iſland. After the *Pelaſgians* *Teutamus*, the grandfather of *Minos*, carried thither a colony of *Dorians* from *Laconia* and the territory of *Olympia* in *Peloponneſus*. Theſe ſeveral colonies ſpoke different languages, and lived quietly in caves and huts on the ſpontaneous product of the earth, till the invention of tools in the reign of
e *Aſterius* the ſon of *Teutamus*. They were at laſt reduced into one kingdom, and became one people in the reign of *Minos*, who was their firſt lawgiver, built many towns, and introduced plowing and ſowing. According to this account, which is vouched by *Strabo*, *Lucian*, and *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus*, the two firſt kings of *Crete*, who reigned after the coming of the *Curetes*, were *Aſterius* and *Minos*: *Europa* was wife to *Aſterius*, and mother of *Minos*, and the *Idæi Dactyli* came with her and her brother *Alymnus* into *Crete*, where they dwelt in the *Idæan* cave, and there educated *Jupiter*; ſo that *Aſterius*, *Europa* and *Minos* muſt be the *Saturn*, *Rhea* and *Jupiter* of the *Cretans*. *Minos* is uſually called the ſon of *Jupiter*; but the *Phœnicians*, as Sir *Iſaac Newton* obſerves [s], upon their firſt coming into *Greece* gave the name of
f *Jaopater* or *Jupiter* to all kings; and thus both *Minos* and his father *Aſterius* were *Jupiters*, that is, kings. *Minos*, according to *Echemenes*, as quoted by *Athenæus* [t], was the *Jupiter* who became ſo famous among the *Greeks* for juſtice and equity, being the greateſt king of *Greece* in thoſe days, and the only legiſlator. *Plutarch* tells us [u], that the inhabitants of *Naxus* pretended that there were two *Minos*'s and two *Ariadne*'s, and that the firſt *Ariadne* married *Bacchus*, and the laſt was carried away by *Theſeus*. But *Homer*, *Heſiod*, *Thucydides*, *Herodotus* and *Strabo* knew but of one *Minos*, whom *Homer* calls the ſon of *Jupiter* and *Europa*, the brother of *Rhadaman-*

Pelaſgians *and* Dorians.

Aſterius, Jupiter, Minos, Europa, Rhadamanthus, *&c.*

[n] DIODOR. SICUL. l. v. [o] HERODOT. l. v. c. 58. [p] STRAB. l. 10. p. 464. [q] CLEM. ALEX. Stromat. l. i. [r] BOCH. in Canaan. l. i. c. 15. [s] Chron. p. 150. [t] ATHEN. l. 13. p. 601. [u] PLUT in Theſeo.

thus

thus and *Sarpedon*, the father of *Deucalion* the *Argonaut*, and grandfather of *Idomeneus*, who went to the ſiege of *Troy*. *Herodotus* [w] makes *Minos* and *Rhadamanthus* the ſons of *Europa*, and contemporary with *Ægeus*. *Apolledorus* [x] and *Hyginus* [y] tell us, that *Minos*, the father of *Androgeus*, *Ariadne* and *Phædra*, was the ſon of *Jupiter* and *Europa*, and brother to *Rhadamanthus* and *Sarpedon*. a

In the reign of *Minos*, *Rhadamanthus* the king's brother carried ſeveral colonies into the neighbouring iſlands, which he beſtowed upon the commanders of his army: The iſland of *Lemnos* he gave to one *Thoas* or *Theias*, who, as he was a diſciple of the *Idæi Dactyli*, and conſequently a worker in metals, is ſuppoſed by *Apollodorus*, *Suidas* and *Apollonius Rhodius* to be the *Vulcan* of the *Greeks*. The iſlands of *Carpathus*, *Syme*, and moſt of the *Cyclades* were peopled by colonies from *Crete*, *Rhadamanthus* having rewarded the ſervices of his officers, as *Diodorus* informs us [z], by veſting them with the ſovereignty of the neighbouring iſlands, which gave riſe to innumerable petty kingdoms. The *Cretans* did not only people the neighbouring iſlands, but ſent colonies into *Greece*, *Italy*, *Sicily*, *Troas*, &c. The cities of *Delphos* in *Phocis*, *Miletus* in *Ionia*, and many in *Iapygia* having been founded by them. The *Trojans*, if we believe the moſt ancient writers, were originally *Cretans*; as were alſo the *Meſſapii* in *Italy*, and the inhabitants of ſome of the iſlands of *Arabia*, &c. b

Government. As to the government of the *Cretans*, it is agreed on all hands that it was at firſt monarchical; but there is a great diſagreement among authors about the beginning of the *Cretan* kingdom. *Diodorus Siculus* ſuppoſes *Tectamus* to have been the firſt who reigned in that iſland. But *Euſebius* ſpeaks of one *Cretes*, who gave his name to the iſland, and reigned, according to him, four hundred years before *Tectamus*. From *Cretes* to *Cydon* he reckons three hundred years, from *Cydon* to *Apteras* ſixty-three, and from *Apteras* to *Lapithas* forty. This opinion, which is alſo followed by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and moſt of the ancient chronologers, is agreeable to what we read in *Pauſanias*, who mentions ſeveral kings reigning before *Tectamus*, and among the reſt *Cretes*, *Vulcan* and *Rhadamanthus*. *Lactantius* and *Beroſus* add to theſe *Milinus* and *Meliſſeus*, whom they ſuppoſe to have reigned before the arrival of the *Pelaſgians* or *Dorians*. Before we give an account of the reigns of theſe kings, we ſhall ſubjoin a liſt of them as we find it tranſmitted to us by *Euſebius*, *Lactantius* and *Beroſus*. c d

Kings *of* Crete.

1. *Cres* or *Cretes*.
2. *Talus*.
3. *Vulcanus*.
4. *Rhadamanthus*.
5. *Milinus*.
6. *Meliſſeus*.
7. *Cydon*.
8. *Apteras*.
9. *Lapithas*.
10. *Aſterius*.
11. *Minos*.
12. *Lycaſtus*.
13. *Minos* II.
14. *Deucalion*.
15. *Creteus*.
16. *Idomeneus*.
17. *Meriones*.
18. *Etearchus*. (K). e

It

[w] Herod. l. i. [x] Apoll. l. iii. c. 1. [y] Hygin. Fab. 40, 41, 42, 178. [z] Diod. Sic. l. v. p. 224.

(K) As we have followed chiefly *Euſebius* and *Lactantius* in this ſeries, we ſhall inſert here a ſuccinct account of the *Cretan* kings, according to the order we find them placed in by other writers. The firſt who reigned in *Crete*, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, was *Jupiter*, the firſt of that name. He married one *Idea*, who imparted her name to the whole iſland, and had by her a ſon named *Cres*, who was one of the *Curetes*, and ſucceeded his father in the kingdom (89). The *Curetes* were, according to *Euripides* (90), all ſons of this *Jupiter*, whence they are ſtiled by him *Diogenitores*, or the children of *Jupiter*. *Cres* who reigned after his father *Jupiter*, was according to *Euſebius* contemporary with *Abraham* and his ſon *Iſaac* (91). From him, if we believe *Iſidorus* (92), the iſland was called *Crete*. *Cres* was ſucceeded by *Ammon*, who had married his daughter *Crete*. *Ammon* firſt reigned in *Lybia*, where he married *Rhea*, the daughter of *Cœlus*, and ſiſter of *Saturn*. *Rhea* falling out with her huſband, abandoned him, and married her brother *Saturn*, who, with the other *Titans* his brothers, made war upon *Ammon*, but were by him overthrown in battle. Afterwards *Ammon* leaving *Lybia*, where he was greatly ſtraitened for want of corn, paſſed over into *Crete*, and there married the daughter of *Cres*, and in right of his wife, after the death of his father-in-law, took poſſeſſion of the iſland, changing the name of *Idea* into that of *Crete*, which was the name of his wife. The *Titans* purſued him into *Crete*, and there, tho' formerly conquered, renewed the war. But in the mean time *Bacchus*, returning victorious from *India*,

(89) *Diodor. Sicul. l. i. c.* 19. (90) *Euripid. in fabul. Bacch.* (91) *Euſeb. in Chron.* (92) *Iſidor. Origin. l.* xviii. *c.* 6.

6

a It were in vain to expect an exact chronology of this kingdom, conſidering the uncertainty of its beginning; and of theſe kings there is ſcarce any thing upon record worth mentioning.

Reigns of the Cretan kings.

Cres was, according to *Euſebius* [a], the firſt who reigned in *Crete*. He is alſo mentioned by *Clemens* [b], *Cedrenus* [c] and *Euſtathius* [d]. The latter ſuppoſes him to be the ſon of *Jupiter*; wherein he is contradicted by all the ancient as well as modern writers. *Talus* and *Vulcan* are only mentioned by *Pauſanias* as reigning in *Crete*. This cannot be the *Vulcan* whom other writers ſuppoſe to have reigned in *Sicily*, or the iſland of *Lemnos*, and whoſe skill in diſcovering mines and preparing metals gave riſe to the fables of the poets. *Rhadamanthus*, mentioned by *Strabo* [e] as the firſt legiſlator of the *Cretans*, is ſuppoſed by *Apollodorus* to have ſucceeded *Vulcan*, and to have been famous for his juſtice. *Ariſtotle* likewiſe ſpeaks of him as the firſt who made laws for the *Cretans* [f]. *Milinus*, according to *Beroſus*, reigned in *Crete*, and obtained the ſovereignty of the ſea, but was at laſt killed by the *Lybian Hercules*. *Meliſſeus*, if we believe *Lactantius*, was the firſt who introduced into the iſland of *Crete* the worſhip of the gods and religious ceremonies. The ſame author adds, that his daughters *Amalthea* and *Meliſſa* nouriſhed *Jupiter*, when he was an infant, with goats milk, which gave riſe to the poetical fables on this ſubject. His daughter *Meliſſa* he appointed prieſteſs of *Cybele* the great mother of the gods; and as ſhe was the firſt who was employed in this miniſtry, all the prieſteſſes of that goddeſs were afterwards called *Meliſſæ*. This *Jupiter*, as *Lactantius* obſerves, was different from the famous *Jupiter* of the *Greeks* and *Latins*, tho' moſt authors confound them. *Cydon* ſucceeded his father *Meliſſeus*, and reigned, as we read in the chronology of *Euſebius* [g], about the time of *Cecrops* I. king of *Athens*. *Apteras* ſucceeded *Cydon*, and is ſaid by

Cres.

Talus, Vulcan.

b Rhadamanthus.

Milinus.

Meliſſeus.

c Cydon.

Apteras.

[a] Euseb. Chron. [b] Clem. Stromat. l. i. [c] Cedrenus p. 63. [d] Eustath. in Dionyſ. [e] Strab. l. x. [f] Aristot. l. v. Eth. [g] Euseb. Chron.

India, joined *Ammon*, and with the aſſiſtance of ſome *Egyptian* forces utterly defeated and entirely aboliſhed the race of the *Titans* (93). *Meliſſeus*, according to *Hyginus*, ſucceeded *Ammon*. *Jupiter*, ſurnamed the *great*, was born in his reign, and brought up by his two daughters *Amalthea* and *Meliſſe*, who nouriſhed him with goats milk and honey. Upon the death of *Ammon* and *Bacchus*, *Jupiter* made himſelf maſter of the iſland of *Crete*, and by degrees extended his dominions to the confines of the world. *Cydon* reigned many years after; the names of the intermediate kings, who, according to *Diodorus*, were many, have not reached us. *Cydon*, as *Athenæus* informs us, had a daughter, by name *Eulimine*, famous for her beauty, and courted by all the chief men of the iſland; but her father was commanded by the oracle to ſacrifice her to the manes of the deceaſed heroes of the iſland, which he did accordingly. *Pauſanias* (94) and *Stephanus* make mention of another king bearing this name, who was the ſon of *Mercury* and *Acacallis*, and reigned many years after. *Cydon* was ſucceeded by *Apterus* or *Apteras*, to whom *Eulimene* had been betrothed. *Euſebius* ſays, that he began his reign in the eighth year of *Moſes*, and ſixty years after *Cydon* had begun his. *Lapes* called by *Euſebius Lapithas*, began to reign, according to that writer, about the ninth year of *Joſhua*. He was ſucceeded, as *Diodorus* tells us, by *Teutamus*, the ſon of *Dorus*, who arriving in *Crete* with a colony of *Æolians* and *Pelaſgians* ſettled there, and was for his eminent qualities raiſed to the throne (95). *Aſterius*, the ſon of *Lapes*, came to the throne, vacant by the death of his father. He married *Europa* the daughter of *Agenor*, whom *Jupiter* had carried over from *Sarepta*, a city of *Phœnice*, into *Crete*. *Aſterius*, having no children by her, adopted the three ſons of *Jupiter*, viz. *Minos*, *Rhadamanthus* and *Sarpedon*. *Minos* ſucceeded him in the kingdom, and had by his wife *Iphone*, the daughter of *Lyctius*, a ſon called *Lycaſtes*, who, upon the death of his father, was raiſed to the throne. *Lycaſte* built the city of *Lycaſtos*, and dying, left the kingdom to *Minos*, the ſecond of that name, whom he had by *Ida*, the daughter of *Corybas*. *Minos*, being aſſumed to the throne, equipped a mighty fleet, and made himſelf maſter of the *Cyclades*, which he beſtowed upon his brothers, after having driven out the *Carians*, who then held moſt of thoſe iſlands. This is the *Minos*, according to *Diodorus* and *Thucydides*, who made war upon the *Athenians*, for having put to death his ſon *Androgeus* (96). *Minos* had by his wife *Paſiphae* four ſons, *Deucalion*, *Catreus*, *Androgeus* and *Glaucus*. *Deucalion* ſucceeded his father, and was ſucceeded by his brother *Catreus*, whom *Euſebius* names *Creteus*. *Deucalion* lived ſome time in *Attica*, and is ſuppoſed to have died there; for *Pauſanias* (97) tells us, that his tomb was ſtill to be ſeen in his time at *Athens*, near the temple of *Jupiter Olympius*. *Catreus* was killed thro' miſtake by his own ſon *Althemenes*, who thereupon laying violent hands on himſelf, left the kingdom to *Idomeneus* the ſon of *Deucalion*, and *Moriones* the ſon of *Molus*. *Molus* was, according to *Apollodorus* the ſon of *Deucalion*, according to *Diodorus*, the ſon of *Minos*, and brother of *Deucalion*. *Idomeneus* and *Meriones* aſſiſted the *Greeks* in the *Trojan* war with a ſquadron of fourſcore ſhips. The former is mentioned by *Homer*, and commended as very expert at the bow (98). They were both after their death worſhipped by the *Cretans* as heroes or demigods. *Virgil* ſays (99), that *Idomeneus* was driven out of his kingdom after his return from *Troy*, but does not tell us by whom or on what account. Such is the ſucceſſion of the *Cretan* kings according to *Apollodorus* and *Diodorus Siculus*; but the accounts, which they give us of theſe princes, are ſo interwoven with fables, that it is almoſt beneath the dignity of hiſtory to take notice of them.

(93) *Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra.* (94) *Pauſan. in Attic.* (95) *Diodor. Sicul. l.* iv. (96) *Diodor. Sicul. ibid. Thucyd. l.* i. (97) *Pauſan. in Attic.* (98) *Homer. Odyſſ. l.* iii. (99) *Virgil. Æneid. l.* iii. *v.* 122.

Lapithas. the ſame *Euſebius* to have built a town. *Lapithas*, according to ſome writers ſurnamed *Taurus* and *Jupiter*, carried away *Europa*, the daughter of *Agenor* king of *Sidon*, which gave riſe to the fable of *Jupiter*'s transforming himſelf into a bull [h]. *Euſtathius* and *Cedrenus* [i] tell us, that *Lapithas* built the city of *Gortyna*, that he took the city of *Tyre*, and after having performed great feats both at home and abroad died in *Crete*, where his monument was to be ſeen even in the time of *Euſebius*. *Solinus* [k] *Theophilus Antiochenus* [l] and St. *Jerom* [m] ſpeak of *Jupiter*'s ſepulchre in *Crete*, which was in all likelihood the ſepulchre of *Lapithas* ſurnamed *Jupiter* and *Taurus*, as we have obſerved above. *Aſterius*, according to *Apollodorus* [n] and *Euſebius* [o], was brother to *Lapithas*, ſucceeded him in the kingdom, and married his widow *Europa*. *Aſterius* is alſo mentioned by *Manetho*, who makes him contemporary with *Pandion* king of *Athens*. *Lapithas* had by *Europa* three ſons, *Minos*, *Rhadamanthus* and *Sarpedon*. As *Aſterius* died without iſſue male, the three ſons of *Lapithas* raiſed great diſturbances in the kingdom, each of them aſpiring to the crown, and forming parties againſt one another. At laſt *Minos* prevailed, and baniſhed his brothers. *Rhadamanthus* fled firſt into *Lycia*, and thence into *Bœotia*, where he married *Alcmena* the mother of *Hercules*, and ſettled at *Haliartus* [p]. *Strabo* and *Pauſanias* diſtinguiſh two *Rhadamanthus*'s, and likewiſe two *Minos*'s. The famous *Rhadamanthus*, who was, according to the poets, judge of the infernal regions, was brother to *Minos* II. But the accounts which the ancients give us of theſe princes are ſo perplexed and interwoven with fables, that it is impoſſible to come at the truth. *Sarpedon* being defeated by his brother *Minos*, and driven out of the iſland with all thoſe who ſided with him, ſettled in *Mylias*; for that was the ancient name of the country, which was afterwards called *Lycia*. He was there raiſed to the throne, and kindly entertained *Lycus* the ſon of *Pandion*, when he was obliged by his brother *Ægeus* to quit *Athens*. From *Lycus* the inhabitants of the country, called before his arrival *Solymi*, had the name of *Lycians* [q]. *Minos* had one ſon, by name *Evander*, who ſucceeded him in the kingdom, and married *Deidamia* the daughter of *Bellerophon*, by whom ſhe had a ſon named *Sarpedon*. *Evander* was ſucceeded by his ſon, who went to aſſiſt the *Trojans*, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf in that war, but was killed at laſt by *Patroclus*. Moſt authors confound this *Sarpedon* king of *Crete* with the king of *Lycia* bearing the ſame name [r]. *Sarpedon* was ſucceeded by *Lycaſtes*, the natural ſon of *Minos* by *Itone*. *Lycaſtes* had by his wife *Ida Minos* II. the greateſt king who had reigned in *Crete*, and much ſpoke of by the ancients, eſpecially the poets. *Diodorus*, as we have hinted above, differs in his account of the *Cretan* kings from *Pauſanias*, *Pliny*, *Euſebius*, *Clemens Alexandrinus* and moſt of the ancient as well as modern hiſtorians and chronologers. According to him, *Tectamus*, the ſon of *Dorus*, and grandſon of *Deucalion*, arriving in *Crete* with the *Æolians* and *Pelaſgians*, reigned there as king, and marrying the daughter of *Cretheus*, had by her *Aſterius*, in whoſe reign *Jupiter* carried away *Europa*, and had by her three ſons, *Minos*, *Rhadamanthus* and *Sarpedon*. *Aſterius* afterwards married *Europa*, but having no children by her, adopted the ſons of *Jupiter*, and left the kingdom to them. *Rhadamanthus* gave laws to the *Cretans*, and *Minos* took upon him the government of the kingdom, married *Itone* the daughter of *Lyctius*. and had by her *Lycaſtes*, who coming to the crown, married *Ida* the daughter of *Corybantus*, by whom he had a ſon called alſo *Minos*. This *Minos* was the firſt of the *Grecians* who equipped a fleet, and gained the dominion of the ſea. He married *Paſiphae* the daughter of *Sol* and *Cretes*, and had by her *Deucalion*, *Aſtræa*, *Androgeus*, *Ariadne*, and ſeveral other children. *Androgeus*, in the reign of *Ægeus* king of *Athens*, went to that city to ſee the *Panathenean* ſolemnities, and on that occaſion contracted ſuch an intimacy with *Pallas* the king's brother and his fifty ſons, as raiſed no ſmall jealouſy in *Ægeus*, who began to fear leſt *Pallas*, with the aſſiſtance of the *Cretan* king, ſhould deprive him of the crown, and place it on his own head. He therefore cauſed *Androgeus* to be privately murdered, which *Minos* no ſooner heard, than he proclaimed war againſt the *Athenians*. But finding all the attempts to revenge the death of his ſon prove unſucceſsful, he had recourſe to the gods, committing the revenge of ſuch an unjuſt and treacherous murder to them. Hereupon the *Athenians* were grievouſly afflicted with a peſtilence, famine and ſeveral other plagues, and told by the oracle of *Delphos*, that they muſt not expect any relief

Aſterius.

Minos.

Evander.

Sarpedon.

Minos.

[h] EUSTATH. in Dionyſ. CEDRENUS p. 17. [i] Idem ibid. [k] SOLINUS c. xvi. [l] THEOPH. ANTIOCH. l. ii. [m] HIERONYM. l. ii. contra Jovian. [n] APOLLODOR. l. ii. [o] Idem ibid. [p] APOLLOD. l. iii. [q] HERODOT. l. i. [r] Vide NATAL. COM.

till

a till they were reconciled to *Minos*. The *Cretan* king, reſolved to make them pay dear for their deliverance, impoſed upon them a yearly tribute of ſeven boys and as many girls, whom he condemned to be devoured by the *Minotaur*, during the ſpace of ſeven, or, according to others, of nine years. *Minos* had already, for three years ſucceſſively, exacted this bloody tribute, when *Theſeus*, after having performed many glorious exploits, willingly offered himſelf to be one of the unhappy victims; and accordingly ſailing with the reſt to *Crete*, there killed the *Minotaur*, and delivered his country from the bloody *Cretan* tribute, as we have related at length elſewhere [s]. The *Minotaur* is feigned by the poets to have been half man half bul', and begot by *The Minotaur.* a bull upon *Paſiphae* the wife of *Minos*, by the contrivance of *Dædalus*. But *Servius* [t]
b tells us, that *Paſiphae* falling in love with one *Taurus*, ſecretary to *Minos*, and privately carrying on with him a criminal converſation in the houſe of *Dædalus*, was brought to bed of two twin brothers, one of which reſembled *Minos*, and the other *Taurus*, and that this gave birth to the fable of the *Minotaur*. But of this fabulous monſter, ſo famous among the poets and ſome credulous hiſtorians, we have ſpoke already, in the hiſtory of the antient kingdom of *Athens*, to which we refer the reader [u]. *Minos*, highly incenſed againſt *Dædalus*, for being aſſiſtant to his queen *Paſiphae* in her unlawful amours, and hearing that he was fled into *Sicily*, and there entertained by *Cocalus* king of the *Siculi*, proclaimed war againſt that iſland, rigged out a mighty fleet, and ſetting ſail, arrived on the coaſts of *Agrigentum*. The place
c where he landed his men, was from him called *Minoa*, which name it retained to the time of *Diodorus* the hiſtorian [w]. *Minos*, on his arrival, ſent meſſengers to *Cocalus*, entreating him to deliver up *Dædalus* to juſtice, rather than to draw a war upon himſelf and his country. Hereupon *Minos* and *Cocalus* came to an interview, wherein *Cocalus* having promiſed to do all *Minos* required of him, the latter truſting to the fair promiſes of that treacherous prince, was prevailed upon to go to his houſe without guards, where he was privately ſtifled in a bath. *Cocalus* delivered the body of the king to the *Cretans*, who had attended him in that expedition, giving out, that his death had been occaſioned by his ſlipping accidentally into the hot and ſcalding baths. His ſoldiers buried him with great pomp, and erected a magnificent
d monument to his memory, building near it a temple in honour of *Venus*, which was much reſorted to for many ages. In after-times, when *Agrigentum* was built, the bones of *Minos* were diſcovered, and ſent by *Thero* into *Crete*. The *Cretans*, who had followed *Minos* into *Sicily*, upon his death, ſettled in that iſland, and built the city of *Minoa*, ſo called from *Minos*. In proceſs of time they poſſeſſed themſelves of ſome places in the heart of the country, and built the city of *Engium*. From *Engium* they made frequent inroads into the neighbouring countries, and being reinforced with a new colony of *Cretans*, who were driven upon the coaſts of *Sicily*, as they were returning home under the conduct of *Merion*, after the deſtruction of *Troy*, they ſubdued many of the bordering ſtates, and formed themſelves into a republic,
e which was the moſt conſiderable in that part of the iſland [x].

Some writers, as we have obſerved above, acknowledged but one *Minos*; but others maintain, that there were two, and add, that they were both no leſs famous for the wiſe laws they publiſhed, than for the conqueſts they made. Be that as it will, the *Minos* we are here ſpeaking of, was the father of *Deucalion* the *Argonaut*, the grandfather of *Idomeneus*, and contemporary with *Ægeus* king of *Athens*; and this *Minos* was, according to *Plato* [y], and *Ariſtotle* [z], the author of the laws which are ſo highly commended by them, and which it will not be improper to give ſome account of in this place. The main ſcope which *Minos* aimed at in the forming of *The laws of* his laws, was, as *Strabo* informs us [a], to procure happineſs for his ſubjects, by ren- *Minos.*
f dering them virtuous. To attain this end, he firſt baniſhed idleneſs and luxury, the ſources, as he calls them, of all vice, from his dominions. He found means to keep all his ſubjects employed either at home or abroad, not ſuffering any, however diſtinguiſhed above the reſt, to lead an idle and indolent life; but obliging them either to ſerve in the army, or apply themſelves to agriculture, which he brought into great reputation. In order to eſtabliſh a kind of equality among his ſubjects, he decreed, that, in each city, the children ſhould be brought up together, and early taught the ſame maxims, exerciſes and arts. They were accuſtomed from their tender years to bear hunger and thirſt, to ſuffer heat and cold, to walk over

[s] Vol. II. p. 365. [t] Servius in l. 6. Æneid. [u] Vol. II. p. 364. n. I. [w] Diodor. Sicul. l. 4.
[x] Idem ibid. [y] Plato c. leg. l. 1. [z] Aristot. de Rep. l. 2. [a] Strabo l. 10. p. 480.

ſteep

ſteep and rugged places, to skirmiſh with each other in ſmall parties, and to exerciſe themſelves in a kind of dance with their armour, which was afterwards called the *Pyrrick* [b]. As *Crete* was a mountainous and uneven country, the youth were not taught here, as elſewhere, to ride or wear heavy armour, but to uſe their bow dexterouſly; and in this they far excelled all other nations in the world. One of *Minos*'s inſtitutions, which *Ariſtotle* greatly admires, was, that all his ſubjects ſhould uſe the ſame diet, and frequently take their repaſts together, without any diſtinction between the poor and the rich. This, as *Ariſtotle* obſerves [c], introduced a kind of equality among all ranks of people, accuſtomed them to a frugal and ſober life, and cemented friendſhip and unity between them, by the uſual gaity and mirth of the table. The public defrayed the charges of theſe meals, one part of the revenues of the ſtate being applied to the uſes of religion, and the ſalaries of the magiſtrates, and the reſt allotted for the public meals. After their repaſt, the old men diſcourſed of the actions and virtues of their anceſtors, and of ſuch as had diſtinguiſhed themſelves, either by their valor in war, or their wiſdom in peace; and the youth who were preſent at theſe entertainments, were exhorted to propoſe theſe great perſons to themſelves, as their models for the forming of their manners, and the regulation of their conduct. Another of *Minos*'s inſtitutions, which *Plato* admires the moſt [d], was to inſpire early into the youth a high reſpect for the maxims, cuſtoms and laws of their own country, not ſuffering them to diſpute or call in queſtion the wiſdom of their conſtitution, but commanding them to look upon their laws as dictated by the gods themſelves. He had the ſame regard to the magiſtrates and aged perſons, whom he enjoined every one to honour in a peculiar manner; and that nothing might leſſen the reſpect due to their age, he ordained, that if any defects were obſerved in them, they ſhould never be mentioned in the preſence of the youth. A cuſtom eſtabliſhed by *Minos* in *Crete*, and, in after-ages, adopted by the *Romans*, gives us reaſon to believe, that even the ſlaves were better treated in *Crete* than any where elſe; for in the feaſts of *Mercury*, the maſters waited on their ſlaves at table, and performed about them the ſame offices, which they received from them the reſt of the year. This was to put men in mind of the primitive world, in which all men were equal, and to ſignify to the maſters, that their ſervants were of the ſame condition with themſelves [e]. The laws of *Minos* were antiently in ſo great repute, that *Lycurgus* paſſed a conſiderable time in *Crete*, employing himſelf in the ſtudy of the *Cretan* conſtitution, and forming his laws upon the model of thoſe that then obtained in that iſland. *Plato* tells us, that *Crete*, under the government of ſo wiſe a prince, became the abode of virtue, probity and juſtice, and that the laws which he eſtabliſhed, were ſo well founded in juſtice and equity, that they ſubſiſted in their full vigor even in his time, that is, above nine hundred years after they had been firſt publiſhed. It is true, the *Cretans* degenerated by degrees from their antient probity, and, at length, by an entire change of manners, became the moſt vicious nation that was known either to the *Greeks* or *Latins*. *Polybius* writes [f], that the *Cretans*, in his time, were avaricious and ſelf-intereſted to ſuch a degree, as to think no lucre ſordid. *Suidas* and *Callimachus* [g] give them the character of lyars and impoſtors; and St. *Paul* quotes againſt them, as truth, the teſtimony of one of their own poets, perhaps *Epimenides*, who paints them in very diſgraceful colours. The impurity of their amours are but too well known, from the accounts given us of them by *Strabo* [h], *Servius* [i], and *Athenæus* [k]. But this change of manners, in whatever time it happened, does not affect the probity of the antient *Cretans*, nor leſſen the glory of their legiſlator. We cannot help adding here, that when we reflect on the juſtice, equity and humanity of king *Minos*, and the high commendations which the moſt eminent and judicious writers among the antients have beſtowed upon him, we are inclined to believe thoſe authors miſtaken, who aſcribe to him the impoſing of that cruel tribute on the *Athenians*. *Plato*, *Apollodorus*, *Strabo*, *Plutarch*, *Diodorus Siculus*, &c. are indeed of that opinion; but a learned modern proves with a great deal of erudition, that they were miſtaken, and confounded the legiſlator, we are ſpeaking of, with another *Minos*, who, to avenge the death of his ſon, made war upon the *Athenians*, and impoſed that bloody tribute, to which

a
b
c
d
e
f

[b] STRABO ibid. [c] ARISTOT. ubi ſupra. [d] PLATO, ubi ſupra. [e] PLATO, ibid.
[f] POLYB. l. 6. [g] CALLIM. Hymn. in Jov. ver. 8. [h] STRABO l. 10. [i] SERVIUS Æneid. l. 10. ver. 325. [k] ATHEN. Deipn. l. 13, &c.

Theſeus

a *Theſeus* put an end, by killing *Taurus* the king's general, and entirely defeating the troops under his command [l].

Minos was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon *Deucalion*, who renewing the ancient alli- Deucalion
ance between the *Cretans* and *Athenians*, gave his ſiſter *Phædra* in marriage to *Theſeus*, by whom he had *Acamantes* and *Demophon*. *Phædra* is ſaid to have fallen paſſionately in love with her ſon-in-law *Hyppolitus*, and becauſe he would not comply with her unlawful demands, to have accuſed him to her husband, as if he had attempted to raviſh her. Hereupon *Theſeus*, ſuſpecting the truth of what ſhe ſaid, ſummoned *Hyppolitus* to anſwer the accuſation. But *Phædra* fearing ſhe ſhould be diſcovered upon the trial of the cauſe, laid violent hands on herſelf [m]. *Deuca-*
b *lion* was, according to *Hyginus*, one of the *Argonauts*. *Plutarch* tells us out of *Clidemus*, that he was killed by *Theſeus* at *Gnoſſus* in *Crete* [n]. After *Deucalion* reigned *Creteus*, or, as *Diodorus* and *Pauſanias* call him, *Catreus*. He was brother Creteus.
to *Deucalion*, and ſon of *Minos* by *Paſiphae*, or, as others will have it, by *Merope*. Being told by the oracle, that he ſhould be killed by his ſon *Althemenes*, he baniſhed him his dominions. But, after ſome years, hearing that he had ſettled in the iſland of *Rhodes*, and being deſirous to ſee him before he died, put to ſea, and arriving with a few ſhips in the night, was taken by the inhabitants for a pirate, and, in the ſcuffle, accidentally killed by his own ſon [o]. Upon the death of *Creteus*, the kingdom fell to *Idomeneus*, the ſon of *Deucalion* by *Cleopatra*. He aſſiſted the *Greeks* at Idomeneus.
c the ſiege of *Troy* with fourſcore ſhips, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf there, if we may believe the poets, in ſeveral ſingle combats. After the deſtruction of that city, his ſhips being in great danger by a violent ſtorm, he vowed to ſacrifice, if he got ſafe home, the firſt perſon he met. It happened, that his eldeſt ſon came firſt out to meet him, whom he, purſuant to his vow, either did, or attempted to, ſacrifice. Hereupon his ſubjects refuſing to receive him, he ſailed into *Italy*, and built there the city of *Petilia* near *Salentinum*, a cape of *Calabria* [p] (L). The famous hiſtorian *Dictys*, ſurnamed *Cretenſis*, was his ſecretary, as *Euſtathius* informs us [q]. This author is ſaid by *Septimius*, *Cedrenus*, *Suidas*, and *Iſaacius Porphyrogenitus*, to have wrote the hiſtory of the *Trojan* war in *Greek*, but with *Phœnician* letters. The book
d which now goes under the name of *Dictys Cretenſis* is a ſpurious piece. Upon the death or baniſhment of *Idomeneus*, *Meriones* the ſon of *Molus* by *Melphis*, and grand- Meriones.
ſon of *Minos*, was raiſed to the throne. He had attended *Idomeneus* to the *Trojan* war, and there ſignalized himſelf, as we read in *Homer*, *Virgil*, and the other antient poets. He died after a ſhort reign, and was buried in *Crete*, with great pomp, near the tomb of *Idomeneus*. The monuments of both theſe princes were ſtill to be ſeen in the time of *Diodorus Siculus*, not far from the city of *Gnoſſus*. On that of *Idomeneus* was the following inſcription, Idomeneus, *who was born in* Gnoſſus, *lies in this tomb, and hard by him* J. Merion *the ſon of* Molus. They were both adored by the *Cretans* as demigods, and invoked in all the wars they undertook [r]. Many
e years after the death of *Meriones* or *Merion*, we find *Etearchus* reigning in *Crete*, and Etearchus.
reſiding, not at *Gnoſſus* the ſeat of the former kings, but at *Oaxes*. The feats, and even the names of the intermediate kings, are buried in oblivion. However, it is not improbable, that *Etearchus* was deſcended from *Minos*, and conſequently of the ſame family with the princes whoſe reigns we have hitherto deſcribed; ſince *Suidas* tells us, that the race of *Minos* enjoyed the ſovereignty of *Crete* to the deſtruction of that kingdom, that is, till monarchy gave way to a republican government. The family of *Minos*, tho' deprived of the ſovereign power, continued, even after that change, in great ſplendor, as *Tzetzes* informs us [s]; and *Suetonius* tells us, that the emperor *Sergius Galba* pretended to be deſcended from *Minos* by the mother's ſide [t].

[l] M. Banier Mem. de l'Acad. des Inſcript. Tom. III. [m] Diodor. Sicul. l. 4. Apollodor. l. 3. Pompon. Sabin. l. 2. [n] Plut. in Theſ. [o] Diodor. Sicul. l. 5. c. 13. Apollodor. l. 3. [p] Virgil. 3 & 11 Æneid. Isaac Tzetzes p. 166. [q] Eustath. in Iliad. p. 537. [r] Diodor. Sicul. l. 5. c. 15. [s] Tzetzes p. 67. [t] Suet. in Galba.

(L) *Joannes Tzetzes* relates this in a quite different manner; for he tells us, that *Idomeneus*, on his departure for *Troy*, appointed one *Leucos* to govern the kingdom in his abſence, promiſing to give him, on his return, his daughter *Cliſithere* in marriage, and make him his heir. *Leucos* governed for ſome time with great juſtice and equity; but at laſt was prevailed upon by *Nauplius* king of *Eubœa* to put to death *Meda* the wife, and *Cliſithere* the daughter of *Idomeneus*, and ſeize the kingdom for himſelf. *Idomeneus* finding, on his return, *Leucos* in poſſeſſion of the crown, attempted to drive out the uſurper, but was himſelf obliged to withdraw from the iſland, which was entirely addicted to *Leucos*, and ſeek a new ſettlement for himſelf and thoſe who had attended him to *Troy*.

All we know of *Etearchus* the laſt king of *Crete*, is, that, by the wicked contri- a
vances and groundleſs calumnies of his queen, he was ſo eſtranged from *Phronima* his daughter by his firſt wife, that he delivered her up to one *Themiſon* a merchant of *Thera*, enjoining him to drown her in the ſea. *Themiſon*, tho' he had bound himſelf by an oath to do whatever *Etearchus* ſhould command him, yet could not prevail upon himſelf to put this barbarous command in execution; having therefore, to comply with the obligation of his oath, let her down into the ſea by a rope, he drew her up again unhurt, and carried her to *Thera*, his native country, where ſhe was admitted among the concubines of *Polymneſtus*, by whom ſhe had *Battus* the founder of *Cyrenæ* [r].

The republican government introduced.

MONARCHICAL government being aboliſhed, in what manner, or on what b
account, we find no where recorded, the chief power was lodged in the ſenate, which was compoſed of thirty ſenators, and is called by *Ariſtotle* [s], the public council of the nation. In that aſſembly affairs of the greateſt conſequence were examined, and reſolutions taken, which however were of no force till the people had confirmed them by their ſuffrages. Next in authority to the ſenate were the *Coſmi*, ſo called from the *Greek* word *Coſmos*, ſignifying order: Theſe magiſtrates being appointed for the maintaining of good order in the ſtate. They had much the ſame power as the *Ephori* at *Sparta*, were ten in number, and choſen, like the *Ephori*, out of the body of the people, the meaneſt of the populace having an equal right to this dignity with the moſt illuſtrious families of the republic. They were, in a certain c
manner, the balance between the people and the ſenate, and a check upon both; for, without their approbation, no decree was of any force. Out of their body the ſenators were choſen, none being admitted into the ſenate, who had not before given ſome proofs of their prudence, equity and diſintereſtedneſs in the college of the *Coſmi*. In time of war they commanded the armies of the republic with an abſolute and unbounded power; but were afterwards liable to be called to an account; whereas the ſenators were not accountable to any for their adminiſtration. In this condition continued the iſland of *Crete* for many ages. The inhabitants were ever at war among themſelves, each city aſpiring to the ſovereignty of the whole iſland; but as the authors, who wrote the hiſtory of *Crete*, have not reached us, d
we are quite in the dark as to the particulars of thoſe civil commotions. All we know is, that in the time of *Philip* the father of *Perſes*, the *Gnoſſians* and *Gortynians* had reduced all the other cities of the iſland, and divided their conqueſts; ſo that the *Cretans* were no longer free, but ſubject to one of theſe cities, and obliged to acknowledge their ſubjection by an annual tribute [t]. Theſe domeſtic troubles raged in *Crete* for many ages, and gave the inhabitants an opportunity of perfecting themſelves in all the arts of war; whence they were in ſuch repute among other nations, that moſt of the ſtates and princes then at war, took care to have always in their armies ſome bodies of *Cretan* bowmen and ſlingers, the *Cretans* having been in all ages, as *Pauſanias* obſerves [u], remarkable for their skill and experience at the ſling e
and bow. They were a great help, as *Xenophon* informs us, in the retreat of the ten thouſand [w]. Many of *Alexander*'s victories, if we believe *Arrian*, were owing to the *Cretan* auxiliaries [x]. *Livy* has not forgot the advantages which *Eumenes* and the conſul *Manlius* gained by means of the archers and ſlingers of *Crete*, the one over *Antiochus*, the other over the *Gauls*, in the famous battle fought near mount *Olympus* [y]. After the *Romans* once became acquainted with *Crete*, they employed the inhabitants in all their expeditions, keeping conſtantly in their pay numerous bodies of *Cretan* auxiliaries, which, generally ſpeaking, behaved with great gallantry. In the war of *Antiochus*, they entered into an alliance with *Rome*, having been induced thereunto by *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus*. But notwithſtanding the treaty of friend- f
ſhip ſubſiſting between the two republics, the *Cretans* entered into meaſures with other potentates, without conſulting the *Roman* ſenate. In the war which the *Romans* carried on againſt *Mithridates*, they were ſaid to maintain a private correſpondence with that prince, and likewiſe to have aſſiſted the pirates who infeſted the *Mediterranean*, and committed great ravages on the coaſts of *Italy* itſelf. This gave the *Romans* a ſpecious pretence of enſlaving an iſland, which had, to that time, been free from all foreign ſubjection; but the true motive that prompted them to under-

The Romans *quarrel with the* Cretans. *Year of the flood* 2934. *Before Chriſt* 68.

[r] HERODOT. l. iii. [s] ARISTOT. de Repub. l. ii. c. 10. [t] POLYB. l. iv. [u] PAUSAN. in Atticis. [w] XENOPH. l. iv. [x] ARRIAN. de expedit. Alex. [y] LIV. l. xxxvii. c. 41. & l. xxxviii. c. 21.

take

take this war, was, as *Florus* informs us [z], a deſire of conquering that iſland. The *Romans*, who were ſo fond of their own liberties, made it their chief buſineſs to deprive all other nations of theirs. This expedition being reſolved on, it fell to the lot of *Q. Hortenſius* to command the troops that were to be employed in it; but as he had ſpent his whole life in peaceable employments, and was altogether unqualified for military expeditions, he readily reſigned the command of the troops to his collegue *Q. Cæcilius Metellus*, who poſtponed ſetting ſail till the time of his conſulſhip was expired. In the mean time the *Cretans* ſent an embaſſy to *Rome*, conſiſting of thirty of the moſt illuſtrious men of the iſland, who, by their earneſt ſollicitations and humble ſupplications, moved the ſenate to compaſſion; inſomuch that they were ready to renew with them their antient treaties. But *P. Lentulus Spinther* alone oppoſed the good-will of the ſenate towards the *Cretans*, by repreſenting, that *Rome* could never be miſtreſs of the ſeas, nor keep them clear of pirates, till *Crete* was reduced to the ſtate of a province. His oppoſition made the fathers change their minds, and ſo many and hard conditions were then demanded of the ſuppliants, that they choſe rather to maintain a war than comply with them. The embaſſadors being diſmiſſed, *Metellus* ſet ſail with three legions, and arriving on the coaſt of *Crete*, landed his men without oppoſition. The *Cretan* republic was then governed by two chiefs, *Laſthenes* and *Panares*. The former had greatly contributed to the victory which the pirates had gained the year before over *Antonius*, and therefore not doubting but the *Romans* would make it a preliminary that he ſhould be given up to their vengeance, encouraged the people to take up arms, and raiſed forces in all parts of the iſland. In a ſhort time four and twenty thouſand men were armed, and brought into the field. *Metellus*, in order to draw them to a battle, advanced towards *Cydonia*, at that time the capital of the iſland, as if he deſigned to beſiege it. *Laſthenes* to prevent the ſiege met the *Roman* general on his march, gave him battle, but was entirely defeated, and obliged to ſave himſelf by flight to *Gnoſſus*. *Metellus*, being maſter of the field, laid ſiege to *Cydonia*, which *Panares* after a faint defence delivered up to the conqueror, upon a promiſe that both he and the inhabitants ſhould be ſpared. From thence *Metellus* advanced to *Gnoſſus*, where *Laſthenes* had ſhut himſelf up. But the cowardly general, inſtead of putting the city into condition to hold out a ſiege, ſet fire to it and retired. The city of *Lychus*, though well fortified, ſurrendered aſſoon as the *Roman* army approached the walls. Thus *Metellus* in one campaign poſſeſſed himſelf of the beſt part of the iſland, though defended by the *Cilician* pirates as well as by its own inhabitants [a].

The progreſs of the Roman *arms in* Crete.

THE next year early in the ſpring *Metellus* took the field, and having defeated the united forces of the *Cretans* and *Cilician* pirates, drove the latter from the caſtles, which they had built on the rocks near the ſea, and the former from moſt of their ſtrong holds in the centre of the country. But as he treated both the inhabitants and the pirates with the utmoſt ſeverity, they ſent an embaſſy to *Pompey*, who had been lately appointed proconſul of the ſeas with an unbounded authority, entreating him to come and put the laſt hand to the reduction of *Crete*, and offering to ſurrrender to him without making the leaſt reſiſtance. *Pompey*, who was always ready to undertake the work of other generals, heard the embaſſadors with pleaſure, and promiſed to come and conclude an advantagious peace with them. Accordingly, having received hoſtages, he ſent from *Pamphylia*, where he then reſided, *L. Octavius*, one of his lieutenants, with orders to proclaim all over the iſland, that *Pompey* had the ſole right of making treaties in all the places of his proconſulate; and that *Metellus* had no right to aſſume the title of general in a country which was within the province the ſenate had given to *Pompey* [b]. This ſhameful claim of *Pompey* cauſed a kind of civil war in the iſland, the *Romans* diſputing with one another who ſhould give the laſt ſtroke to the *Cretans*. *Octavius* joined the pirates and people of the iſland to oppoſe *Metellus*'s conqueſt; and he on the other hand, not fearing the additional forces, which *Pompey* had ſent againſt him, purſued his conqueſts with reſolution. He beſieged *Eleuthera*, and having gained over one of the chief citizens, who for ſeveral nights together poured down upon one of the towers ſo many barrels of vinegar as ſoftened it, made himſelf maſter of the town by beating it down. From *Eleuthera* he turned towards *Lappa*, a ſtrong city, which *Octavius* in perſon undertook to

[z] FLOR. l. iii. c. 7. [a] APPIAN. legat. 30. LIV. l. xcix. FLOR. l. iii. c. 7. [b] FLOR. ubi ſupra. CIC. pro lege Manilia. PLUT. in Pomp.

defend.

defend. But though *Octavius* made a vigorous defence, yet the place was at laſt a
taken by aſſault, and all the *Cretans* and *Cilicians* found in it put to the ſword. As
for *Octavius* and the *Romans*, *Metellus* diſmiſſed them without their arms amidſt
the hiſſes of his ſoldiers. *Pompey* therefore ſent new ſupplies to *Octavius*, and or-
dered *Siſenna* to ſail from the coaſt of *Achaia* to *Crete*. But *Siſenna* dying ſoon after
his arrival, *Octavius* took upon him the command of his troops, and in conjunc-
tion with the pirates and *Cretans* endeavoured to ſtop the career of *Metellus*'s con-
queſts. But that brave commander having taken *Hierapytna*, the ſtrongeſt place
then in the iſland, obliged *Octavius* to ſave himſelf on board his ſhips, and abandon
the iſland. Upon his departure *Laſthenes* and *Panares* laid down their arms, and
all the inhabitants of the iſland ſubmitted to the yoke. *Metellus* changed their form b
of government, obliged them to live according to the laws of *Rome*, impoſed an annual
tribute upon the whole iſland, and thereby reduced it to a *Roman* province, after it
had enjoyed its liberties for a ſeries of many ages [c]. *Oroſius* tells us, that *Metellus*
reduced the iſland in two years time [d]. But *Velleius Paterculus* [e], *Eutropius* [f] and
others write, that the *Romans* ſpent three whole years in that undertaking, having
to do with men no leſs brave than themſelves. *Metellus* was honoured with a tri-
umph, and the ſurname of *Creticus* or the *Cretan*, which *Plutarch* gives to *Antonius*
the father of the famous *Mark Anthony*, who began indeed this expedition, but loſt
in it both his fleet and his life.

[c] Appian. legat. 30. Liv. l. 100. Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 38. [d] Oroſius. l. vi. c. 4. [e] Vell. Patercul. ibid. [f] Eutrop. l. vi.

SECT. V.

The Hiſtory of Cyprus.

Names. THE iſland, which we are now to write of, was known to the ancients by the c
following names; *Acamis*, *Ceraſtis*, *Aſpalia*, *Amathus*, *Macaria*, *Cryptos*,
Colinia, *Sphecia*, *Paphia*, *Salaminia*, *Æroſa*, and finally *Cyprus*. It was called
Acamis from one of its promontories, *Amathus*, *Paphia* and *Salaminia* from three of
its ancient cities; *Macaria* from the fruitfulneſs of its ſoil; *Æroſa* from its copper
mines; *Colinia* or *Collinia* from its many hills; *Sphecia* from its ancient inhabitants
the *Spheces*; *Ceraſtis* from the many promontories which, like ſo many horns, as the
Greek word intimates, ſhoot into the ſea. Whence it borrowed the name of *Aſpalia*,
we know not; ſome etymologiſts have changed the name of *Aſpalia* into that of
Aſperia, and pretend that the iſland was ſo called from the unevenneſs of its ground:
were we allowed in this manner to throw out, put in, and change letters as we pleaſe, d
it would be no difficult matter to give etymologies. As to the name which it is now
generally known by, ſome authors derive it from the *Greek* word *Cryptos*, ſignifying
hidden, this iſland being often hid, ſay they, by the waves from the eye of the
ſailor; others will have it called *Cyprus* from *Cyrus*, who is ſaid to have founded here
the city of *Aphrodiſia*. But this etymology is ſtill worſe than the former, the iſland
having been known by the name of *Cyprus* in *Homer*'s time, that is, ſix hundred
years before the birth of *Cyrus*. *Iſidorus* thinks it was called *Cyprus* from a city of
that name [g]. But the moſt common opinion is, that it borrowed its name from a
ſhrub, called by the *Greeks Cypros*, which, though very ſcarce in other countries,
grew here in great plenty. What kind of ſhrub this was is ſtill matter of diſpute e
among authors. With the flower of this ſhrub the ancient inhabitants made a very
ſweet oil, which is much commended by *Pliny* [h]. The name of *Ceraſtis*, as we have
obſerved above, was given it from the great number of its promontories; and this
appellation is founded on truth, no iſland, that we know of, having more promon-
tories than *Cyprus*. On the weſt it has the promontories of *Acamas*, now *Capo S.*
Piſano, *Drepanum*, now *Trepano*, *Zephyrum*, now *Capo Calidoni* or *Punta Malota*;
on the ſouth, *Phrurium*, now *Capo Bianco*, *Curias* or *Capo delle Gatte*, *Gades*, or
Capo Chiti, *Throni* or *Capo Pila*; on the eaſt, *Pendalium*, now *Capo di Greco*, *Clides*,
now *Capo di S. Andrea*; on the north *Coronyon*, now *Capo Cormochiette*, and beſides

[g] Isidor. l. xiv. [h] Plin. l. xii. c. 24.

a great

a a great many others of leſs note. *Androcles*, as quoted by *Tzetzes*, tells us, that the iſland was anciently called *Ceraſtis*, becauſe inhabited by men with horns; which opinion has been followed by the poets, namely by *Ovid* [l].

THE cities of moſt note in *Cyprus* were, according to *Ptolemy* and *Strabo* [k] on the north ſide of the iſland; *Arſinoe*, ſo called from a queen of *Egypt*, the iſland of *Cyprus* having been long ſubject to the kings of that country. *Solæ* or *Soli*, which borrowed its name from *Solon* the famous lawgiver of the *Athenians*, who, during his baniſhment having viſited the petty king of *Epea*, adviſed him to remove his city from a mountainous and barren country into a fruitful and pleaſant plain. The king followed his advice, and was ſo pleaſed with the new ſituation of his metropolis, b that out of gratitude to *Solon*, who had given him ſuch good advice, he called it *Solæ* or *Soli* from his name [l]. *Strabo* takes notice of a famous temple in this city conſecrated to *Venus* and *Iſis* [m]. *Lapathus* or *Lapithus*, on the banks of a ſmall river bearing the ſame name. This city was in former times of ſo great note, that it gave the name of *Lapithia* to the neighbouring country. The two cities of *Aphrodiſius* and *Carpaſia* are likewiſe placed by *Strabo* and *Ptolemy* on the ſame coaſt, and mentioned by moſt of the ancient geographers. Here alſo ſtood the cities of *Cerines* and *Tremitus*. *Cerines*, in former ages called *Ceurania*, is ſaid to have been built by *Cyrus the Great*, when he firſt ſubdued the nine kings of this iſland, and united the whole country to the crown of *Perſia*. *Tremitus* is often mentioned by *Sozomenus* in the c account he gives us of the miracles, which he ſuppoſes to have been wrought by the biſhop *Spiridion*, a native of that city [m]. On the eaſtern coaſt ſtood the following cities: *Salamis*, built by *Teucer* the ſon of *Telamon*, who being, on his return from the ſiege of *Troy* baniſhed by his father *Telamon*, for not revenging on *Ulyſſes* the death of his brother *Ajax*, retired to *Cyprus*, and there built a city, which he called *Salamis* after the name of his own country [n]. This city was in after-ages called *Conſtantia*, and ſome are of opinion that *Famagoſta*, the preſent metropolis of the iſland, was built on its ruins (M). On this ſide of the iſland, over-againſt the promontory called by *Pliny Dinaretum*, are the ſmall iſlands named *Clides*, two in number, according to *Strabo*, and three, according to *Pliny*. On the ſouth coaſt the ancients place d *Throni*, a town ſo called from the promontory on which it ſtood; *Citium*, the birth-place of *Zeno* the famous ſtoic. Here *Cymon* the *Athenian* died after having reduced great part of the iſland [o]. *Plutarch* tells us, that he died at the ſiege of this place [p]; and *Diodorus*, that he took it before his death [q]. *Joſephus* is of opinion, that this city was built by *Cittim* the ſon of *Javan*, and from him called *Citium*, or, as *Pliny* will have it, *Cetium*. *Malum*, which was likewiſe taken by *Cymon*, as *Diodorus* informs us [r]. *Ptolemæus Lagi* ruined this city and tranſplanted the inhabitants to *Paphus* [s]. *Amathus* ſo called from its founder *Amathus* the ſon of *Aerias*. *Tacitus* tells us, that *Cyprus* was famous for three temples; one, and the moſt ancient of all, was dedicated to *Venus Paphia*, by *Aerias*; the next in point of antiquity was con-e ſecrated to *Venus Amathuſia* by *Amathus* the ſon of *Aerias*, and the third to *Jupiter Salaminius* by *Teucer* the ſon of *Telamon* [t]. That city of *Amathus*, as moſt others in this iſland, was conſecrated to *Venus*, as appears from *Virgil* [u] and the other ancient poets. *Ovid* ſpeaks of copper mines in the neighbourhood of this city [w], and *Pauſanias* mentions a famous temple here conſecrated to *Venus* and *Adonis* [x]. On the weſt ſide of the iſland were the cities, *Palæpaphos* or old *Paphos*, about ten furlongs from the ſhore. Here *Venus* is ſaid to have firſt appeared after ſhe was formed out of the froth of the ſea; and hence the city was in a peculiar manner ſacred to that goddeſs. The young women here uſed to proſtitute themſelves to ſuch ſtrangers as came aſhore

Cities.
Arſinoe.
Soli *or* Solæ.
Lapithus *or* Lapathus.
Cerines.
Tremitus.
Salamis.
Throni.
Citium.
Malum.
Amathus.
Palæpaphos.

[l] OVID. Metam. l. x. v. 222. [k] STRAB. l. xiv. [l] PLUT. in Solon. p. 93. [m] STRAB. l. xiv. [m] SOZOM. l. i. c. 10. [n] Vide HORAT. l. i. Od. 7. [o] CORN. NEPOS. in ejus vita. [p] PLUT. in Cymon. [q] DIODOR. l. xix. c. 79. [r] Idem ibid. [s] Idem ibid. [t] TACIT. l. iii. Annal. c. 62. [u] VIRGIL. Æncid. l. x. v. 51. [w] OVID. Metamorph. l. x. v. 220. [x] PAUSAN. in Bœot. cap. ult.

(M) This city is ſtiled by *Diodorus* (100) the firſt of all the *Cyprian* cities, and ſaid to have once excelled moſt of the *Greek* cities in power and riches. *Tacitus* (1) ſpeaks of a magnificent temple built here in honour of *Jupiter Salaminius*, and *Ammianus Marcellinus* of three other temples dedicated to *Pallas*, *Agraulos* and *Diomedes*. In that of *Agraulos* was yearly offered an human ſacrifice till that cruel ceremony was aboliſhed by *Diphilus* king of *Cyprus* (2). *Salamis* in *Cyprus* is called by *Lucan*, *Seneca*, and *Menelaus*, the other *Salamis* to diſtinguiſh it from another city of the ſame name in an iſland adjacent to *Eleuſis* called alſo *Salamis*.

(100) *Diodor. Sicul. l.* xiv. (1) *Tacit. Annal. l.* iii. (2) *Porphyr. de Abſtin. l.* ii.

in order to raiſe money for their portions. About ſixty furlongs from *Palæpaphos* ſtood *Neapaphos* or *New Paphos*, built, according to *Strabo* [y] by *Agapenor*, nephew to *Lycurgus*, and famous for its harbour, and a ſtately temple dedicated to *Venus*. For both theſe cities were under the peculiar protection of *Venus*, whence they are often confounded by the ancient writers, eſpecially the poets. *New Paphos* was utterly ruined by an earthquake, but rebuilt by *Auguſtus* and thence called *Auguſta*, a name which it did not long retain [z]. As to the inland towns, *Ptolemy* mentions only three, viz. *Chybrus*, *Trimethus* and *Tamaſſus* or *Tamaſcus*, to which *Strabo* adds a fourth, viz. *Limenia*; but theſe were places of ſmall note, though *Ovid* calls the territory of *Tamaſcus*, the moſt fruitful ſpot in *Cyprus*. The copper, that was found in the mines adjoining to this city, was deemed the beſt in the world. The following cities are mentioned by *Pliny*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Pauſanias*, *Stephanus* and others, but we are quite at a loſs as to their ſituation, *Cingria*, *Marium*, *Golgi*, *Epidarum*, *Creſium*, *Eryſthea*, *Lacedæmonia*, *Tegeſſus*, *Meſina*, *Hyle*, *Tembro*, *Ledrum*, or *Leuteon*. *Diodorus* tells us, that *Marium* was governed by a king of its own [b]. *Golgi* was a ſmall but very ancient town, for the *Cyprians*, as *Pauſanias* informs us [c], worſhipped *Venus* in the ſmall town of *Golgi*, before *Agapenor* ſettled with his colony at *Paphus*. This city is mentioned by *Catullus* [d], *Lycophron* [e], and *Theocritus* [f], who ſpeak of it as a place conſecrated in a ſpecial manner to *Venus*.

Neapaphos.

BESIDES the cities we have mentioned, *Meurſius* places in *Cyprus* thoſe of *Berytus*, *Cnidus*, and *Cytera* [g], being led into this miſtake by miſunderſtanding the ancient writers, whom he quotes. To prove that *Berytus* ſtood in *Cyprus*, he produces a paſſage out of *Strabo* [h], wherein that author, after having ſpoke of *Citium*, and told us, that it was the birth-place of *Zeno*, adds, that it is fifteen hundred furlongs, that is a hundred and eighty-ſeven miles and a half diſtant from *Berytus*; and hence *Meurſius*, in other reſpects a moſt accurate writer, concludes that *Berytus* is reckoned by *Strabo* among the cities of *Cyprus*. But he ought to have inferred from theſe very words of *Strabo* that *Berytus* could not ſtand in *Cyprus*, ſince no two places in the whole iſland, if we ſtand to the meaſures laid down by that geographer, can be at ſo great a diſtance from each other, the iſland being, according to him, but fourteen hundred furlongs long. Beſides, it is very plain from the context, that *Strabo* in the abovementioned paſſage ſpeaks of *Berytus* in *Syria*; and not of any city bearing that name in *Cyprus*. The city of *Cnidus Meurſius* places in *Cyprus*, being induced thereunto by a paſſage in *Joannes Tzetzes*, where that writer, ſpeaking of the country of *Cteſias* the hiſtorian, tells us, that he was a native of the *Cyprian Cnidus*, from which epithet our author concludes that *Cnidus* ſtood in *Cyprus*. But it is very plain both from *Pliny* [i] and *Pauſanias* [k], that the epithet of *Cyprian* was given to the city of *Cnidus* becauſe *Venus*, the *Cyprian* goddeſs, as ſhe is ſtiled by the poets, was the tutelary deity of the place, and no leſs religiouſly worſhipped there than in *Cyprus*. But granting *Tzetzes* to have placed *Cnidus* in *Cyprus*, the authority of *Strabo* ought to have been of more weight with *Meurſius* than that of the writer he quotes; that ancient geographer tells us in expreſs words, that *Cteſias*, the phyſician and hiſtorian, was born in *Cnidus*, a city of *Caria* [l], wherein he is followed by all the writers both ancient and modern who ſpeak of that hiſtorian. As to *Cythera*, our author, in reckoning it among the cities of *Cyprus*, quotes in favour of his opinion two paſſages out of *Virgil*; in the firſt that poet joins together *Cythera* and the *Idalian* foreſt, which was without all doubt in *Cyprus* [m]; in the other he joins the city of *Cythera* with *Amathus* and *Paphos*, both cities of great note in this iſland [n]. But *Venus*, whom *Virgil* introduces in both places ſpeaking of the cities that were conſecrated to her, does not confine herſelf to the cities of *Cyprus* alone. She mentions, as is evident from the context, ſuch places as were peculiarly addicted to her worſhip, whether in *Cyprus* or elſewhere. Now the iſland of *Cythera*, and its metropolis, bearing the ſame name, were both conſecrated to *Venus*, who had there a famous temple much reſorted to by all the nations of *Greece*, as we read in *Pauſanias* [o]. 'Tis true the ſcholiaſt of *Heſiod* places *Cythera* in *Cyprus*; but herein he contradicts, which is often the caſe, the author whom he pretends to explain. For that poet, ſpeak-

[y] STRAB. l. xiv. [z] DIO. l. iv. p. 537. [a] OVID. Metam. l. x. v. 643. [b] DIODOR. SICUL. l. xix. c. 59. [c] PAUSAN. Arcad. c. 5. [d] CATULL. Carmin. 37. de Vener. [e] LYCOPHR. in Alexandra. v. 588. [f] THEOCRIT. Idyll. 15. v. 100. [g] MEURSIUS in libro de Cypro. [h] STRAB. l. xiv. p. 469. [i] PLIN. l. xxxvi. c. 5. [k] PAUSAN. Attic. c. 1. [l] STRAB. l. xiv. p. 451. [m] VIRGIL. Æneid. 1. v. 680. [n] Idem Æneid. 10. v. 51. [o] PAUSAN. Lacon. c. 23.

a ing of the froth from which *Venus* is ſuppoſed to have ſprung, ſays, that it was firſt carried to *Cythera* and from thence to the iſland of *Cyprus* [p]. From theſe words it is manifeſt, that *Cythera* was not, according to *Heſiod*, a city of *Cyprus*.

Cyprus was by the ancient geographers divided into four diſtricts or provinces, viz. *Paphia* to the weſt, *Amathuſa* to the ſouth, *Lapytha* to the north, and *Salaminia* to the eaſt. In after-ages it was divided into twelve provinces by the princes of the *Luſignan* family, who were put in poſſeſſion of it by *Richard* I. of *England*, and held it for ſeventeen generations. The names of theſe twelve diviſions were, *Nicoſia*, *Famaguſta*, *Paphia*, *Audima*, *Limiſſa*, *Maſorum*, *Salines*, *Meſſoria*, *Cruſocus*, *Pentalia*, *Carpaſſus*, and *Cerines*. Theſe were ſo denominated from the chief cities of each diſtrict; beſides which cities and ſeveral others of leſs note, there were no fewer b than eight hundred villages. This iſland even under the tyrannical yoke of the *Turks* is ſo conſiderable as to be governed by a beglerbeg, who has ſeven ſangiacks under him. *Diviſion.*

Cyprus extends from eaſt to weſt along the coaſt of *Cilicia* about a hundred and eighty miles, being but forty-five broad. It lies between the 34th and 35th degrees of north latitude, and was anciently deemed one of the moſt fruitful iſlands of the *Mediterranean*; but is at preſent in great part uncultivated, and the air in moſt places very unwholeſome by reaſon of the fens and marſhes. The honey of *Cyprus* is much commended by the ancients, and likewiſe the wine, oil, wool, *&c.* but c above all the copper, of which we have ſpoke already. Among the rarities of *Cyprus* we may reckon a certain kind of inſects, which, as *Ariſtotle* [q] informs us, were produced and lived in the fire, but died when taken out of the flames. This, in our opinion, is no leſs improbable than what *Pliny* tells us of the earth of *Cyprus*, which never failed, if that author may be credited, to throw up in the night the dead bodies that were committed to it in the day-time [r]. *Extent, climate, &c.*

THIS iſland was firſt diſcovered by the *Phœnicians*, as *Eratoſthenes* informs us [s], about two or three generations, according to Sir *Iſaac Newton*'s computation [t], before the days of *Aſterius* and *Minos* kings of *Crete*, that is, about one thouſand and ſix years before the chriſtian æra. It was, ſays *Eratoſthenes*, when firſt diſcovered, ſo overgrown with wood, that it could not be tilled, and the *Phœnicians* firſt cut d down the wood for the melting of copper; and afterwards when they began to ſail without fear on the *Mediterranean*, (that is preſently after the *Trojan* war) they made uſe of that wood to build ſhips and even great navies. But not being able thus to deſtroy the wood, they gave every man leave to cut down what trees he pleaſed, and to poſſeſs all the ground he could clear. Thus far *Eratoſthenes*. *Herodotus* likewiſe ſuppoſes the *Phœnicians* to have been the firſt who peopled the iſland. But *Joſephus* tells us, that the deſcendants of *Cittim*, the ſon of *Javan* and grandſon of *Japhet* were the original inhabitants of *Cyprus*. According to his account *Cittim*, ſeeing his brother *Tarſhiſh* ſettled in *Cilicia*, where he built the city of *Tarſus*, ſettled with his followers in this oppoſite iſland, and either he or his deſcendants laid the foundations of the city of *Citium*, which, according to *Ptolemy*, was the moſt ancient e in the iſland. As *Cyprus* was too narrow to contain the great numbers of thoſe who attended him, and their deſcendants, he left here ſo many as might ſerve in time to plant the country, and with the reſt paſſed over into *Macedon*, as we ſhall relate in the hiſtory of that ancient kingdom. In proceſs of time other nations, invited by the fertility of the ſoil, came and ſettled here, namely *Phœnicians*, *Athenians*, *Salaminians*, *Arcadians*, and *Æthiopians*; for *Herodotus* [u] ſays, that *Cyprus* was inhabited by colonies from theſe different countries. *Inhabitants.*

THE government of *Cyprus* was without all doubt monarchical; for we find kings reigning here in the earlieſt ages. The firſt king we read of in hiſtory is *Cinyras*, the grandſon of *Pygmalion*, and father of *Adonis*. He was the ſon of *Paphus*, f who is ſuppoſed to have been the firſt that introduced into the iſland the worſhip of *Venus*, and is ſaid to have built the city which bears his name [w]. He had *Adonis* by his own daughter *Myrrha*. His father *Paphus* is feigned by the poets to have been the ſon of *Pygmalion* by a woman, who had been before an ivory ſtatue. *Pygmalion*, ſay they, coming into the iſland of *Cyprus*, and ſeeing all the women living there very licentiouſly, reſolved never to marry. Afterwards, as he was a famous ſtatuary, *Governments and kings.*

[p] HESIOD. ad Theogon. v. 192. [q] ARISTOT. Hiſtor. Animal. [r] PLIN. l. iv. c. 7. [s] Apud STRABONEM, l. xiv. p. 684. [t] Sir ISAAC NEWTON. Chron. p. 183. [u] HERODOT. l. iv. [w] ARNOB. l. iv. & ſeq. TACITUS. l. xviii.

he

he made an ivory ſtatue of ſuch perfection, that falling in love with it, he prayed a
the goddeſs *Venus* to procure him a wife as beautiful as the ſtatue he had made. The goddeſs heard his prayer, and changed the ſtatue into a fair damſel, by whom he had *Paphus* the father of *Cinyras*, and firſt king of *Cyprus* [x]. *Cinyras* is ſaid to have poſſeſſed immenſe riches, inſomuch that *the wealth of Cinyras* became a proverb [y], to expreſs an overgrown eſtate. As the worſhip of *Venus* was firſt eſtabliſhed in *Cyprus* by *Paphus*, the father of *Cinyrus*, both he and his deſcendants were buried in the temple of *Venus* at *Paphus*, an honour which was granted to no other family. The prieſthood of *Venus* was likewiſe entailed, we may ſay, on their race, a dignity which they maintained for many ages after the throne was ſeized by others; nay we read of one of this family, by name *Soſtratus*, enjoying the prieſthood of b
Venus in the reign of *Veſpaſian*, and greatly favoured by that prince and his ſon *Titus*, who often conſulted him about future events [z]. *Belus*, one of the ſucceſſors of *Cinyras* is ſaid to have reigned in *Cyprus* at the arrival of *Teucer* the ſon of *Telamon*, and to have aſſiſted him in laying the foundations of *Salamis*, which in proceſs of time became the metropolis of the whole iſland. *Cinyras* and his ſucceſſors, whoſe names have not reached us, were not kings of the whole country, but only of *Paphos* and the adjoining province. Beſides the kingdom of *Paphos* we find eight other kingdoms mentioned by the ancients. Of the kings of *Salamis* we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak at length hereafter. The names of the others that have been tranſmitted to us are; *Philocyprus* king of *Soli*, contemporary with *Solon*, as *Plutarch* informs us [a]; *Ariſtocyprus* ſon of the former, mentioned by *Herodotus* [b]; *Paſicrates* or *Paſicyprus* ſaid by c
Athenæus to have ſucceeded *Ariſtocyprus* [c]. *Timonax*, *Pygmalion*, *Praxippus*, *Staſioecus*, *Idomeneus*, *Moſchion*, *Diphilus*, *Solon*, and *Themiſon* are ſpoke of by the ancients as reigning in *Cyprus*, but what kingdoms they held is what we find no where recorded. The kingdom of *Salamis* was by far the moſt powerful in *Cyprus*, the *Salaminian* princes having in proceſs of time ſubdued the whole iſland, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel of this hiſtory.

Hiſtory of Cyprus.

THE iſland of *Cyprus* was parcelled out, as we have obſerved already, among ſeveral petty kings, each of them reigning with an uncontrolled authority till the time of *Cyrus the Great*, who ſubdued them by his lieutenants, but left them at the ſame time in poſſeſſion of their reſpective kingdoms, obliging them only to pay an d
annual tribute to him and his ſucceſſors, and to ſend ſupplies of men, money, and ſhips, when required. The *Cyprian* princes lived thus ſubject to the *Perſians* till the reign of *Darius* the ſon of *Hyſtaſpes*, when they attempted to ſhake off the yoke, being encouraged thereunto by *Oneſilus* king of *Salamis*. But as from this period the hiſtory of *Cyprus*, as tranſmitted to us, is no other than that of the kingdom of *Salamis*; before we relate the event of this war we ſhall give an account of that kingdom and of the princes, who reigned there before the acceſſion of *Oneſilus* to the throne.

Kings of Salamis *and hiſtory of that kingdom.*

Teucer.

THE firſt king of *Salamis* and founder of that kingdom was *Teucer* the ſon of *Telamon*, who ſignalized himſelf at the ſiege of *Troy*, if we may believe the poets. Upon his return being baniſhed his country he retired to *Cyprus*, where he built the city of e
Salamis and founded a new kingdom, about 895 years before the chriſtian æra. *Juſtin* tells us, that before he ſettled in *Cyprus* he went into *Spain* and left ſome of his retinue in that country, where in after-ages *New Carthage* was built; and *Philoſtratus* ſpeaks of *Teucer*'s belt, which was to be ſeen many ages after in the temple of *Hercules* at *Gades* now *Cadiz*. *Virgil* [d] makes *Teucer* contemporary with *Belus*, the father of *Dido*, which is a great miſtake in point of chronology; ſince *Carthage* was built by *Dido*, only ſixty years before *Romulus* laid the foundations of *Rome* [e]. *Lactantius* [f] tells us, that *Teucer* introduced into the iſland of *Cyprus* the barbarous cuſtom of offering human ſacrifices to *Jupiter*, which continued till the reign of the emperor *Adrian*. *Ajax*, the ſon of *Teucer*, is ſaid to have built a ſtately temple at *Olbus* in *Cilicia*, and to have tranſmitted the prieſthood to his poſterity, a dignity greatly valued in ancient times, the chief prieſt of *Olbus* being lord of that part of *Cilicia*, which was known to the *Greeks* by the name of *Tracheotis*. After the deſcendants of *Ajax* were deprived both of the prieſthood and the ſovereignty annexed to it, the name of *Ajax* was ſtill retained, and given to all thoſe who enjoyed that dig-

[x] OVID. Metamorph. l. 10. ARNOB. l. vi. [y] ERASM. Chiliad. [z] TACITUS Annal. l. ii. [a] PLUT. in Solone. [b] HERODOT. l. iv. [c] ATHENÆUS l. iv. c. 20. [d] VIRGIL. Æneid. l. i. v. 625. [e] VELLEI PATERCUL. l. i. [f] LACTAN. l. i. c. 21.

nity

a nity though noways related to the *Teucrian* family. As to the immediate ſucceſſors of *Teucer* in the kingdom of *Salamis* we are quite in the dark. Many years after him reigned *Nicocreon*; but did nothing which authors have thought worth tranſmitting to poſterity. His daughter *Arſinoe* is mentioned by *Ovid* [g]. The next king we find reigning in *Salamis* is *Euelthon*, who, as we read in *Herodotus* [h], firſt ſubmitted to the *Egyptians*, and afterwards to the *Perſians*, aſſiſting *Cambyſes* in his expeditions with men, money, and ſhips. In his reign *Pheretima*, queen of the *Cyrenæans*, being driven out of her kingdom with her ſon *Arceſilaus*, fled to *Salamis*, and being there kindly entertained, ſollicited *Euelthon* to aſſiſt her with an army in order to re-eſtabliſh her family in *Cyrene*. But the king, not caring to engage in a war, made b her rich preſents, hoping to content her by that means and redeem himſelf from her importunities. The queen accepted the preſents, and ſeemed to be highly pleaſed with them, but always added, that though they were very valuable, yet an army would be far more acceptable to her. At length *Euelthon* preſented her with a reel and diſtaff of gold, and finding ſhe repeated her acknowledgment in the ſame terms, told her plainly, that theſe were more proper preſents for women than armies [i]. He ſent a cenſer of great value and moſt curious workmanſhip to the temple of *Delphos*, which was to be ſeen in *Herodotus*'s time in the treaſury of the *Corinthians* [k].

Nicocreon. *Year of the flood*, 2474. *Before Chriſt* 525. Euelthon.

Siromus and *Cherſis* are mentioned by *Herodotus* as reigning at *Salamis* [l]; but performed nothing which that writer has thought worth relating. The latter left c three ſons, *Gorgus*, *Oneſilus*, and *Philaon*. *Gorgus* ſucceeded his father, but was ſoon driven out by his brother *Oneſilus* in the following manner. *Oneſilus* having often ſollicited the king to ſhake off the *Perſian* yoke, and finding that he could not prevail upon him to revolt, reſolved to poſſeſs himſelf of the crown, not doubting, but as he was a declared enemy to the *Perſians*, all the *Cyprians* would join him; the iſland being then grievouſly oppreſſed by the *Perſian* governors. He had ſcarce taken this reſolution when news was brought him of the *Ionian* revolt. Whereupon he renewed his inſtances with greater earneſtneſs than ever, and did all that lay in his power to perſuade his brother to join the rebels; but finding him inviolably attached to the *Perſian* intereſt, he gained a conſiderable party among the *Salaminians*, and d with their aſſiſtance, while *Gorgus* was one day out of the city, he ſeized on the gates and cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed king. *Gorgus*, being thus excluded, fled to the *Perſians*, and *Oneſilus*, ſending embaſſadors to all the cities and princes of the iſland, prevailed upon them to take up arms and drive out the *Perſian* gariſons. The city of *Amathus* alone refuſed to come into his meaſures; whereupon he cloſely beſieged it; but the inhabitants making a vigorous defence, before he could reduce the place, the *Perſians*, having drawn together all the forces they had in *Cilicia* and the neighbouring provinces, paſſed over into *Cyprus*, and having landed their men marched ſtrait to *Salamis*. *Oneſilus*, not finding himſelf in a condition to make head againſt ſo numerous an army, ſent meſſengers to the *Ionians* ſolliciting their aſſiſtance, e and inviting them to join againſt the common enemy. The *Ionians* with all poſſible expedition equipped a fleet and ſet ſail for *Cyprus*. Upon their arrival the *Cyprian* kings, having ſummoned a council of war, invited to it all the commanders of the *Ionian* fleet, and ſpoke to them thus: Men of *Ionia*, we give you the choice either to engage the *Perſians* by land, or the *Phœnicians*, who are cruiſing with their fleet off the iſland, by ſea. If you chuſe to fight the *Perſians*, bring your men aſhore, that we may go on board your ſhips and fight the *Phœnicians*. But if you had rather try your ſtrength againſt the *Phœnicians*, do as you think beſt, for we are ready either to engage the *Perſians* by land, or the *Phœnicians* by ſea, being determined at all events to preſerve the liberties of *Cyprus* and *Ionia*. The *Ionians* anſwered, that f they were ſent by the general council of *Ionia* to defend the iſland by ſea, and not to deliver their ſhips to the *Cyprians* in order to fight the *Perſians* by land; and that they would endeavour to do their duty according to the inſtructions they had received. The council was ſcarce diſmiſſed, when the *Perſian* army appeared in the plains of *Salamis*; upon which the confederate kings of *Cyprus*, drawing up their forces in order of battle, placed the flower of their army, conſiſting of *Salaminians* and *Solians*, againſt the front of the *Perſians*, and the reſt of the *Cyprians* againſt the enemy's auxiliaries. *Oneſilus* took upon him to engage *Artybius* commander in chief of the *Perſian* forces, who was mounted on a horſe, as our hiſtorian tells us, that

Siromus. Cherſis. Gorgus.

Oneſilus *uſurps the throne and revolts from the* Perſians *Year of the flood* 2499. *Before Chriſt* 500.

[g] Ovid. Metamorph. l. xiv. [h] Herodot. l. iii. [i] Herodot. ibid. [k] Idem ibid. [l] Idem l. v.

had been taught to ſtand upright and tread under his feet the perſon he was puſhed againſt. *Oneſilus* therefore charged one of his officers, a man of great boldneſs, and well experienced in military affairs, to mind nothing but the general's horſe, and to prevent him from doing any miſchief in the time of the engagement. As the armies drew near, the king of *Salamis* advanced againſt *Artybius*, whoſe horſe beginning to rear, the officer ſtruck him with a ſcythe and cut off both his feet at one blow; *Oneſilus* having at the ſame time wounded *Artybius*, both the horſe and the rider fell to the ground. But the *Perſians*, not at all diſheartened at the death of their leader, charged the *Cyprians* with incredible vigor; and the *Cyprians* on the other hand exerting themſelves in imitation of their general, the victory was long doubtful, many falling on both ſides. But at length *Steſenor* king of *Curium* revolting to the enemy with all the forces under his command, and the *Salaminians*, who fought in chariots, ſoon after following his example, the *Cyprians* were put to flight with great ſlaughter. Among others *Oneſilus*, who had been the occaſion of this war, was killed in the flight, and with him *Ariſtocyprus* king of *Soli*, and ſon of that *Philocyprus*, whom *Solon* commended above all other kings in the verſes he made during his ſtay in *Cyprus*. The *Amathuſians*, to be revenged on *Oneſilus* for having beſieged their city, cut off his head and placed it over one of the gates of *Amathus*, where a ſwarm of bees having filled the ſkull with honey, the *Amathuſians*, conſulting on that occaſion the oracle, were told that if they interred the head and ſacrificed yearly to *Oneſilus*, as a hero, their affairs ſhould proſper. The *Amathuſians* obeyed the oracle, and continued to offer ſacrifices to *Oneſilus* to the time of our hiſtorian. The *Perſians*, having thus gained a complete victory over the *Cyprians*, ſoon reduced all the cities that had revolted, except *Soli*, which held out for ſix months againſt the whole power of *Perſia*, but at laſt, the walls being undermined by the enemy, was obliged to ſurrender. The *Salaminians* no ſooner heard of the death of *Oneſilus*, but they recalled *Gorgus* and placed him again on the throne. Thus the *Cyprians*, having enjoyed their liberty during the ſpace of one year, were reduced to their former ſtate of ſlavery [m].

a b c

Nicocrates. Timarchus.

Gorgus was ſucceeded in the kingdom of *Salamis* by his eldeſt ſon *Nicocrates*, and he by his brother *Timarchus*. But all we know of them is that the former made a curious collection of books, which he purchaſed at a great rate, as *Athenæus* informs us [n]; and that the latter had, as we read in *Pliny* [o], a double row of teeth. This writer ſeems to inſinuate that *Timarchus* was not only king of *Salamis*, but alſo of *Paphus*. In the reign of one of theſe princes, of which preciſely we cannot tell, the *Greeks*, having ſettled their affairs at home, reſolved to drive the *Perſians* out of all the *Greek* cities of *Aſia* and the neighbouring iſlands. With this view they equipped a powerful fleet, which ſailing to *Cyprus* under the command of *Pauſanias* king of the *Lacedæmonians*, and *Ariſtides* the *Athenian*, drove from many cities in that iſland the *Perſian* garriſons, and reſtored the inhabitants to their former liberty [p].

d

Evagoras I. *Year of the flood* 2536. *Before Chriſt* 453.

Timarchus was ſucceeded by *Evagoras* I. the ſon of *Nicocrates*, in whoſe reign the *Athenians*, having equipped a fleet of two hundred ſail, gave the command of it to *Cimon*, enjoining him to drive the *Perſians* from the iſland of *Cyprus*. *Cimon* purſuant to his orders landed his men in *Cyprus*, took *Malum* and ſeveral other cities of that iſland, and from thence, to make a diverſion, ſent ſixty ſail to the aſſiſtance of the *Egyptians*, who had revolted from the *Perſians*. As *Artabazus*, commander in chief of the *Perſian* forces in thoſe parts, lay off of *Cyprus* with a fleet of three hundred ſhips, *Cimon* as ſoon as his ſquadron returned from *Egypt*, fell upon him, took a hundred of his ſhips, deſtroyed many others, and purſued the reſt to the coaſts of *Phœnicia*. Being flushed with this ſucceſs, on his return he landed his men in *Cilicia*, where he found *Megabyzus* with an army of three hundred thouſand men, marched againſt him, and having cut in pieces a numberleſs multitude of his men, returned to *Cyprus* with a double triumph, and laid ſiege to *Citium*, the ſtrongeſt city in the whole iſland.

e f

Evagoras, notwithſtanding the great advantages gained by *Cimon*, ſtill adhered to the *Perſians*, and having raiſed a conſiderable army and prevailed upon ſeveral other petty princes of *Cyprus* to join him, marched to the relief of *Citium*, but was worſted by the *Athenians*, and obliged to retire to *Salamis*. Hereupon *Artaxerxes*, tired with a war in which he had ſuſtained ſo great loſſes, reſolved to put an end to ſo many

[m] HERODOT. l. v. c. 108—116. [n] ATHENÆUS, l. i. c. 1. [o] PLIN. l. xi. c. 37. [p] DIODOR. SICUL. l. xi.

calamities

a calamities by coming to an accommodation with the enemy. Accordingly he ſent orders to his generals, who were charged with the management of the *Cyprian* war, to conclude a peace with the *Athenians* on the beſt terms they could. Hereupon *Megabyzus* and *Artabazus* ſent embaſſadors to *Athens* to propoſe an accommodation, which was agreed upon by the deputies of both ſides on the following conditions: 1. That all the *Greek* cities of *Aſia* ſhould be made free, and allowed to live according to their own laws; 2. That no *Perſian* ſhips of war ſhould enter thoſe ſeas that lie between the *Cyanean* and *Chelidonian* iſlands, that is from the *Euxine* ſea to the coaſts of *Pamphylia*; 3. That no *Perſian* general ſhould come by land within three days march of thoſe ſeas; 4. That the *Athenians* ſhould not commit any hoſtilities
b in the territories of the king of *Perſia*. Purſuant to theſe articles the *Perſians* withdrew all their gariſons from *Cyprus*, leaving the ſeveral kings, among whom the iſland was parcelled out, to govern their reſpective kingdoms without any dependance on the kings of *Perſia* [q]. Not long after the concluſion of this peace *Evagoras* died, if we believe *Diodorus Siculus*, in baniſhment, having been driven out of his kingdom by his nephew *Protagoras* [r], who held it for ſome years, but performed no- Protagoras.
thing worth relating. The iſland of *Cyprus* continued free from any foreign yoke from the concluſion of the peace we have ſpoke of till the eighteenth year of the reign of *Artaxerxes Mnemon* king of *Perſia*, when by the famous treaty concluded by *Antalcidas* the *Lacedæmonian*, with *Tiribazus* general of the *Perſian* forces in *Aſia* Nicocreon.
c *Minor*, that iſland was again ſubjected to the *Perſians* with all the *Greek* cities in *Aſia*. *Year of the flood* 2602.
At this time reigned at *Salamis Nicocreon* ſon of the uſurper *Protagoras*, famous for *Before Chriſt* 383.
his cruelty, of which the following inſtance is related by *Laertius*, *Philo*, *Valerius Maximus* and *Pliny*. Taking offence at a ſatyrical ſaying of the philoſopher *Anaxarchus*, he cauſed him to be put into a great mortar made for that purpoſe, and to be pounded to death with iron peſtles [s]. Upon the death of *Nicocreon Nicocles* the Nicocles.
ſon of *Timarchus* was raiſed to the throne. During his reign a ſtranger from *Phœnicia*, called by ſome authors *Abdymon*, coming to *Salamis*, and being kindly entertained by *Nicocles*, requited the favours he received at the king's hands by driving
him, with the aſſiſtance of the *Perſians*, from the throne. Under this tyrant *Eva-* Evagoras II.
d *goras* II. was born, a prince of great merit and extraordinary virtue. He was the ſon of *Nicocles*, and being brought up by his parents with great care, gave early proofs of thoſe virtues, which, if *Iſocrates* may be credited, made him the perfect model of a good king [t]. He was diſtinguiſhed, as the ſame author tells us, among the youth by the beauty of his aſpect, the vigor of his body, and moſt of all by the modeſty and innocence of his behaviour, which are the greateſt ornaments of that age. He came into the world with the moſt happy diſpoſitions; a great fund of genius, an eaſy conception, a moſt lively penetration, which nothing eſcaped, *&c.* qualities, which might have exempted him from all ſtudy and application; and nevertheleſs he ſpent great part of his time in improving his mind by reading, as if
e he had been quite deſtitute of talents, and obliged to ſupply by ſtudy what nature had denied him. As he advanced in years his virtues became ſo conſpicuous as to give no ſmall jealouſy to the tyrant then on the throne, who was well appriſed that ſo ſhining a merit could not continue in the obſcurity of a private life. And indeed *Evagoras*, after the death of his father, waited only for an opportunity of recovering the crown which was due to him by his birth. But in the mean time one of the principal citizens, having murdered the tyrant, ſeized on it for himſelf, and being ſupported by the *Perſians* put all to the ſword who attempted to oppoſe him. On this occaſion *Evagoras* was obliged to ſave himſelf by abandoning the iſland and retiring to the continent. Having ſpent ſome time at *Soli* in *Cilicia*, and hearing
f there that his countrymen were grievouſly oppreſſed by the new uſurper, he reſolved at all events to reſcue them from the calamities they groaned under; and accordingly being attended only by fifty followers he paſſed over into *Cyprus*, and expelled the uſurper, the *Perſians* not being able to make head againſt the *Cyprians*, who joined him all to a man. Being thus by his own valor and the affection of his ſubjects reſtored to the throne of his anceſtors, he ſoon rendered his ſmall kingdom the moſt flouriſhing of the whole iſland. *Artaxerxes*, king of *Perſia*, attempted to drive him out and place anew on the throne the uſurper, who was greatly attached

[q] Plut. in Cim. Thucyd. l. i. Diodor. Sicul. l. xi. p. 73. [r] Diodor. Sicul. l xii. [s] Laert. in vit. Philoſoph. Plin. l. vii. c. 23. Nonus in orat. 47. &c. [t] Isocrat. in Evag.

to

to the *Perſians*; but that prince being diverted by the *Greek* war, and finding *Evagoras* determined to hold out to the laſt, put off the enterprize to a more proper ſeaſon. a
In the mean time *Conon* by means of *Cteſias* the *Cnidian*, who was chief phyſician to *Artaxerxes*, made up all differences between *Evagoras* and that prince, the latter promiſing not to moleſt him in the poſſeſſion of his ſmall kingdom. *Conon* after his defeat at *Ægoſpotamos* had taken refuge with *Evagoras*, and being kindly entertained by him had ever after ſought for all opportunities of requiting the favours which he and his countrymen the *Athenians* had received at the king's hands in their diſtreſs. But *Evagoras*, who was every way qualified for great undertakings, could not content himſelf with the kingdom of *Salamis* alone. He extended his dominions, and by degrees made himſelf maſter almoſt of the whole iſland. The *Amathuſians*, the b
Solians and the *Citians* alone of all thoſe iſlanders held out againſt him. Theſe had recourſe to the king of *Perſia*, who being alarmed at the rapid progreſs of *Evagoras*, promiſed them an immediate and powerful ſupport, which however he could not afford them ſo ſoon as he expected, being employed elſewhere in more important affairs. But having at laſt concluded a peace with the *Greeks* he bent all his force againſt *Evagoras*, being determined to drive him quite out of the iſland. The *Athenians*, notwithſtanding their alliance with the *Perſians*, and the many favours they had lately received from the king of *Perſia*, could not deny their aſſiſtance to *Evagoras*, who had befriended them on all occaſions, eſpecially after their overthrow at *Ægoſpotamos*. Having therefore with the utmoſt expedition equipped ten c
ſhips of war, they ſent them under the command of *Philocrates* to his aſſiſtance. But a fleet, which the *Lacedæmonians* had at ſea, commanded by *Telantius* the brother of *Ageſilaus*, falling in with them near the iſland of *Rhodes*, ſurrounded them ſo that not one ſhip could eſcape [u]. The *Athenians*, determined to aſſiſt their old ally at all adventures, ſent *Chabrias* with another fleet and a conſiderable number of land-forces on board to join him. This new ſupply arrived ſafe, and in a ſhort time the whole iſland was obliged to ſubmit to *Evagoras*, which greatly redounded to the honour of *Chabrias* and the *Athenian* arms. But the *Athenians* being forced by a new treaty of peace, concluded between *Artaxerxes* and the ſtates of *Greece*, to recal *Chabrias*, the *Perſians* attacked with all their forces the iſland of *Cyprus*, not doubt- d
ing but they ſhould ſoon reduce it, ſince no new ſupplies could be ſent thither from *Greece*. The *Perſian* army conſiſted of three hundred thouſand men, and the fleet of three hundred ſhips of war, beſides a great number of tranſports. The land-forces were commanded by *Orontes* ſon-in-law to *Artaxerxes*, and the fleet by *Gaus* the ſon of *Tamus*. *Tiribazus* was commander in chief both of the ſea and land-forces. *Evagoras*, ſeeing himſelf threatened with ſo dreadful a war, had recourſe to all thoſe princes, who were at enmity with the *Perſians*, receiving ſupplies of men and money from the *Egyptians*, *Lybians*, *Arabians*, *Tyrians*, and other nations. Beſides, as he was a wealthy prince, he hired a great many mercenaries of various nations, equipped a fleet of fourſcore and ten gallies, and armed a great number of ſmall veſſels, which e
by intercepting the enemy's convoys reduced them, after they had landed in the iſland, to ſuch ſtraits, that they began to mutiny, and killed ſeveral of their officers. But the whole *Perſian* fleet putting to ſea, the army was again plentifully ſupplied with proviſions from the continent. At the ſame time *Evagoras* likewiſe received a great ſupply of corn and fifty ſhips from *Egypt*. Upon the arrival of the *Egyptian* ſquadron he reſolved to attack the *Perſians* at the ſame time by ſea and land. His land-forces falling upon a great detachment of the *Perſian* army put them to flight with great ſlaughter. But the ſea-fight was not attended with the like ſucceſs. At firſt he had the advantage, and took or ſunk a great many of the enemy's ſhips. But f
the *Perſians*, being animated by the example and warm remonſtrances of *Gaus*, their admiral, reſumed courage, and returned to the charge with ſuch vigor, that *Evagoras*, after a moſt obſtinate reſiſtance, was obliged to retire into the harbour of *Salamis*, where he was cloſely beſieged both by ſea and land. After this victory *Tiribazus* went in perſon to acquaint the king with the ſucceſs that attended his arms in *Cyprus*, and having obtained two thouſand talents for the uſe of the army, he returned with that new ſupply to carry on the war more vigorouſly than ever. During his abſence, *Evagoras*, leaving the defence of the city to his ſon *Pythagoras*, got through the enemy's fleet in the dead of the night with ten ſhips and ſailed for

[u] XENOPH. Hellen. l. iv. DIODOR. SICUL. l. xv. p. 459.

Egypt,

a *Egypt*, in hopes of engaging *Achoris* king of that country to join him with all his forces. But not obtaining from him the aid he expected, and finding on his return the city reduced to the utmoſt extremity, he was obliged to capitulate. The terms offered him were, that he ſhould abandon all the cities of *Cyprus*, except *Salamis*, and that he ſhould hold this city of the king of *Perſia*, as a ſervant of his lord, and pay an annual tribute. The extremity, to which he was reduced, obliged him to comply with the firſt article, hard as it was; but he could not by any means be brought to conſent to the ſecond, declaring that he would hold his kingdom no otherwiſe than as a king under a king. *Tiribazus*, who commanded in chief, would not make the leaſt alteration, nor abate any thing of his pretenſions; whereupon *Eva-*
b *goras*, being determined to die ſword in hand rather than to yield to ſuch terms, broke off the conference, and applied himſelf entirely to the defence of the city [w].

In the mean time *Orontes*, who commanded the land-forces, not being able to brook the ſuperiority which *Tiribazus* had over him, as being intruſted with the whole management of the war, and jealous of the ſucceſs that attended him, wrote ſecretly to court, accuſing him of holding a private correſpondence with the *Lacedæmonians*, and ſpinning out the ſiege of *Salamis*, in order to bring about ſome change in the government with the aſſiſtance of *Evagoras*, a ſworn enemy to the *Perſians*. Upon the receipt of this letter, *Artaxerxes* immediately diſpatched letters to *Orontes*, enjoining him to ſeize *Tiribazus*, and ſend him priſoner to court. *Orontes*, without
c delay, put the king's orders in execution, and was rewarded for his ſuppoſed zeal with the chief command of all the *Perſian* forces in *Cyprus*; but the army being greatly diſſatisfied with the change, ſome left the ſervice, and others refuſed to obey their new commander. This obliged *Orontes* to reſume the negotiations of peace with *Evagoras*, and to conclude them upon the very terms which *Tiribazus* had rejected; for he conſented that *Evagoras* ſhould hold *Salamis* as king of that city, paying only a ſmall tribute to the king of *Perſia*. Thus the ſiege was raiſed, and an end put to the war, after it had coſt the *Perſians* 50,000 talents, that is, near ten millions of our money [x].

Not long after the concluſion of this peace, *Evagoras* was murdered by one of
d his eunuchs, named *Thraſidæus*, and ſucceeded in the kingdom of *Salamis* by his ſon *Nicocles*. *Diodorus* confounding the name of his ſon who ſucceeded him with that of the eunuch by whom he was murdered, tells us, that he was treacherouſly put to death by the eunuch *Nicocles*, and that, upon his death, the eunuch ſeized on the kingdom [y]. That he was murdered by an eunuch, we are told alſo by *Ariſtotle* [z]; but the eunuch's name was *Thraſidæus*, as we read in *Theopompus*, who adds, that *Nicocles* the ſon of *Evagoras*, upon the death of his father, took quiet poſſeſſion of the kingdom of *Salamis* [a]. *Nicocles* celebrated the funeral of his father with the utmoſt pomp and magnificence. The diſcourſe intitled *Evagoras* ſerved for his funeral oration. It was compoſed by *Iſocrates*, to inſpire the young king with a
e deſire of treading in the ſteps of his father. The ſame philoſopher wrote two other orations addreſſed to *Nicocles*, whoſe name they ſtill bear. In the firſt of theſe *Iſocrates* ſhews the duty of a king to his ſubjects; and in the ſecond the duty of ſubjects to their king. *Nicocles* rewarded the author with twenty talents, as *Plutarch* informs us in the life of that philoſopher [b]. *Nicocles* ſeems to have reigned but a few years; for we find his ſon *Evagoras* in poſſeſſion of the throne before the revolt of *Cyprus*, which happened in the very beginning of the reign of *Ochus*, who ſucceeded *Artaxerxes Mnemon*. It is ſurprizing that moſt authors ſhould confound this *Nicocles* with another of the ſame name who reigned at *Salamis* in the time of *Ptolemy* the ſon of *Lagus*, and revolted from him to *Antigonus*. *Nicocles*, the ſon of that *Evagoras*,
f of whom we have ſpoke above, was ſucceeded by his ſon named alſo *Evagoras*, which has occaſioned great confuſion among thoſe who have wrote of the affairs of *Cyprus*. *Evagoras* II. was, according to the learned biſhop *Uſher* [c], ſucceeded by his ſon *Nicocles*, and *Nicocles* again by his ſon *Evagoras*, who was driven out by his uncle *Protagoras*. While the latter was in poſſeſſion of the throne, the *Cyprians*, being ill uſed by their *Perſian* governors, attempted to ſhake off the yoke by joining the *Egyptians* and *Phœnicians*, who had already revolted. Hereupon *Ochus* diſpatched his orders to *Idrieus* king of *Caria*, enjoining him to invade the iſland of *Cyprus*, and

Nicocles II.

Evagoras II.

Evagoras III.

Cyprians *revolt from the* Perſians.

Year of the flood 2638. *Before Chriſt* 351.

[w] Diodor. ibid. [x] Isocrat. in Evag. Diodor. l. xv. p. 462. [y] Diodor. Sicul. l. xv.
[z] Aristot. l. v. Polyb. 1, 10. [a] Apud Phot. in Biblioth. num. 176. [b] Plut. in Iſocrat.
[c] Usher. ad annum mundi 3630.

make war upon the inhabitants. *Idrieus*, in compliance with his command, having a
equipped a fleet, ſent it with eight thouſand *Greek* mercenaries, under the conduct
of *Phocion* the *Athenian*, and *Evagoras*, to make a deſcent in the iſland. This
Evagoras was the ſon of *Nicocles*, as we have hinted above, and having been driven
out by his uncle *Protagoras*, he gladly joined the *Perſians*, in hopes of recovering
his crown. His knowledge of the country, and the party he might ſtill have in the
iſland, made him a very proper perſon to command in this expedition. *Cyprus* had
ſtill nine kings, but ſubject and tributary to the king of *Perſia*. They all joined
in this confederacy, with a deſign to ſhake off the *Perſian* yoke, and make them-
ſelves each independent in his own city. The troops under the command of *Phocion*
and *Evagoras* landed in *Cyprus* without any oppoſition, and being reinforced with b
numerous bodies of voluntiers from *Syria* and *Cilicia*, enticed hither with the hopes of
enriching themſelves with the ſpoils of ſo wealthy an iſland, they began with the
ſiege of *Salamis*, which they inveſted by ſea and land. But *Protagoras* making a
vigorous defence, *Ochus*, who was entirely bent on the reduction of *Egypt*, com-
pounded with him and the other *Cyprian* princes, redreſſing all their grievances, and
confirming them in the government of their reſpective territories [d]. The greateſt
difficulty which *Ochus* met with in bringing about this accommodation, was the
contenting of *Evagoras*, who laid claim to the kingdom of *Salamis*; but he being
convicted before *Ochus* of having committed the moſt flagrant oppreſſions during his
reign, *Protagoras* was confirmed in the kingdom of *Salamis*, and amends was made c
Evagoras, by conferring on him the government of another place; but he being
guilty there of the ſame miſdemeanours, was obliged to ſave himſelf by flight into
the iſland of *Cyprus*, where he was ſeized and put to death by *Protagoras*.

Cyprus *falls to* Antigonus, *but taken from him by* Ptolemy.

FROM this time, to the reign of *Ptolemy*, the firſt of that name who reigned in
Egypt, we find no mention made of the *Cyprian* kings. They ſubmitted, without
all doubt, to *Alexander*, upon the ſame terms which had been granted them by the
Perſian monarchs, as *Arrian* ſeems to inſinuate [e]. Upon the death of that conque-
ror, his generals divided the conqueſts he had made among them, in which diviſion
Cyprus fell to *Antigonus*. But while that prince was engaged in *Aſia Minor* with
Caſſander, *Ptolemy* the ſon of *Lagus*, having invaded *Cyprus* with a powerful fleet, d
reduced moſt part of the iſland, and obliged the kings who reigned there to do him
homage. Among theſe *Nicocles*, king of *Paphos*, being accuſed of holding under-
hand a correſpondence with *Antigonus*, *Ptolemy* ſent two of his intimate friends,
Argaus and *Pallicrates*, into *Cyprus*, with inſtructions to diſpatch *Nicocles*, leſt, by
his inſinuations, the other princes ſhould revolt and join *Antigonus*. Theſe arriving
in *Cyprus*, unexpectedly ſurrounded the houſe of *Nicocles* with a body of men ſent
them for that purpoſe by *Menelaus*, who commanded in *Cyprus* for *Ptolemy*. *Nicocles*
finding no means to eſcape, attempted firſt to clear himſelf of what was laid to his
charge; but ſeeing no one hearkened to what he ſaid, he drew his ſword, and ſlew
himſelf on the ſpot. *Axiothea*, his wife, hearing of her husband's death, firſt killed e
all her daughters, leſt they ſhould fall into the enemy's hands, and then laid violent
hands on herſelf. The news of ſuch a dreadful maſſacre ſo affected the brothers of
Nicocles, that retiring each of them to their own habitations, they ſet fire to their
houſes, and periſhed with their whole families in the flames [f]. This *Nicocles* is ſup-
poſed to have been the laſt of the *Teucrian* family, and to have poſſeſſed not only the
kingdom of *Paphos*, but that alſo of *Salamis*. Be that as it will, the kings of *Cyprus*
from this time deſerve rather the title of governors than kings, being ſubjects and
mere vaſſals to the kings of *Egypt*.

Demetrius *invades* Cyprus.

Ptolemy had not been long in poſſeſſion of *Cyprus*, when *Antigonus*, bent upon the
recovery of that rich and fruitful iſland, ordered his ſon *Demetrius* to tranſport f
thither what forces he could, in order to drive out *Ptolemy*'s generals. *Demetrius*,
in compliance with his father's commands, left *Greece*, where he then was, and
ſailed over into *Caria*, whence he ſent embaſſadors to *Rhodes*, inviting the *Rhodians* to
join him againſt *Ptolemy*. But the *Rhodians* refuſing to comply with his requeſt, and
proteſting that they would maintain a ſtrict neutrality, he paſſed into *Cilicia*, highly
diſſatisfied with their conduct, and determined to make them feel in due time the
effects of his reſentment. In *Cilicia* he raiſed an army of fifteen thouſand foot, and
four hundred horſe, which he embarked on a great number of tranſports, and con-

[d] DIODOR. SICUL. l. xvi. p. 504. [e] ARRIAN. de expedit. Alexand. p. 34. [f] DIODOR. l. xx. POLYÆNUS Stratag. l. viii.

veyed

a veyed over into *Cyprus*, under the convoy of one hundred and ſixty-three ſhips of war. Being landed without the leaſt oppoſition, he encamped near the ſhore, in the neighbourhood of *Carpaſia*, where he drew his ſhips to land, and ſurrounded them with a deep ditch and a double rampart. Having thus ſecured his navy, he advanced firſt to the cities of *Urania* and *Carpaſia*, which he took by ſtorm, and then, leaving a ſufficient guard to defend his trenches, he marched to *Salamis*, with a deſign to lay ſiege to that important place [g]. *Menelaus*, *Ptolemy*'s brother, who was then in *Salamis*, upon intelligence of the enemy's approach, drew out of the neighbouring gariſons a body of twelve thouſand foot, and eight hundred horſe, with a deſign to divert him from beſieging the city; but *Demetrius* falling upon him, put his army to flight, and purſuing him to the very gates of the city, took three thou-
b ſand of his men priſoners, and killed about a thouſand in the flight and the purſuit. The priſoners he treated with great humanity, and incorporated them among his own troops; but finding they were ready on all occaſions to abandon him, and fly over to *Menelaus*, he put them on board his tranſports, and ſent them all to his father *Antigonus* [h].

Menelaus being fully perſuaded that *Demetrius*, elated with his ſucceſs, would lay ſiege to *Salamis*, made the due preparations on his ſide for a vigorous defence, and at the ſame time diſpatched three meſſengers to *Ptolemy*, acquainting him with the ſtate of affairs in *Cyprus*, and ſolliciting him to ſend what ſuccours he could with all poſſible
c expedition. In the mean time *Demetrius*, having viewed the ſituation and fortifications of the place, began to prepare the neceſſary engines for the reduction of it, which, he foreſaw, would coſt him dear, the gariſon being very numerous, and *Menelaus* reſolved to hold out to the laſt extremity. Having ſent for workmen out of *Aſia*, and brought from thence a great quantity of iron, timber and other materials, he made an immenſe number of warlike engines of an extraordinary bigneſs, and amongſt others the famous *helepolis*, of which we have ſpoke in the hiſtory of *Rhodes*. When the engines were ready, *Demetrius* began to batter the walls with ſuch fury, that in a few days ſeveral breaches were opened; but when he thought himſelf already maſter of the place, *Menelaus* found means to ſet fire to his engines, which was ſo violent, that notwithſtanding the endeavours of *Demetrius*'s men to
d extinguiſh the flames, they conſumed in a ſhort time all the machines, together with the *helepolis*, and the men that were in it. This obliged *Demetrius* to ſuſpend his attacks; and in the mean time *Ptolemy*, upon the intelligence he received of his brother's ill ſucceſs in the action againſt *Demetrius*, ſet ſail from *Egypt*, with a fleet of an hundred and forty ſhips of war, and two hundred tranſports, carrying ten thouſand men for the land-ſervice. With this fleet he arrived at *Citium*, about two hundred furlongs from *Salamis*, and from thence diſpatched meſſengers by land to *Menelaus*, deſiring him to ſend the ſhips, which, to the number of ſixty, were in the port of *Salamis*, to join the fleet. But *Demetrius*, foreſeeing that *Ptolemy*'s deſign was to venture an engagement by ſea, had the precaution to leave ten of his ſhips in the mouth of the harbour, which was very narrow, to prevent *Menelaus*'s ſquadron
e from ſailing out. The reſt he drew up in line of battle, and having commanded the cavalry to keep near the ſea-ſide, that they might be ready, in caſe of any misfortune, to aſſiſt thoſe who ſhould ſwim to land, he advanced towards the enemy with an hundred and eight ſail. The two fleets engaged with the utmoſt fury and reſolu- Ptolemy *overtion*; that of *Demetrius*, conſiſting moſtly of *Phœnicians*, *Samians* and *Athenians*, *thrown in a* ſoon put *Ptolemy*'s left wing in confuſion, and drove moſt of the ſhips aſhore. On *fight.* the other hand, *Ptolemy*, who commanded in the right wing, gained the like advantage over the enemy's left, took ſeveral of their beſt gallies, and obliged the reſt to ſave themſelves by flight; but having purſued them too eagerly, he was attacked on his return, while his men were tired, by *Demetrius*, and, after an obſtinate reſiſt-
f ance, put to flight. *Demetrius* chaced him with his ſhips in line of battle, and took ſeventy of his gallies, with all his tranſports, on board of which were all his proviſions, arms, money, military engines, and eight thouſand land-forces. After this overthrow, *Ptolemy* returned to *Egypt*, with eight gallies only, the reſt of his numerous fleet being either broken or deſtroyed. Upon his retreat, the whole iſland of Cyprus *ſu-*
Cyprus, with all the forces, ſhipping and magazines, which *Ptolemy* had there, fell *mits to* Deme-into the hands of *Demetrius*. The priſoners at land amounted to about ſeventeen *trius.*

[g] Plut. in Demetrio. Diodor. Sicul. l. xx. Justin. l. xv. [h] Diodor. Sicul. Plut. ibid.

thouſand

thouſand men, beſides the mariners taken on board the fleet. *Menelaus* the brother, and *Lentiſus* the ſon of *Ptolemy*, were among the captives; but *Demetrius* ſent them both home with their friends and dependents, without ranſom, to requite the like kindneſs ſhewn him by *Ptolemy* after the battle of *Gaza*. All the reſt he incorporated into his own forces, and thereby greatly reinforced both his fleet and army [h]. a

Demetrius, immediately after this victory, diſpatched *Ariſtodemus* the *Mileſian*, with the news of it to his father *Antigonus*. When he arrived at court, and was brought in to *Antigonus*, he ſtood ſilent for ſome time, keeping him in ſuſpence, and then, as in a tranſport of joy, he uttered aloud theſe words, Proſperity and happineſs to king *Antigonus*; we have overthrown king *Ptolemy* at ſea; *Cyprus* is ours; we have taken ſixteen thouſand eight hundred men priſoners. *Antigonus* anſwered, Proſperity and happineſs to thee too; nevertheleſs, becauſe thou haſt keep me ſo long in ſuſpenſe, thou ſhalt in ſome degree be puniſhed, and wait in thy turn for thy reward [i]. *Antigonus* was ſo elated with this victory, that thenceforth he aſſumed the title of king, and gave it likewiſe to his ſon *Demetrius*; which the *Egyptians* hearing of, honoured *Ptolemy* with the ſame title, that he might, tho' defeated, be upon the ſame level with the conqueror. This example was followed by *Lyſimachus*, *Caſſander*, and *Seleucus*, who, from that time, in all their letters, orders, decrees and other writings, ſtiled themſelves kings [k]. *Antigonus*, and, after his death, *Demetrius*, held the iſland of *Cyprus* for the ſpace of eleven years, at the end of which *Ptolemy* recovered it, while *Demetrius* was engaged againſt the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians*. He equipped a numerous fleet, and landing in *Cyprus*, over-ran the whole iſland before *Demetrius* had the leaſt notice of his deſign. The city of *Salamis* alone held out ſome time againſt him, but was at length obliged to ſurrender, and open its gates to the conqueror. In this city he found the mother, wife and children of *Demetrius*, whom he generouſly ſet at liberty, with all their friends and domeſtics, loading them with rich preſents, and appointing a ſquadron of his beſt ſhips to convey them, with whatever belonged to them, into *Greece*, where *Demetrius* then was [l]. b

Cyprus *recovered by* Ptolemy. c

FROM this time *Cyprus*, according to what we read in profane writers, continued ſubject to the king of *Egypt*, till they were, with the utmoſt injuſtice, deprived of it by the *Romans*; but from the book of the *Maccabees* [m], where *Ptolemeus Macron* and *Nicanor* are mentioned as governing that iſland under *Antiochus Epiphanes*, it is plain, that *Cyprus* was again, at leaſt for ſome time, brought under ſubjection to the kings of *Syria*. Be that as it will, the ſeizing of it by the *Romans* is reckoned the moſt flagrant piece of injuſtice their republic was ever guilty of. We ſhall, in a few words, give a diſtinct account of this memorable event, which will for ever reflect ignominy and diſgrace on the *Roman* name. *Ptolemy Lathurus*, king of *Egypt*, left two ſons, who divided their father's dominions between them. One known by the name of *Ptolemy Auletes*, that is, the *Flute-player*, had, for his ſhare, the kingdom of *Egypt*. The other called *Ptolemy*, without any ſurname, had the iſland of *Cyprus*. While the latter reigned in *Cyprus*, *Publius Clodius*, a young *Roman* nobleman, of a very bold and enterprizing genius, being taken by the pirates on the coaſts of *Cilicia*, ſent to *Ptolemy* king of *Cyprus*, entreating him to ſend him a ſum of money wherewithal to pay his ranſom. As *Ptolemy* was a prince of a ſordid and covetous temper, he ſent him only two talents, which the pirates deſpiſing, they choſe rather to releaſe him without ranſom than to accept of ſo ſmall a ſum. Some years after *Clodius* being adopted by a plebeian, and choſen tribune of the people, he employed all his power and authority, which were very great, againſt the king of *Cyprus*, repreſenting him as a moſt wicked man, and one who was unworthy to wear a crown. He was indeed a vicious prince, but what right had *Rome* to reform the manners of independent kings? However, as *Ptolemy* poſſeſſed immenſe riches, the people were eaſily prevailed upon to concur with the revengeful *Clodius* to his ruin, and paſs a decree, declaring, that *Ptolemy* had forfeited his throne by his ill conduct, and that his dominions were fallen to the *Roman* people [n]. The ſenate did not oppoſe this unjuſt decree, for they had long ſought for ſome pretence to ſtrip that wealthy prince of his treaſures, and the only ſhew of juſtice they could find for

Cyprus *unjuſtly ſeized by the* Romans. *Year of the flood* 2941. *Before Chriſt* 58. d e f

[h] PLUT. in Demetrio. DIODOR. SICUL. l. xx. JUSTIN. l. xv. c. 2. [i] PLUT. in Demetrio. [k] PLUT. ibid. DIODOR. SICUL. JUSTIN. ubi ſupra. MACCAB. l. i. c. 1. ver. 9. [l] PLUT. ibid. [m] MACCAB. 2. c. x & xii. [n] PLUT. in Cat. Uticenſi. DION. CASSIUS l. xxxviii. L. FLORUS l. iii. c. 9. STRABO l. xiv. p. 684.

it

5

a it was, that *Alexander* the late king of *Egypt* dying at *Tyre*, had left the *Roman* people his heirs, and that therefore the kingdom of *Egypt*, and with it *Cyprus*, which was then deemed a part of the kingdom of *Egypt*, had, in virtue of that donation, paſſed to the *Romans*. This will had been inſiſted on at *Rome* ſoon after the death of *Alexander*, and motions had been there made for the ſeizing both of *Egypt* and *Cyprus*; but as they had ſome years before taken poſſeſſion of *Bithynia*, by virtue of the will of *Nicomedes*, and of *Cyrene* and *Lybia*, by the like will of *Apion*, and reduced them to *Roman* provinces, the ſenate thought it would bring them under the imputation of being too deſirous of graſping all foreign dominions, ſhould they, on this pretence, make themſelves maſters likewiſe of *Egypt* and *Cyprus*;
b wherefore, dropping at that time their claim to the deceaſed king's dominions, they only ſent to *Tyre*, for the effects he had left there at his death [o]. But now this claim as to *Cyprus* was revived, and, to gratify the revenge of *Clodius*, and the inſatiable avarice of the people of *Rome*, a decree paſſed for the ſeizing of *Cyprus*, tho' the king then on the throne had been declared a friend and ally of *Rome*, and had never done any thing to incur the diſpleaſure of that haughty and imperious republic [p].

THE decree for the diſpoſſeſſing of *Ptolemy* being paſſed, *Clodius*'s next care was to find out a proper perſon to put it in execution. *Cato* was then uſing his utmoſt endeavours to guard the republic againſt the attempts of *Clodius*; ſo that his preſence was not at all agreeable to the factious tribune, who therefore reſolved to get
c rid of ſo troubleſome a cenſor, by ſending him out of the way on this expedition. He paid him a viſit, and acquainted him, that the people had honoured him with a commiſſion, which was very reputable for him, and neceſſary for the good of the public. Vice reigns, ſaid he, in *Cyprus*, and the throne is debaſed by it. *Rome* has therefore made choice of a man of ſpotleſs probity to eſtabliſh virtue there. Go then, *Cato*, and make the purity of the *Roman* laws be revered in an iſland, which is infamous for its vices. *Cato*, who was well apprized of the ſnare, replied, That he could not leave his country, when it was threatened with far greater and nearer dangers. Well then, replied *Clodius*, I will compel you to do what you refuſe to the requeſt of your friends; and accordingly having aſſembled the comitia, he procured an order for *Cato* to ſet out without delay for *Cyprus*, and dethrone the king. Thus the virtuous *Romans*, by the moſt unjuſt and iniquitous decree poſſible, ordered a friend and ally of theirs to be deprived of his dominions; and the rigid *Cato* had ſo little ſenſe of juſtice as to obey and execute thoſe wicked orders. The tribune, after the decree was paſſed, preſſed *Cato* to depart immediately, but did not provide ſo much as a ſhip to carry him to *Cyprus*. He was commiſſioned to drive the king from his throne, but was not allowed either men or money to execute the enterprize, or even a guard to protect him againſt the inſults of a provoked enemy. He therefore went on board the firſt ſhip he met with bound for *Cyprus*, and being attended only with a few domeſtics, arrived at *Rhodes*, whence he ſent one *Canidius* into *Cyprus*, charging him to try whether he could prevail upon *Ptolemy*, by fair means, to give up his dominions to the republic. *Canidius* offered him, in *Cato*'s name, the high-prieſthood of *Venus* at *Paphos*, on the revenues of which he might have lived in a ſtate of plenty and honour. This offer *Ptolemy* rejected; but, on the other hand, not having courage enough to engage in a war with *Rome*, he reſolved to put an end to his life and reign at the ſame time. Accordingly having put his beloved treaſures, which he had been accumulating for many years, on board one of his largeſt ſhips, he ſailed out of the harbour, with a deſign to ſink the veſſel, and periſh together with his riches; but when he came to the execution of his deſign, he could not find in his heart to deſtroy his treaſure, tho' he perſiſted in the reſolution of deſtroying himſelf; he therefore returned aſhore, and having laid up all his wealth again in the treaſury, poiſoned himſelf, not being able to ſurvive his diſgrace, tho' he could not bear that his wealth ſhould be loſt. Upon the king's death, *Cato*, without oppoſition, took poſſeſſion of the iſland in the name of the republic, and ſeized the treaſures, which had been the chief cauſe of that unfortunate prince's ruin. They amounted to 7000 talents, that is, 1,356,250 *l. Sterl.*, and were the next year carried to *Rome* by *Cato*, and lodged there in the public treaſury [q]. This

[o] VELLEIUS PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 45. CIC. in Orat. 1 & 2. in Rullum. [p] PLUT. in Catone. VELL. PATERCUL. ubi ſupra. [q] PLUT. in Catone. VAL. MAX. l. ix. c. 4. DION CASSIUS, l. xxxix. p. 101. FLORUS, l. iii. c. 2. STRABO, l. xiv. p. 684. APPIAN de Bell. Civil. l. ii. AMMIAN. MARCELL. l. xiv. VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 45.

wicked and unjuſt proceeding of the *Romans* is generally aſcribed to the tribune *Clodius*; but the ſenate was no leſs to blame than the tribune, for they not only approved of the decree depriving *Ptolemy* of his kingdom, but conferred extraordinary honours upon *Cato* for having put it in execution. *Cato* himſelf, notwithſtanding his boaſted virtue, ſhewed no more integrity on this occaſion than the wicked *Clodius*; for he not only accepted of that commiſſion, but, after his return, gave a plain inſtance of his approving whatever had been done. As ſoon as *Clodius* ended his tribuneſhip, *Cicero* accuſed him before the ſenate, and endeavoured to perſuade the fathers to annul all the laws he had made during his authority. But on this occaſion *Cato* declared in favour of his greateſt enemy againſt his beſt friend, ſaying, that if the acts of *Clodius* were annulled, the treaſures brought from *Cyprus* ought to be reſtored to the inhabitants of that iſland; and, to prevent this, the virtuous *Cato* prevailed upon the ſenate to confirm ſuch acts of *Clodius* as regarded the depoſing of the king, and the ſeizing of his moveable riches and dominions [r]. a b

[r] Velleius Patercul. ubi ſupra.

SECT. VI.

The Hiſtory of Samos.

Name.

The name of *Samos* was in ancient times common to three iſlands, viz. *Cephalenia*, *Samothracia*, and this which we are now to write of. *Cephalenia* had the name of *Samos* from its metropolis *Sama*, as *Thucydides* informs us [s], and *Samothracia* from a colony of *Samians*, who being driven out of their own iſland by their domeſtic tyrants, ſettled in that [t]. The iſland ſtill known by the name of *Samos* was in former ages diſtinguiſhed from the other two by the epithet of *Ionian*, being inhabited chiefly by the *Iones*, to whoſe confederacy it belonged. It had alſo the following names, *Parthenia*, according to *Ariſtotle* the moſt ancient of all [u], *Dryuſa*, *Anthemuſa*, *Melamphyllus*, *Cyparisſia*, *Parthenoaruſa*, *Stephane* [w], *Anthemus*, and *Parthenias* [x]. Whence it had the name of *Samos*, which in proceſs of time prevailed over all the reſt, is uncertain: Some writers, quoted by *Strabo* [y], are of opinion that it was ſo called from the *Saæ*, a people of *Thrace*, who ſettled in the iſland; but *Strabo* himſelf ſeems to inſinuate that it borrowed this name from ſome hero, a native of the country. As this iſland is full of eminences and precipices, it is not unlikely that the name of *Samos* was given it on that account, ſince the word *Samos* was uſed by the ancient *Greeks*, as *Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus* informs us, to ſignify any high place or eminence. c d

Situation.

Samos lies between the continent of *Aſia* and the iſland of *Icaria*, being divided from the former by a ſtrait, according to *Strabo* 875, but in reality above a thouſand paces broad, and from the latter by another which is eight miles over. The ſtrait, which parts *Samos* from the continent of *Aſia*, is called by the *Turks the little Bogazi*, that word ſignifying in their language a canal or ſtrait, and the other which ſeparates it from the iſland of *Icaria*, the *great Bogazi*: As all the veſſels trading from *Conſtantinople* to *Syria* and *Egypt*, paſs through one of theſe ſtraits, the courſe by *Mycone* and *Naxia* being too long, they are ſtill frequented by pyrates as they were in *Strabo*'s time. In the middle of the little ſtrait ſtands a rock, between which and the iſland of *Samos* lies the ſmall iſland of *Nartecis* mentioned by *Strabo* [z], who places it over-againſt the cape *Poſidium* in *Samos*, famous for a ſtately temple built there by the *Samians* in honour of *Neptune*, whence it had the name of *Poſidium* or *Neptune*'s cape. The iſland of *Samos* lies between the 38th and 39th degrees of north latitude, and is about eighty-ſeven miles in circumference. c f

The city of Samos.

The metropolis of *Samos*, and the only city in the country mentioned by the ancients, bore the ſame name as the iſland. It ſtood on the ſouth coaſt partly in the plain and partly on the hills, being divided into the upper and lower town. The former took up the hills about the preſent city of *Cora*, which is near three miles from

[s] Thucyd. l. ii. [t] Suidas verbo Σαμοθράκη. [u] Apud. Plin. l. v. c. 31. [w] Plin. ibid. [x] Strab. l. x. [y] Idem ibid. [z] Strab. l. xiv.

the

a the ſea, and the latter the plain which extends from the preſent port of *Tigani* to the cape of *Juno* [a]. *Strabo* tells us that this city was built by *Tembrio* and *Procles*, or, as ſome read it, *Patrocles*, who ſettled here with a colony of *Ionians*. But *Vitruvius* [b] is of opinion, that *Samos* and the thirteen towns of the *Ionian* confederacy were all built by *Ion* the *Athenian*, who gave his name to the country of *Ionia*. The city of *Samos* was in the flouriſhing times of *Greece* very populous, wealthy, and well fortified. We may judge of the ancient ſplendor and greatneſs of this city from the ruins of it, which are ſtill to be ſeen and fully deſcribed by a modern traveller [c]. *Herodotus* [d] takes notice of three things very remarkable at *Samos*; the firſt was a way opened through a mountain, ſeven furlongs in length, eight foot in heighth, and b as many in breadth. A canal twenty cubits deep, and three foot broad was carried along the ſide of the aperture, and ſerved to convey, through various pipes, the water of a plentiful ſpring into the city. *Eupalinus* of *Megara*, the ſon of *Nauſtrophus*, was the contriver and director of this work. A modern traveller is of opinion that the ſpring, which tempted the *Samians* to undertake ſo great a work, was that which is ſtill to be ſeen at *Metelinous*; for that ſpring is by far the beſt of the iſland, and the bored mountain ſtands between the ſmall town of *Metelinous* and the ruins of ancient *Samos* [e]. The entrance of the opening, which was carried quite through the mountain, is to be ſeen to this day, but the other parts have been long ſince filled up. The ſecond thing, which *Herodotus* obſerved at *Samos*, was a mole c or peer an hundred and twenty foot high, which formed the harbour, and advanced above two furlongs into the ſea. Such an extraordinary work in thoſe early times ſhews that the *Samians* were among the firſt of the *Greeks* who applied themſelves to navigation; and indeed we find them employing *Aminocles* the *Corinthian*, the ableſt ſhip-builder of his time, near three hundred years before the *Peloponneſian* war [f]. The third thing counted by *Herodotus* among the wonders of *Samos* was the famous temple of *Juno*, the moſt ſpacious, as that hiſtorian affirms, which he ever ſaw [g]. The ruins of this edifice are ſtill to be ſeen about half a mile from the ſea, and the like diſtance from the river *Imbraſus*. A modern traveller gives us a diſtinct account of them, which it would be too long to inſert here [h]. *Menodorus* the *Samian*, who d wrote a treatiſe on the curioſities of that iſland, tells us that this temple was built by *Caricus* and certain nymphs [i]; for he ſuppoſes the iſland to have been firſt poſſeſſed by the *Carians*, ſo called, according to *Caricus* their leader. *Pauſanias* writes that it was the work of the *Argonauts*, who brought from *Argos* to *Samos* a ſtatue of the goddeſs, and placed it in a magnificent temple built by them in this iſland, which was in a peculiar manner ſacred to *Juno*, who was ſuppoſed to have been born here on the banks of the river *Imbraſus* under one of thoſe trees which we call *Agnus Caſtus*. The ſtump of this tree was ſhewn, as the ſame author informs us, for many ages in the temple, and no leſs honoured than *Juno* herſelf [k]. The ſtatue of the goddeſs, as the ſame *Pauſanias* tells us, was the work of *Smilis*, a famous ſculptor of e *Ægina*, and contemporary with *Dædalus*. *Clemens Alexandrinus* [l] ſpeaks of this temple as one of the moſt ſtately buildings of antiquity, and adds out of *Æthlius*, a very ancient author, that the *Samians* at firſt worſhipped only the ſtump of a tree, which was afterwards formed into a ſtatue. The *Tyrrhenian* pirates, if we believe *Menodotus* [m], having attempted to carry away this ſtatue, and put it already on board one of their ſhips, were kept in the harbour with contrary winds till they carried it back to the temple; the fame of this pretended miracle drew crowds of votaries from all parts, and greatly increaſed the worſhip which was paid to the *Samian Juno*.

Three remarkable things at Samos.

THE *Heræan* games, which were inſtituted by the *Greeks* in honour of *Juno* whom f they called *Here*, were celebrated in this iſland with the utmoſt magnificence. The fabulous opinion, which prevailed in *Samos*, that *Juno* had lived there from her earlieſt infancy till ſhe became marriageable, and that *Jupiter* had married her there, gave riſe to the ſolemnity which they annually celebrated in honour of that goddeſs. The *Samians* then renewed the nuptial rejoicings in her temple, where was amongſt other ſtatues one of this their tutelary goddeſs under the figure of a new-married woman, to perpetuate the memory of her marriage with *Jupiter*. We have ſtill re-

[a] Idem ibid. [b] VITRUVIUS Archit. l. iv. c. 1. [c] TOURNEFORT. Voyage au Levant, &c. Vol. I. [d] HERODOT. l. iii. [e] TOURNEFORT. ibid. [f] THUCYD. l. i. [g] HERODOT. ibid. [h] TOURNEFORT. ubi ſupra. [i] Apud ATHENÆUM, l. iii. [k] PAUSAN. in Arcad. [l] CLEM. ALEXAND. Stromat. l. i. [m] MENODOTUS apud ATHEN. ibid.

maining,

maining, in the ancient monuments, ſeveral traces of the zealous worſhip the *Samians* paid to *Juno*. Moſt of the *Samian* medals are ſtamped with the figure of this goddeſs, holding a ſceptre in her hand to ſhew her dominion over the iſland, and have on the reverſe a peacock her favourite bird. The temple of *Juno*, where the *Heræan* ſolemnities were performed, was one of the moſt ancient of *Greece*, having been built, if we believe *Herodotus* [n], by one *Rhœcus* the ſon of *Phileus*, a native of *Samos*, ſoon after the *Ionians* ſettled in the iſland. This ancient temple was burnt down to the ground by the *Perſians*, but ſoon after rebuilt and ſo enriched with gifts that there was no room for ſtatues and pictures [o]. *Verres* on his return from *Aſia*, notwithſtanding the miracle which had ſaved the goddeſs from the *Tyrrhenians*, did not ſcruple to rifle the temple, and ſtrip it of all its rich moveables, as appears from *Tully*, who upbraids him with this impiety [p]. The pirates ſhewed no more reſpect to the goddeſs and her temple in *Pompey*'s time. In a court adjoining to the temple was an immenſe number of ſtatues done by the moſt famous ſtatuaries of *Greece*, and amongſt other three of a coloſſean ſize, all on the ſame baſe, repreſenting *Jupiter*, *Minerva* and *Hercules*. They were the work of *Myron*, who made the brazen cow ſo much celebrated by the *Greek* wits of thoſe days in their epigrams which have been tranſlated by *Auſonius* into *Latin*. *Mark Antony* carried theſe three ſtatues to *Rome*; but *Auguſtus* reſtored thoſe of *Minerva* and *Hercules* to the *Samians*; that of *Jupiter* he kept at *Rome*, and placed it in a little temple which he cauſed to be built on the capitol. The amours of *Jupiter* and *Juno* were painted on the ceiling of the temple, and repreſented ſo naturally, that *Origen* reproaches the gentiles with expoſing them to the eyes of the multitude [q]. a b c

Soil. THE fruitfulneſs of its ſoil is highly commended by the ancients, namely by *Strabo*, who ſeems to prefer it in this reſpect to the moſt fertile countries in *Aſia*. Here the trees, if we believe *Æthlius* as quoted by *Athenæus*, yielded fruit twice a year [r]. *Pliny* takes notice of the pomgranates of *Samos*, ſome of which had red grains, others white [s]. The only thing which *Strabo* did not admire in *Samos* was the wine, which was but very indifferent in his time, though all the neighbouring iſlands were famous on account of their excellent wines.

Arts, &c. THE *Samians* applied themſelves very early to trade and navigation; for *Herodotus* ſpeaks of them as trading to *Egypt*, *Thera* and *Spain* before any of the other *Greeks*, except *Soſtratus* of *Ægina*, were acquainted with thoſe countries. They are ſaid by *Pliny* to have been the firſt contrivers of veſſels fit for the tranſporting of cavalry [t]. *Samos* was in former ages famed for earthen ware, which, if we believe *Gellius* [u] was firſt made in this iſland, and in great requeſt among the ancients, who uſed the *Samian* earthen ware in their moſt ſplendid entertainments [w]. The earth about the preſent village of *Bavonda* is ſtill deemed very proper for potter's ware; but no body in the iſland now follows that profeſſion, the inhabitants being ſupplied with that ware from *Ancona* and *Scio*. d

Inhabitants and government. THE iſland of *Samos* was firſt peopled, according to *Strabo* [x] and other ancient writers, by the *Carians*, and afterwards by colonies from *Ithaca* and *Cephalenia*. Some ages after the *Ionians*, having ſeized part of *Caria*, paſſed over into the iſland of *Samos*, and ſettling there under the conduct of *Tembrio* and *Patrocles*, united the city of *Samos* to the *Ionian* confederacy. This happened, as *Euſebius* informs us [y], in the twelfth year of the reign of *Roboham* king of *Hieruſalem*. *Heraclides* [z] tells us, that this iſland lay deſolate till the time of *Macareus*, the ſon of *Æolus*, who having killed the wild beaſts that infeſted it, ſettled there, and continued in poſſeſſion of the iſland till the arrival of the *Carians*. But whoever were the firſt inhabitants, it is certain that the city of *Samos* in after-ages held a conſiderable rank among the twelve cities of the *Ionian* confederacy, being celebrated by the ancients as no ways inferior either to *Miletus* or *Epheſus*, which were the chief cities of the *Ionians*. e f

THE *Samians* were firſt governed by kings; for *Herodotus* [a] names one *Amphicrates* reigning at *Samos*; but how long this kind of government continued, or on what account it was aboliſhed, is what we find no-where recorded. From the kings

[n] HERODOT. l. iii. [o] PAUSAN. ubi ſupra. [p] CIC. Act. 3. in Verr. [q] Origen. l. iv. contra Celſum. [r] ATHEN. Deipn. l. xiv. [s] PLIN. l. xiii. c. 10. [t] Idem ibid. [u] GELL. Noct. Attic. l. v. [w] PLIN. l. xxxv. c. 16. CIC. in Verr. [x] STRAB. l. xiv. [y] EUSEB. in Chron. [z] HERACLID. de Polit. [a] HERODOT. l. iii.

a the adminiſtration paſſed into the hands of the *Geomori*, who formed a kind of ſenate and had much the ſame power as the ephori of *Sparta*. This form of government gave room to a democracy, and the democracy to an oligarchy. The *Samians* continued for many ages free from all foreign ſubjection; but were often reduced to a ſtate of ſlavery by their domeſtic tyrants, as we ſhall relate in their hiſtory.

THE firſt enterprize of the *Samians*, mentioned in hiſtory, is their ſailing to *Egypt* and planting a colony there in the city of *Oaſis*, which, as *Herodotus* informs us [b], was inhabited by *Samians* of the *Æſchrionian* tribe. But as to the time of this expedition we are quite in the dark, as alſo of their firſt voyage to *Tarteſſus* in *Spain*, which is related by *Herodotus* thus: A *Samian* veſſel, bound homewards from *Egypt* b under the command of one *Colæus*, was by ſtreſs of weather driven into the harbour of *Platæa*, an iſland of *Lybia*. From thence *Colæus* ſet ſail with a deſign to recover the coaſts of *Egypt*, but had ſcarce left the iſland, when a violent eaſterly wind ariſing carried him in ſpite of all his endeavours beyond the pillars of *Hercules*, nor did it ever ceaſe or abate till he arrived at *Tarteſſus*. As no foreign traders had ever before touched at that port, the inhabitants flocking to the ſhore bought their commodities at ſuch prizes as they were pleaſed to ſet upon them; whence the profits they made were ſo conſiderable, that upon their return to *Samos* they made with the tenth part of their gain, amounting to ſix talents, a baſon of braſs, ſurrounded with the heads of griffins inclining to each other, and placed it in the temple of *Juno* ſup- c ported by three ſtatues of braſs in a kneeling poſture ſeven foot high [c]. In the reign of their king *Amphicrates* they made war upon the inhabitants of *Ægina*; but all we know of this expedition is that it reduced both parties to great extremities [d]. This war happened before the reign of *Cambyſes* king of *Perſia*, for in his time the *Æginates*, entering into an alliance with the *Cretans*, revenged themſelves on the *Samians* for the evils they had ſuffered on this occaſion, as we ſhall ſee anon. The *Samians*, as the ſame *Herodotus* informs us [e], maintained their liberties both againſt *Cræſus* and *Cyrus* after thoſe princes had reduced the other *Ionian* ſtates on the continent. They were expert mariners, and had a conſiderable fleet, which protected them againſt any foreign invaſion. However they were very early brought under ſubjection by d their own tyrants. Among theſe we may reckon the *Geomori*, that is, the nobility of *Samos*, ſo called from their dividing the lands among themſelves after they had entirely ſuppreſſed the popular faction. During the uſurpation of the *Geomori*, the inhabitants of *Megara* having attacked the city of *Perinthus*, which the *Samians* had built and peopled, a war was kindled between theſe two nations. The *Geomori*, who then governed with an abſolute ſway, commanded thirty ſhips of war to be equipped, and committed the management of the war to nine commanders, each of which had an equal power. Theſe falling upon the *Megarenſes* routed them with great ſlaughter, and took ſix hundred priſoners. Being elated with this victory they reſolved to try whether they ſhould be attended with the ſame ſucceſs againſt their e domeſtic enemies; for theſe commanders were all of the popular faction. Accordingly having armed the ſix hundred *Megarenſes*, whom they had taken priſoners, on their return they attacked the *Geomori* while they were aſſembled in council, put moſt of them to the ſword, and reſtored the democracy [f]. Not long after a war breaking out between the *Samians* and *Æolians*, the former choſe one *Syloſon* to command their forces, who, as he was an ambitious man, inſtead of attacking the enemy remained at *Samos* under various pretences till ſuch time as he had gained both the officers and ſoldiers over to his party, and then made himſelf maſter of the city in the following manner. The *Samians* uſed annually to perform with great ſolemnity certain ceremonies in honour of *Juno* in the temple of that goddeſs, which f ſtood without the walls of the city. As they were then ready to engage in a war, *Syloſon* under pretence of piety prevailed upon the citizens to march all at once in proceſſion from the market-place to the temple. This proceſſion he led himſelf, but ſtealing away aſſoon as the crowd got into the temple, he returned to the city, and by means of the ſoldiers he had left on board the fleet in the harbour poſſeſſed himſelf of all the important poſts; ſo that the citizens on their returning home were forced to ſubmit to their new tyrant, having neither courage nor arms to oppoſe him [g].

Hiſtory of Samos.

Syloſon *tyrant of* Samos.

[b] HERODOT. l. iii. [c] Idem ibid. [d] Idem ibid. [e] Idem l. i. [f] PLUT. in Problemat. [g] POLYÆNUS.

Year of the flood 2383. *Before Chriſt* 616.

ABOUT this time the *Samians*, by diſobliging the *Corinthians*, ſowed the ſeeds of thoſe animoſities, which broke out between the two nations in the following age. The matter is thus related by *Herodotus* [h]: *Periander* tyrant of *Corinth* to revenge the death of his ſon on the *Corcyræans*, by whom he had been murdered, ſeized three hundred youths of the chief families of *Corcyra*, and put them on board certain *Corinthian* ſhips in order to ſend them to *Sardis*, where they were to be made eunuchs, and as ſuch ſerve *Alyattes* king of *Lydia*. But the ſhips that tranſported them, touching at *Samos*, the *Samians* adviſed the *Corcyræan* youths to take ſanctuary in the temple of *Diana*, and would not ſuffer the *Corinthians* to remove them from thence, ſaying that they were under the protection of the goddeſs. The *Corinthians* beſet the temple in order to prevent any proviſions from being conveyed to them, and by that means oblige them to abandon their aſylum. But the *Samians* aſſembling their youth of both ſexes under colour of celebrating a feſtival in honour of *Diana*, ordered them to dance round the temple with cakes of flower and honey in their hands, to the end that the *Corcyræans* might ſnatch them from them, and by that means ſuſtain themſelves. This practice they continued till the *Corinthians* after having waited a long time thought fit to leave the iſland; when the *Samians*, putting the youths of *Corcyra* on board their ſhips of war, conveyed them ſafe to their native country. This the *Corinthians* remembered, and many years after joined the *Lacedæmonians* in the war, which they made upon the *Samians*, as we ſhall relate in the ſequel of this hiſtory.

Æaces.

THE *Samians* after the death of *Syloſon* enjoyed their liberty for ſome time, but were again brought under ſubjection by one of their chief citizens named *Æaces*, of whom mention is made by *Herodotus* [i]. *Æaces* had three ſons, *Polycrates*, *Pantagnoſtus*, and *Syloſon*. *Polycrates* in his father's life-time formed a deſign of ſeizing on the government, but could not put it in execution till ſome years after his death, the *Samians* guarding themſelves with great care againſt any attempts of that nature.

Polycrates.

Year of the flood 2470. *Before Chriſt* 518.

However he at length compaſſed his deſign in the following manner. As his father had left an immenſe treaſure he gained the affection of the populace by living in a moſt ſplendid and elegant manner. He made frequent entertainments, inviting to them even thoſe of the loweſt rank among the people. He provided at a vaſt expence the richeſt furniture that had ever been ſeen till his time in the iſland, and was ever willing to lend his ſilver and gold plate or ſtately beds to ſuch as were to ſolemnize marriages or make entertainments. Being by this means become the darling of the people, he imparted his deſign of making himſelf abſolute to his brothers, promiſing to ſhare with them the iſland and ſuch other acquiſitions as he might make. They readily came into his meaſures; whereupon it was agreed, that they ſhould fall upon the people with a body of armed men, whom *Polycrates* had gained with large promiſes, while they were celebrating a feaſt in honour of *Juno*, and that *Polycrates* ſhould at the ſame time poſſeſs himſelf of the city. The ancients tell us, that *Polycrates* in this undertaking was aſſiſted by fifteen men only, not venturing to admit others into the conſpiracy for fear of being betrayed; ſo univerſally did the love of liberty prevail among the *Samians* [k]. With this ſmall body he made himſelf maſter of the moſt important places of the city, reduced the citadel called *Aſtipalæa*, and maintained himſelf in it againſt the utmoſt efforts of the *Samians* till he was relieved by a body of *Naxians* ſent him by *Lygdamis* tyrant of *Naxus*. With this reinforcement he ſettled himſelf on the throne after having either baniſhed or put to death all thoſe who had declared againſt him. Having thus got rid of his enemies, he amply rewarded his friends by conferring upon them the chief employments of his new kingdom; he divided the iſland, purſuant to his promiſe, with his two brothers; but ſoon after repenting of what he had done cauſed *Pantagnoſtus* to be put to death, and baniſhed *Syloſon*. By this means being maſter of the whole iſland, he began to entertain thoughts of inlarging his dominions, and that he might not be diverted by the king of *Egypt*, he entered into an alliance with *Amaſis*, who then reigned there. The friendſhip between theſe two princes was cultivated with mutual preſents: amongſt others *Amaſis* ſent to *Samos* two ſtatues of himſelf curiouſly carved in wood, which were ſtill to be ſeen in the time of *Herodotus* ſtanding behind the gates of the temple of *Juno*. Having nothing to fear on the ſide of

[h] HERODOT. l. iii. [i] Idem ibid. [k] Idem ibid. STRAB. l. xiv. PAUSAN. in Attic. POLYÆNUS, l. i. ATHENÆUS, l. xii. c. 9. DION. Chryſt. Orat. 17.

Egypt,

a *Egypt*, which was then a powerful kingdom, he equipped a fleet of an hundred gallies, and putting on board a thouſand choſen archers and other land-forces, he fell upon the neighbouring iſlands, being in all his enterprizes attended with ſuch ſucceſs that he attacked no place without maſtering it. He did not ſpare even his friends and allies, ſaying that they would be more obliged to him if he reſtored to them what he had taken, than if he had left them in the quiet poſſeſſion of their lands and dominions. After he had reduced moſt of the iſlands he landed his forces on the continent of *Aſia*, and made himſelf maſter of many cities on the coaſt; inſomuch that embaſſadors were ſent to him from all the neighbouring ſtates offering to ſubmit upon what terms he was pleaſed to impoſe. The *Lesbians* alone oppoſed him, but were entirely defeated in a ſea fight, in which he took a great many priſoners, and condemning them all to the chain employed them in ſurrounding the city of *Samos* with a deep and wide ditch. When news was brought to *Amaſis* of the ſucceſs that attended him in all his expeditions, he is ſaid to have wrote to him in the following terms. *Amaſis* to *Polycrates*: I have heard with pleaſure the fortunate ſucceſſes that attend the enterprizes of a friend and ally. But the unuſual greatneſs of your proſperity alarms me, being well appriſed that the gods are envious. As for me, I would rather chuſe that my affairs and thoſe of my friends ſhould be alternately attended with good and bad fortune through the whole courſe of my life,
c than be always accompanied with an uninterrupted felicity. For I do not remember to have ever heard of a man, who having been always happy did not at laſt periſh by ſome ſignal calamity. Be adviſed therefore by me, and guard yourſelf againſt the bad conſequences of good fortune in this manner: conſider what you value moſt, and would be greatly concerned to loſe, and of that, be it what it will, deprive yourſelf. If your proſperity ſtill continues without any viciſſitude repeat the ſame remedy. *Polycrates*, having read the letter, approved of the advice given him by his friend, and after deliberating with himſelf what thing he would be moſt unwilling to part with, came at laſt to this reſolution. He had a ſeal cut in an emerald, and ſet in gold by one *Theodorus* a *Samian*. This he valued above all his treaſures,
d and therefore to counterbalance his good fortune, going on board a galley of fifty oars, and advancing far into the deep, in the preſence of all thoſe who attended him, he threw the emerald into the ſea. He then commanded them to ſail back, and on his return was greatly grieved for the loſs of ſuch an ineſtimable treaſure. But a few days after a fiſherman having taken a fiſh of an extraordinary ſize, and thinking it a preſent worthy of *Polycrates*, carried it to the palace. *Polycrates* was highly pleaſed with it, and having invited the fiſherman to dine with him, ordered it to be dreſſed that very day. When the ſervants opened the belly of the fiſh they found, to their great ſurprize, the emerald lodged there, and immediately carried it to *Polycrates*, who being perſuaded that ſuch an extraordinary event could not
e be imputed to chance, but to a particular providence of the gods, acquainted *Amaſis* with his throwing the ſignet into the ſea, and the manner in which he had recovered it. *Amaſis*, having read his letter, and not doubting but ſome great misfortune would ſoon or late befal him, immediately diſpatched an herald to *Samos*, enjoining him to renounce in his name the friendſhip of *Polycrates* and diſſolve all the obligations of hoſpitality, that had been contracted between them; leſt the calamities, which threatened *Polycrates*, ſhould affect him with that grief which a friend owes to the misfortunes of a friend [1].

Polycrates being no longer under any engagements with the king of *Egypt*, ſent embaſſadors to *Cambyſes* king of *Perſia*, enjoining them to conclude an alliance
f with that prince, and offer him what forces he required for the expedition he was meditating againſt *Egypt*. *Cambyſes* readily accepted of the offer made him by the embaſſadors, and at the ſame time acquainted *Polycrates* that he ſtood in no need of land-forces, but wanted a fleet to convey his troops into *Egypt*. Hereupon *Polycrates* having equipped forty gallies ſent them to *Cambyſes* with all thoſe *Samians* on board, whom he ſuſpected of ſeditious deſigns, requeſting him not to ſuffer them ever to return to their native country. Some writers affirm that theſe *Samians* never arrived in *Egypt*, but in their paſſage having called a council of war reſolved not to proceed farther than the *Carpathian* ſea. Others tell us, that they arrived in *Egypt*, but

[1] Herodot. l. iii. Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 1. & l. xxxvii. c. 1. Solin. c. 35. Val. Max. l. vi. c. 11. Lucian. in Charonte.

finding

finding themſelves there carefully watched by the *Perſians* laid hold of the firſt opportunity to make their eſcape, and on their return to *Samos* met the fleet of *Polycrates*, which they defeated and landed ſafe in their own country, where they fought an unſucceſsful battle at land, and afterwards ſet ſail for *Lacedæmon*. Some writers ſay that in this action too they carried the day. But this opinion, as *Herodotus* rightly obſerves, is quite groundleſs; for they would not have been obliged to implore the aſſiſtance of the *Lacedæmonians*, if they had found themſelves in a condition to make head againſt the forces of the tyrant. Beſides, it is very improbable that one, who had a numerous army of mercenaries, and a choſen body of *Samian* bowmen in conſtant pay ſhould be overcome by ſo unequal a number as thoſe were who returned from *Egypt*, eſpecially if we conſider, that *Polycrates*, as *Herodotus* informs us, to prevent any treachery had ſhut up the wives and children of all the *Samians* in the arſenal, reſolving to burn them together with the naval ſtores, if he found himſelf betrayed to the exiles [m]. a b

These *Samians* thus expelled by *Polycrates* had recourſe to the *Lacedæmonians*, by whom they were at firſt received but very indifferently; for having made a long ſpeech ſetting forth the calamities they had ſuffered, the *Lacedæmonians* gave them no other anſwer than that they had forgot the firſt part of their ſpeech, and therefore did not underſtand the laſt. The *Samians* being a ſecond time admitted into the aſſembly brought with them an empty basket, and ſhewing it, only ſaid, *It is empty*, ſignifying thereby that they wanted bread. The *Lacedæmonians* anſwered, that the basket alone ſufficiently declared their wants, and immediately decreed to aſſiſt them. The *Samian* writers, quoted by *Herodotus*, tell us that the *Lacedæmonians* undertook the defence of the exiles in requital of the aſſiſtance they had formerly received from them in a war with the *Meſſenians*; but the *Lacedæmonians* ſay that they eſpouſed their cauſe not out of any good will to the exiles, but to be revenged on the *Samians* for having formerly intercepted a curious baſon, which they had ſent as a preſent to *Cræſus* king of *Lydia*, and robbed them the year before of a rich preſent, which the king of *Egypt* had ſent them. But whatever was the motive that prompted them to aſſiſt the baniſhed *Samians*, they equipped a powerful fleet, and being joined by the *Corinthians*, whom the *Samians* had formerly diſobliged as we have related above, ſet ſail for *Samos* and laid ſiege to the capital of the iſland. *Polycrates* made a vigorous defence, and frequently ſallying out cut great numbers of the aggreſſors in pieces. In one of theſe ſallies the *Samians* being entirely routed were purſued with great ſlaughter to the very gates of their city, which the *Lacedæmonians* would have taken had they followed the example of their leaders *Archias* and *Lycopes*. For theſe two entered the city together with the flying *Samians*, and finding their retreat cut off, died valiantly fighting within the walls. The *Lacedæmonians* continued before the place for the ſpace of forty days; but finding they could not maſter it, raiſed the ſiege and returned to *Lacedæmon*. Some writers tell us that *Polycrates* having agreed to pay them on their departure a large ſum of money cauſed a great many pieces of lead to be coined and gilt, and with theſe purchaſed a peace without leſſening his treaſures or enriching the enemy [n]. c d e

After their departure thoſe *Samians*, who had brought the war upon *Polycrates*, finding themſelves abandoned ſet ſail for the iſland of *Siphnus*, which is one of the *Cyclades*. The affairs of the *Siphnians* were then in a flouriſhing condition, and their riches immenſe; that iſland ſo abounding in mines of gold and ſilver, that the tenth of the money they coined being ſent yearly to *Delphos* equalled the greateſt treaſure there; for they divided once a year the riches which they drew from their mines ſending the tenth part of the whole as a preſent to *Apollo*. One year after having made the uſual offering they conſulted the oracle to know whether their proſperity ſhould continue long and received this anſwer from the *Pythian*. When the public ſtructures ſhall be cloathed in white, let the wiſe men beware of a wooden force and red embaſſadors. The prytanean court and portico's at *Siphnus* were then adorned with white *Parian* marble; and yet the *Siphnians* did not underſtand the meaning of the oracle even upon the landing of the *Samians*, though they ſent immediately one of their ſhips, which according to the *Samian* faſhion was painted red, with embaſſadors to the city of *Siphnus*. The *Samians* being admitted to audience f

[m] Herodot. ibid. Strab. l. xiv. Ælian. Var. Hiſtor. l. ix. c. 4. Max. Tyrius, Serm. 21. [n] Herodot. l. iii.

deſired

a deſired a loan of ten talents; but receiving a denial returned to their companions and ravaged the territories of *Siphnus*. Whereupon the *Siphnians* drawing together all their forces engaged the *Samians*, but were defeated and many of them taken priſoners, for whoſe ranſom the *Samians* received an hundred talents. With this ſupply they repaired their ſhips and ſailed to *Hermione*, the inhabitants of which place, through fear of being treated by them as the *Siphnians* had been, gave them the iſland of *Thyrea*, ſituate near *Peloponneſus*, which they committed to the care of the *Trœzenians*, and purſued their courſe to the iſland of *Crete*, where they founded the city of *Cydonia* after having driven out of that part of the iſland the *Zacynthians*. They continued in this ſettlement five years, and built the temple of *Dictynna* with
b ſeveral others, which were ſtill ſtanding in the time of our hiſtorian. But in the ſixth year they were entirely defeated together with the *Cretans* in a ſea-fight by the inhabitants of *Ægina*, who took off the prows of their ſhips and placed them in the temple of *Minerva*. Thus the *Æginates* revenged themſelves on the *Samians* for having formerly made war upon them without any provocation under the conduct of their king *Amphicrates*, as we have hinted above [o]. The *Samians* being driven from *Crete*, ſailed, if we believe *Euſebius* [p], to *Italy*, and there founded the city of *Dicæarchia*, called afterwards *Puteoli* and at preſent *Puzzolo*.

But to return to *Polycrates*; upon the departure of the *Lacedæmonians* and *Samian* exiles he began to entertain thoughts of ſubduing all *Ionia* together with the *Aſiatic*
c iſlands, an enterprize, as *Herodotus* obſerves, which no one before him had ever attempted. He raiſed a numerous army, equipped the greateſt fleet that had been ſeen in thoſe ſeas till that time, and made all the other neceſſary preparations for ſo difficult an undertaking. But before he could accompliſh his deſign, he was cut off by an untimely death, which is thus related by *Herodotus*. *Oroetes* a *Perſian*, who had been appointed governor of *Sardis* by *Cyrus*, and another of the ſame nation, by name *Mitrobates* governor of *Daſcylium*, falling one day out, *Mitrobates* upbraided *Oroetes* for not having reduced the iſland of *Samos*, which lay ſo near his government, and had been brought under ſubjection by *Polycrates* with the aſſiſtance only of fifteen men. This reproach left a deep impreſſion on the mind of *Oroetes*, who
d from that time watched all opportunities of being revenged, not on *Mitrobates*, who had affronted him, but on *Polycrates* as the cauſe of the affront, though he had never ſeen him or been any ways injured by him. Other ancient writers ſay, that *Oroetes* ſent a meſſenger to *Polycrates* about ſome private affairs, and that *Polycrates* happening on the arrival of the meſſenger to be lying on a couch, *Anacreon* of *Teos*, the famous lyric poet, ſitting by him, he did not condeſcend to give the meſſenger any anſwer, or even to look at him, continuing the whole time he delivered his meſſage with his face towards the wall. This, they ſay, was what provoked the haughty *Perſian*, and prompted him to put *Polycrates* treacherouſly to death. *Oroetes* reſided at that time in the city of *Magneſia*, whence he ſent one *Myrſus* the
e ſon of *Gyges*, a *Lydian*, to *Samos*, enjoining him to acquaint *Polycrates*, that he had heard what great things he had in view, but had been at the ſame time informed that he wanted money to put his projects in execution. Wherefore he deſigned to aſſiſt him with great treaſures provided he would engage to protect him againſt *Cambyſes*, who was determined, according to the private intelligence he had received, to take away his life. The meſſenger was ordered to add, that if *Polycrates* queſtioned the truth of what he ſaid concerning the treaſures, he might eaſily ſatisfy himſelf in that particular by ſending one of the moſt truſty perſons he had about him to ſee them. *Polycrates* received this propoſal with joy, and immediately ſent his ſecretary *Mæandrus* to take a view of the treaſures. When *Oroetes* heard he was coming with
f this deſign, he cauſed eight cheſts to be filled with ſtones, which he covered with ſome pieces of gold, and by that means deceived *Mæandrus*, upon whoſe information *Polycrates* reſolved to go in perſon to *Oroetes*, though he was earneſtly diſſuaded by his friends, and, if we believe *Herodotus*, by the gods themſelves (N).

[o] Herodot. l. iii. [p] Euseb. in Chron.

(N) *Herodotus* tells us, that his daughter dreamt ſhe ſaw her father elevated in the air, and anointed by the ſun; and that being deeply affected with her dream ſhe endeavoured by all means to divert him from his intended voyage, accompanying him even to the ſea-ſide, and aſſuring him that nothing but misfortunes could attend his enterprize. But *Polycrates* rejecting all advice embarqued on a galley of fifty oars, threatening his daughter, who left no ſtone unturned to prevent his journey, that if he returned

But he deſpiſing their advice ſet out with divers of his friends, among whom was *Democedes* the *Crotonian*, the moſt skilful phyſician of his time. When he arrived at *Magneſia*, the treacherous *Oroetes* cauſed him to be ſeized and crucified, a death, as *Herodotus* obſerves, unworthy of a man, who far excelled in all reſpects the greateſt heroes of his age [p]. *Valerius Maximus* [q] and *Tully* [r] tell us, that he was crucified by *Orontes*, for ſo they call him, governor under *Darius Hyſtaſpes* upon the top of mount *Mycale*, which is a promontory of *Ionia* over againſt *Samos*. But it is very plain from all the ancients, that *Darius* was then only one of *Cambyſes*'s guards, and that *Polycrates* came to this tragical end while *Cambyſes* was delirious in *Egypt*. *Pliny* [s] in this agrees with *Herodotus*; for according to him *Polycrates* was put to death in the 230th year of *Rome*, which, if we follow *Varro*, fell upon the ſixty-fourth olympiad. Thus died *Polycrates*, a prince, who to the hour of his death had never felt the leaſt ſhock of adverſe fortune, being attended, during the whole courſe of his life, in every thing he undertook, with all the ſucceſs and proſperity he could have wiſhed for. All the ancients ſpeak of his proſperity as miraculous, and amongſt others *Valerius Maximus*, who tells us that he never formed a deſign, which he did not with great eaſe put in execution, nor earneſtly wiſh for a thing which he did not obtain, as if fortune had been wholly employed in waiting upon him [t]. He was, without all doubt, a man of moſt extraordinary parts, and, if we believe *Herodotus* [u], ſuperior in wiſdom, greatneſs of mind, and other princely qualities to all the *Greek* tyrants, not even thoſe of *Syracuſe* excepted. He took great delight in the converſation of learned men, and uſed to ſpend great part of his time, when at leiſure from public affairs, with *Anacreon* and *Pythagoras*. The former he once preſented with five talents, and the latter he recommended in a very obliging manner to *Amaſis* king of *Egypt*, when that philoſopher undertook for his improvement a journey into that kingdom. He embelliſhed the city of *Samos* with many magnificent and ſtately buildings, which, as *Ariſtotle* informs us [w], were ſtill ſtanding in his time; nay great part of the palace, which he built for himſelf, was remaining in the time of the *Roman* emperors; for *Caligula*, as we read in *Suetonius* [x] had ſome thoughts of repairing that noble fabric, which was a ſubject of admiration even in thoſe days. As to his character there is no ſmall diſagreement among authors, ſome painting him as a cruel tyrant, and others repreſenting him as a prince of great humanity and moderation. *Diodorus Siculus* [y] tells us, that he oppreſſed his own ſubjects in a moſt tyrannical manner, and with no leſs cruelty treated ſuch ſtrangers as happened to come into his country; which ſo ſhocked *Amaſis* king of *Egypt*, that after having adviſed him in vain to rule with more humanity and moderation, he at laſt renounced the friendſhip which he had contracted with him, ſaying that he foreſaw the miſerable fall that would ſoon overtake one who governed ſo tyrannically. This, as we have ſeen above, is related in a very different manner by *Herodotus*, who ſeems to have entertained a far better opinion of *Polycrates*; for he commends him as a prince of great generoſity, and ſpeaking of his unhappy end ſays, that he was put to death in a manner unworthy of a man of his dignity and grandeur, and not to be mentioned without indignation [z]. But *Diogenes Laertius*, *Porphyrius*, *Jamblichus*, *Gellius* and *Euſebius* ſeem to agree with *Diodorus*, for they are all unanimous in telling us, that *Pythagoras* (O) abandoned his native country, becauſe he could not endure the tyranny of *Polycrates*.

[p] Herodot. ibid. Strab. l. xiv. Pausan. in Atticis. [q] Val. Max. l. vi. cap. ult. [r] Cic. l. iii. de Finibus. [s] Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 1. [t] Val. Max. l. vi. c. 11. [u] Herodot. ibid. [w] Aristot. l. v. Polit. c. 11. [x] Suet. in Calig. [y] Diodor. Sicul. l. i. c. 5. [z] Herodot. ubi ſupra.

returned ſafe, ſhe ſhould long continue unmarried. Upon his arrival at *Magneſia* being ſeized by *Oroetes* and crucified, the dream of his daughter, ſays *Herodotus*, was accompliſhed; for as he hung on the croſs expoſed to the rays of the ſun, he was firſt all covered over with the ſweat of his body, and afterwards, a violent ſhower happening to fall, waſhed, we may ſay, by *Jupiter*, who ſent it (3). By the help of ſuch diſtorted interpretations there is no dream, but what may be eaſily fulfilled.

(O) This celebrated philoſopher was a native of *Samos*, and for ſome time a great favourite of *Polycrates*; but on his return from *Egypt*, *Phœnice* and *Chaldea*, whither he had travelled for his improvement, not being able to endure the tyranny of *Polycrates*, he retired to that part of *Italy*, which was called *Magna Græcia*, and founded there a famous ſect of philoſophers. Moſt writers acknowledge him to be the inventor of arithmetic, which *Plato* (4) aſcribes to the *Egyptian Mercury*, and ſome others to

(3) *Herodot. l.* iii.

(4) *Plato in Phæd.*

Polycrates

a *Polycrates* was ſucceeded in the tyranny by *Mæandrus* his ſecretary, whom upon his departure for *Magneſia* he had appointed to govern during his abſence. When *Mæandrus* heard of his death, he took the whole power into his own hands, *Syloſon* the late king's brother being then in baniſhment. *Mæandrus* was a man of great probity, and therefore no ſooner ſaw himſelf inveſted with the ſovereign power but he reſolved to reſign it, and reſtore his countrymen to their former liberty. Having therefore erected an altar to *Jupiter the deliverer*, and marked out the ground for a temple, he ſummoned a general aſſembly of the citizens and addreſſed them thus: "You know that I was entruſted with the ſceptre and all the power of *Po-* "*lycrates*, and that the government is wholly in my hands. But I will not be guilty b "of a crime, which I ſhould condemn in another. The arbitrary power aſſumed "by *Polycrates* over men equal to himſelf was never approved of by me; neither "ſhall I ever approve of it in any other perſon. Now that the decree of the gods "has been fulfilled in him, I ſurrender the government into your hands, and pro- "claim an equal liberty to all. Only I deſire you would grant me ſix talents out "of the treaſures of *Polycrates*, and confer upon me and my deſcendents for ever

Mæandrus. *Year of the flood* 2476. *Before Chriſt* 523.

to *Palamedes* (5). St. *Auſtin* (6) ſpeaks of a goddeſs *Numeria*, whom the *Pagans* worſhipped as the goddeſs of numbers, believing they had been firſt introduced by her. *Pythagoras* is ſaid to have been the firſt who taught the immortality of the ſoul. As to the tranſmigration of ſouls, which was the principal part of his philoſophy, ſome writers endeavour to excuſe him, ſaying that he meant only the ſenſitive ſoul or vital principle of the animal. We are told he was never ſeen to weep or laugh. *Diogenes Laertius*, *Porphyrius*, *Jamblichus*, and others, who have wrote his life, greatly vary among themſelves as to the particulars and circumſtances of his death; ſome ſaying he was aſſaſſinated, others that he died ſuddenly, *&c.* He died, according to *Euſebius* (7), in the fourth year of the ſeventieth olympiad, and eightieth or ninetieth of his life. *Cedrenus* tells us, that he wrote an account of the war, which *Cyrus* made upon the *Samians*, and relates from him that *Cyrus* was killed in this war. But that writer was certainly miſtaken, ſince *Plutarch*, *Lucian* and *Porphyrius* aſſure us, that *Pythagoras* reſolved to leave nothing in writing. *Joſephus* likewiſe (8) informs us, that in his time no one piece aſcribed to this philoſopher was allowed to be genuine, and *Ruſinus*, in his anſwer to *S. Hierom*, who had quoted *Pythagoras*, urges that there were no genuine writings of that philoſopher remaining; to which *Hierom* replied, that what he had ſaid of him was not meant of his writings, but of his opinions, which he had learnt from *Cicero*, *Brutus*, and *Seneca*. However *Diogenes Laertius* in his life mentions three books written by him, namely of *inſtruction*, *politics*, and *natural philoſophy*. The book of verſes, which bears his name, and is a collection of the opinions and maxims of the *Pythagorean* philoſophers, was not written by him, but by one *Lyſis*, if we believe *Laertius*, a *Pythagorean* of *Sarepta*, who retired from *Thebes*, and was preceptor to *Epaminondas*. Others aſcribe this book to *Philolaus*, ſome to *Epicharmus*, and ſome to *Empedocles*.

Pythagoras was not the only great man this iſland produced; *Chœrilus*, *Conon*, *Cacophylus*, *Pythagoras* the ſtatuary, *&c.* were natives of *Samos*, and are mentioned by *Strabo* and other ancient writers as the ornaments of the ages they lived in (9). *Chœrilus* wrote in verſe the actions of *Xerxes* and *Darius* kings of *Perſia*, and of *Archelaus* king of *Macedon*. *Joſephus* quotes ſome of his verſes on the expedition of *Xerxes* into *Greece*, wherein he ſpeaks of a nation ſerving under that prince come from *Phœnice* uſing an unknown language, and dwelling on the mountains of *Solyma* near a great lake; which, in the opinion of *Joſephus*, is plainly meant of the *Jews*, the mountains of *Solyma*, and the lake of *Aſphaltites* being in their country. *Suidas* and *Strabo* (10) cite other verſes from the ſame poem, and *Heſychius* tells us, that the *Athenians* gave him a ſtater of gold for each verſe of the poem he wrote on the victory obtained by the *Greeks* over *Xerxes*. Some writers have confounded *Chœrilus* the *Samian* with another poet bearing the ſame name, who lived in the time of *Alexander*. The latter was a wretched writer, as appears from what *Horace* ſays of him in the following verſes:

Gratus Alexandro regi Magno fuit ille
Chœrilus, incultis qui verſibus & male natis
Rettulit acceptos, regale numiſma, Philippos (11).

And elſewhere (12).

Sit Chœrilus ille,
Quem bis terque bonum cum riſu miror, &c.

Chœrilus the *Samian* lived before *Alexander*, and withdrew from *Samos* to the court of *Archelaus*, where he died. Some of his verſes, which have been tranſmitted to us by *Ariſtotle* (13) and *Tatian*, ſhew that he was no contemptible poet.

Conon was a famous mathematician, and is ſaid to have wrote ſeven books of aſtronomy. He lived in an intimate friendſhip with *Archimedes*, and taught him, as *Pomponius Mela* informs us, the firſt rudiments of mathematics. It was he who gave out, that the hair of *Berenice*, the wife of *Ptolemy Euergetes*, was taken up into heaven, and there tranſformed into ſeven ſtars called from thence *Coma Berenices*. He is mentioned by *Strabo* (14), *Virgil* (15), and others. *Creophylus* was an excellent poet, and contemporary with *Homer*, who preſented him, as we read in *Strabo* (16), with a poem on the taking of the city of *Oechalia*. This poem is mentioned alſo by *Pauſanias* and *Callimachus*; but both theſe writers make *Creophylus*, and not *Homer*, the author of it. *Creophylus* entertained *Homer* in his houſe, and is ſaid by ſome to have been his maſter, and to have had great ſhare in the compoſing of the divine work, as *Cicero* ſtiles it, which paſſes under the name of that inimitable poet. *Hierophyle*, one of the ſybils, was likewiſe a native of *Samos*, and is commonly known by the name of the *Samian Sybil*.

(5) *Vide Bedam in lib. de Computo & Iſidor. l.* iii. (6) *Auguſtin. de Civit. Dei, l.* iv. (7) *Euſeb. in Chron.* (8) *Joſeph. Antiq. l.* ii. (9) *Strab. l.* vi. (10) *Idem, l.* vii. (11) *Horat. l.* ii. *epiſt.* 2. *v.* 232. (12) *Idem de Art. Poetic.* (13) *Ariſtot. Rhetor.* (14) *Strab. l.* xiv. (15) *Virgil. Eclog.* 3. *v.* 40. (16) *Strab. l.* xiv. (17) *Pauſan. in Meſſen.*

" the

" the prieſthood of the temple of *Jupiter* the deliverer, as a juſt reward of the a
" benefits you are to receive by my means." Having thus ſpoke, one *Teleſearchus*, a leading man among the *Samians*, bitterly inveighing againſt him, inſiſted upon his giving an account of the public money he had ſpent during the ſhort time he had governed. *Mæandrus* perceiving by the tenor of this ſpeech that if he diveſted himſelf of the power, he could be no longer ſafe in his own country, and that ſome other would ſoon uſurp it, reſolved to keep poſſeſſion of the government; and accordingly retiring to the citadel, and ſending for the citizens under colour of giving them an account of the public treaſures, he ſeized their perſons and kept them under cloſe confinement to prevent inſurrections in the city. In the mean time *Mæandrus* falling ſick, his brother *Lycaretus*, imagining he could not recover, put all b
the priſoners to death, that he might with more eaſe uſurp the ſovereignty. But *Mæandrus* recovered and ruled quietly in *Samos* till he was driven out by the *Perſians*, who placed *Syloſon*, the brother of *Polycrates*, in his room. This event is related by *Herodotus* [a] in the following manner. *Syloſon* being baniſhed by his brother, as we have related above, retired into *Egypt*, where *Cambyſes* was at that time making war upon *Amaſis* king of that country. While he reſided at *Memphis*, *Darius*, who was one of *Cambyſes*'s guards, and made then no great figure, was greatly taken with a ſcarlet cloak which *Syloſon* wore, and asked him whether he would ſell it. *Syloſon*, perceiving him to be paſſionately fond of the garment, anſwered, that he would not part with it for any riches, but would willingly give it him, if he cared c
to receive it as a preſent. *Darius* accepted the offer, and *Syloſon*, who was then but in very indifferent circumſtances, thought himſelf a loſer by his forward generoſity. But when he heard that *Darius*, after the death of *Cambyſes*, and deſtruction of the mages, was advanced to the throne, he haſtened to *Suſa*, and deſired audience of the king, telling the guards that he had been a benefactor to him; which when *Darius* heard, he anſwered with ſurprize; What *Grecian* is this who pretends to have conferred benefits upon me, and to be reſpected on that account? I have but lately taken poſſeſſion of the kingdom, and have ſeen here few or none of that country; neither can I remember that I am at all obliged to any *Grecian*. However bring in the man that I may hear what he ſays from his own mouth. *Syloſon* was imme- d
diately introduced, and asked by the interpreters who he was, and what he meant by ſaying that he had been a benefactor to the king. Then *Syloſon* related what had paſſed in *Egypt* between *Darius* and himſelf, which the king remembering anſwered: O thou moſt generous man! art thou then the perſon from whoſe hands I received that preſent, which, though ſmall in itſelf, yet at that time when I had no power, was of more value to me than any thing that can be offered me at preſent? I will reward thee plentifully with gold and ſilver, that thou mayeſt not repent thy kindneſs to *Darius* the ſon of *Hyſtaſpes*. *Syloſon* replied, that he neither asked gold nor ſilver, but only that he would ſave his country, which ever ſince the death of his brother *Polycrates* had been poſſeſſed by one who had no claim to it. Give me, e
ſaid he, *Samos* without blood, and without expelling my countrymen. *Darius*, having heard his requeſt, immediately ſent an army under the conduct of *Otanes*, one of the ſeven, to *Samos*, ordering him to act agreeable to the directions of *Syloſon*. *Otanes* arriving on the coaſt of *Samos* landed his forces without the leaſt oppoſition. As they drew near the city, *Mæandrus* with thoſe of his party offered to depart the iſland under a promiſe of indemnity and protection. *Otanes* readily agreed to the propoſal, and a truce was concluded on both ſides. But in the mean time *Charilaus*, another brother of *Mæandrus*, who had been ſhut up in a dungeon for ſeveral crimes he was guilty of, having overheard what was doing, and from an f
aperture of his priſon obſerved the *Perſians* ſitting before the caſtle without the leaſt apprehenſion, demanded to ſpeak with his brother. He was accordingly brought into his preſence, when he began with moſt opprobrious and reviling language to ſtir him up againſt the *Perſians*, calling him a coward for parting ſo tamely with a kingdom, and demanding leave to do for him what he had not courage enough to do for himſelf. He engaged, if he would but truſt him with the command of his forces for a few days, not only to make the *Perſians* repent their coming, but to drive them out of the iſland. *Mæandrus* accepted the offer, not that he imagined his troops able to cope with the *Perſians*, but out of envy to *Syloſon*, and in

[a] Herodot. l. iii.

order

a order to weaken the power of the *Samians* before he took poſſeſſion of the iſland. For he knew that the *Perſians* would not fail to take a ſevere revenge on the *Samians* for the outrages they ſhould ſuffer; and as for himſelf, he could make his eſcape out of the iſland when he pleaſed, having made a private paſſage under-ground, leading from the caſtle to the ſea. *Charilaus* no ſooner ſaw himſelf at the head of the troops, but ſallying out of the citadel upon the *Perſians*, who expected no hoſtilities, every thing having been already agreed on, ſurprized and killed the chief men among them. But the reſt of the army, taking the alarm, came in to their relief, and repulſed the *Samians* into the caſtle. *Otanes*, being provoked at the great loſs he had ſuſtained, commanded his army, notwithſtanding the orders given him by *Darius*
b not to kill or take any *Samian* priſoner, to put all they met to the ſword without diſtinction of ſex or age. So that while one part of his forces was employed in beſieging the caſtle, the reſt were buſied in plundering the houſes and murdering the inhabitants without ſparing even ſuch as had taken ſanctuary in the temples. *Mæandrus* made his eſcape by ſea, and fled to *Lacedæmon*, where ſoon after his arrival having commanded his ſlaves to take out and cleanſe his gold and ſilver plate, he conducted *Cleomenes*, the ſon of *Anaxandrides*, then king of *Sparta*, to his houſe, hoping he might take a fancy to ſome of his rich moveables, and thereby give him an opportunity of gaining him over to his views. The king was greatly ſurprized at the workmanſhip of ſome cups, which *Mæandrus* perceiving preſſed him to take what-
c ever he pleaſed, and repeated his offer ſeveral times. But *Cleomenes* conſtantly refuſed to accept of any thing; and being afterwards informed that other citizens had received his preſents, he went immediately to complain of him to the ephori, who fearing leſt he ſhould introduce luxury among them, commanded him to depart *Peloponneſus* that very day [b].

Syloſon. THE *Perſians* upon the flight of *Mæandrus* put *Samos*, plundered and depopulated as it was, into the hands of *Syloſon*. *Otanes*, the *Perſian* general, is ſaid to have repeopled it upon a viſion he ſaw in a dream, and a diſtemper with which he was ſeized. *Syloſon*, ſeeing himſelf in poſſeſſion of the iſland, and ſupported by the *Perſians*, oppreſſed his ſubjects to ſuch a degree, that moſt of them abandoning
d their native country ſettled either in the neighbouring iſlands or on the continent, ſo that *Samos* became again almoſt quite deſtitute of inhabitants, the lands lying every-where untilled, and the whole country reſembling a deſart [c].

Æaces. *Syloſon* after a ſhort reign was ſucceeded by his ſon *Æaces*, who attended *Darius* in his expedition into *Scythia*, and is counted by *Herodotus* among the *Ionian* tyrants, who had no ſmall ſhare in the eſteem of *Darius*. *Æaces* being driven out, as well as the other tyrants of *Ionia*, by *Ariſtagoras* the *Mileſian*, the *Samians* openly declared againſt *Darius* and joined the other *Ionians* in the revolt. But when the two fleets, the *Ionian* conſiſting of three hundred and ſixty-three ſhips, and the *Perſians* of ſix hundred, were ready to engage near *Lade*, a ſmall iſland over-againſt *Miletus*, *Æaces*, who
e ſerved on board the *Perſian* fleet, ſent a meſſenger to the *Samians* exhorting them to abandon the confederacy, ſince they could not poſſibly prevail againſt the king, who, if that fleet were deſtroyed, could fit out another five times as powerful. The *Samians* hearkened to this meſſage, and in the heat of the engagement hoiſting ſail abandoned their confederates and returned with fifty ſhips to *Samos*. However eleven of the *Samian* ſhips refuſed to obey their leaders, and together with the *Chians* fought till they were quite diſabled. The commanders of theſe were rewarded by the community of *Samos* with an inſcription on a pillar declaring their names and families in order to tranſmit their memory to poſterity, and this monument was ſtill ſtanding in *Herodotus*'s time [d]. The example of the *Samians*, who
f retired in the beginning of the fight, being followed by the *Lesbians* and all the confederates, except the *Chians*, the *Perſians* gained a complete victory, took *Miletus*, and were preparing to invade *Samos* in order to replace *Æaces*, to whom they were chiefly indebted for their ſucceſs, on the throne of *Samos*. But many of the *Samians* chuſing rather to abandon their country than to live in ſubjection to him and the *Perſians*, ſet ſail for *Sicily*, being invited thither by the *Zanclæans*, who were deſirous to have in their territory a city inhabited by the *Ionians*, and had allotted for that purpoſe a place on the coaſt which faces the *Tyrrhenian* ſea, and was then called the *Beautiful Coaſt*. Upon their arrival in *Sicily* they found the city of *Zancle* quite

[b] HERODOT. l. iii. PLUT. in Apophtheg. ÆLIAN. Var. Hiſt. l. iv. c. 5. EUSEB. in Chron. JULIAN. in epiſt. VAL. MAX. l. v. c. 2. [c] PLUT. l. xiv. EUSTATH. in Dionyſ. [d] HERODOT. l. vi.

abandoned, the *Zanclæans* being with their king *Scythes* employed in the ſiege of a *Sicilian* city. Hereupon *Anaxilaus*, tyrant of *Rhegium*, and an enemy to the *Zanclæans*, inſinuated to the *Samians*, that it would be more advantageous for them to ſeize on the city of *Zancle* in the abſence of the inhabitants, than to ſettle on the coaſt deſigned for their eſtabliſhment. The *Samians* were eaſily prevailed upon to follow his advice, which the *Zanclæans* underſtanding, haſtened to recover their city, calling to their aſſiſtance *Hippocrates* tyrant of *Gela* their ally. But *Hippocrates* betraying his friends, agreed with the *Samians* to leave them in poſſeſſion of the city, and deliver up to them the reſt of the *Zanclæans*, provided they yielded to him one half of the ſlaves and of the plunder of the city with all the booty that ſhould be found in the country. Thus the *Samians* made themſelves maſters of one of the greateſt and moſt beautiful cities of *Sicily*. As to the *Zanclæans* they were either baniſhed or reduced to ſlavery by *Hippocrates*, to whom they were delivered by the *Samians* purſuant to their agreement. *Scythes* their king was baniſhed with his brother *Pythogenes* to *Inycum*, whence he made his eſcape to *Himera*, and there imbarking paſſed over into *Aſia* to *Darius* [c].

In the mean time the *Perſians*, after the reduction of *Miletus*, put over with their fleet to *Samos*, and reinſtated *Æaces* in his former government for the eminent ſervice he had rendered them by perſuading his countrymen to abandon the reſt of the *Ionians* in the engagement at *Lade*. *Samos* by this means was the only city of all thoſe which revolted from *Darius*, that eſcaped undeſtroyed. *Æaces*, being thus reſtored to his authority, continued faithful to the *Perſians*, and ſerved under *Xerxes* in his expedition againſt *Greece*, obliging the *Samians*, contrary to their inclinations, to aſſiſt the *Perſians* with their navy againſt their countrymen. During the *Grecian* war *Æaces* died, and was ſucceeded by *Theomeſtor*, whom *Xerxes* raiſed to that dignity for his courageous behaviour in the ſea-fight at *Salamis*, on which occaſion he took ſeveral of the *Greek* ſhips and diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a moſt eminent manner; as alſo did *Phylacus* another *Samian*, who was not only admitted into the number of thoſe, who from deſerving well of the king were called by the *Perſians Oroſanges*, but rewarded with large poſſeſſions and great wealth [f].

Theomeſtor. *Year of the flood* 2520. *Before Chriſt* 469.

The *Samians* continued thus ſubject to the *Perſians* and their own tyrants, who were but mere tools of the *Perſian* kings, till the famous victory gained by the *Greeks* at *Mycale*, when they were reſtored to the full enjoyment of their ancient liberties. Before this engagement while the *Grecian* fleet was anchored at *Delos*, under the command of *Leutychides* the *Lacedæmonian*, the *Samians*, without being ſuſpected either by the *Perſians* or their own tyrant *Theomeſtor*, ſent three of their chief citizens, *Lampon*, *Athenagoras*, and *Hegeſiſtratus*, to aſſure the commanders of the *Greek* navy, that the *Ionians* would not fail to revolt from the *Perſians* as ſoon as their fleet appeared. *Hegeſiſtratus*, who ſpoke for the reſt, added, that if they entertained the leaſt ſuſpicion of their ſincerity, they were all three ready to remain with them as hoſtages: *Leutychides* after hearing him had the curioſity to ask his name, and underſtanding that he was called *Hegeſiſtratus*, which in *Greek* ſignifies leader of an army, he reſolved forthwith to ſet ſail and attack the *Perſian* fleet which lay then off of *Samos*. Having therefore obliged the three *Samian* embaſſadors to confirm with an oath the truth of what they had ſaid, he retained *Hegeſiſtratus*, taking his name for a preſage of ſucceſs, and ſuffered the other two to return home. The next day *Leutychides*, having offered a ſolemn ſacrifice to the gods, put to ſea, and ſtanding towards *Samos* came to an anchor near the temple of *Juno*. But the *Perſians*, being informed of their approach, made towards the continent, and hawling their ſhips aſhore fled to their land-forces, which were encamped at *Mycale* to the number of ſixty thouſand men. In the mean time the *Perſian* generals cauſed all the *Samians* to be diſarmed, fearing they were diſpoſed to favour the enemy, becauſe they had already redeemed all the *Athenians* taken in *Attica* by the forces of *Xerxes*, brought them to *Samos*, and thence ſent them back to *Athens* furniſhed with proviſions for their voyage. The *Samians*, though thus diſarmed, in the very beginning of the engagement revolted to the *Greeks*, and aſſiſted them in the beſt manner they could. Their example was immediately followed by the reſt of the *Ionians*, who abandoning the *Perſians* joined their countrymen, and greatly contributed to that victory, which put an end to the deſigns of *Xerxes* upon *Greece* [g].

[c] Herodot. l. vi. [f] Herodot. l. viii. & ix. [g] Herodot. l. ix. Diodor. Sicul. l. xi. Justin. l. ii. c. 14.

From

a FROM *Mycale* the *Greeks* returned to *Samos*, where it was propoſed, in a council held by the chief commanders, to tranſplant the *Ionians* out of *Aſia*, where they were expoſed to the inſults of the *Perſians*, into *Greece*, and there beſtow upon them the cities and lands of thoſe *Greeks* who had ſided with the *Perſians*. But this motion was not approved of by the *Athenians*, who apprehending that the *Ionians*, if once tranſplanted into *Greece*, would no longer look upon *Athens* as their mother city, engaged to protect them on all occaſions againſt the common enemy. Wherefore having obliged the *Samians*, *Chians*, *Lesbians*, and other iſlanders, who had revolted to them from the *Perſians*, to ſwear that they would continue in their alliance, they ſet ſail together with them for the *Helleſpont* to purſue the war on that ſide againſt the b *Perſians*.

The Samians *and other iſlanders enter into an alliance with the* Athenians.

THE *Samians* being thus delivered from the *Perſian* yoke continued ſtedfaſt in their alliance with the *Athenians* for the ſpace of thirty-ſeven years, governing themſelves entirely by their own laws, and enjoying the full poſſeſſion of their ancient liberties. But in the ſixth year of the thirty years peace concluded between the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians*, they revolted from the *Athenians* on the following occaſion. The *Mileſians* and *Samians* falling out about the city of *Priene* in *Caria*, to which both parties laid claim, the former not finding themſelves in a condition to maintain a war againſt the *Samians*, gained over ſuch of them as deſired to alter the c form of government, and with them repaired to *Athens*, where they complained of the injuries they had ſuffered from the republic of *Samos*, which had driven them by force from a city, which they had as good a right to as themſelves. Hereupon the *Athenians* ſent meſſengers into *Samos*, requiring the *Samians* to forbear all hoſtilities, and refer their differences to their arbitration; which they refuſing to do, by reaſon they apprehended the *Athenians* more favourable to the *Mileſians* than to them, *Pericles* prevailed upon his republic to declare war againſt *Samos*, not out of any motive of juſtice, but to gratify the famous courteſan *Aſpaſia*, who was the daughter of *Axiochus* a *Mileſian*, and greatly beloved by *Pericles*, not ſo much on account of her beauty as of her wit. The management of this war d was committed to *Pericles* himſelf, who having equipped a ſquadron of forty gallies ſet ſail for *Samos*, laid ſiege to the city, and reduced it without any conſiderable loſs. He no ſooner ſaw himſelf maſter of the place, but he changed the ariſtocracy into a democratical kind of government, and having impoſed a fine of eighty talents on the inhabitants, and received fifty *Samian* youths for hoſtages, he committed them to the care of the *Lemnians* and returned to *Athens*. He was ſcarce gone, when ſuch of the *Samians* as diſliked the popular government entering into an aſſociation, ſent deputies over into *Aſia* to *Peſſuthnes*, or, as *Diodorus* calls him, *Peſſuthines* the ſon of *Hyſtaſpes*, and governor of *Sardis*, ſoliciting him to ſend them ſuccours againſt the *Athenians* the ancient enemies of *Perſia*. *Peſſuthnes*, hoping by means of theſe troubles and domeſtic broils to bring *Samos* under his power, lent e them a body of ſeven hundred men. With theſe the *Samian* deputies ſetting ſail from *Aſia* in the dead of the night, with the aſſiſtance of their friends in the iſland, ſurprized the city, and having ſeized on the heads of the popular faction, and taken the *Athenians*, who were there in gariſon, priſoners, ſent them all as a preſent to *Peſſuthnes*. Having thus aboliſhed the democracy eſtabliſhed by *Pericles*, they paſſed over into the iſland of *Lesbos*, reſcued their hoſtages, and then proclaimed war againſt the *Athenians*. When news of this revolt was brought to *Athens*, *Pericles* was again diſpatched to *Samos* with ſixty ſail well manned in order to reduce the revolters. *Pericles* arriving on the coaſt of *Aſia* detached ſixteen ſhips of his ſquadron f to obſerve the motions of the *Phœnicians*, whom *Peſſuthnes* had ſent to join the *Samians*, and to bring in ſuccours from *Chios* and *Lesbos*; which when the *Samians* heard, they immediately recalled twenty ſhips, which they had ſent to attack *Miletus*, and joining to them fifty more, went to meet *Pericles*, who with forty-four ſhips entirely defeated their fleet conſiſting of ſeventy. Soon after this victory the *Athenian* ſquadron being reinforced with forty ſail from *Athens*, and twenty-five from *Chios* and *Lesbos*, *Pericles* landed his men in the iſland of *Samos*, overthrew the *Samians* in a pitched battle, and laid ſiege to their metropolis, incloſing it with a triple wall on the land-ſide, and blocking it up by ſea with his fleet. But in the mean time *Pericles* receiving intelligence by letters from *Caria* and *Caunus*, that the *Phœnician* fleet was advancing to the relief of the beſieged city, and that *Teſagoras*, the *Samian* admiral, had already joined them with a ſquadron under his command,

The Samians *revolt from the* Athenians.

charged

charged his collegues to purſue with all poſſible vigor the ſiege, while he with three- a
ſcore ſail went out in queſt of the enemy. The *Samians* taking advantage of his abſence made a ſally at the inſtigation, and under the conduct, of one *Meliſſus* the ſon of *Ithogenes*, routed the *Athenians*, poſſeſſed themſelves of their camp, and obliged them to retire from before the city. Being elated with this ſucceſs they attacked the enemy's fleet, which blocked up the harbour, ſunk many of their ſhips, and forced the others to ſhelter themſelves in the neighbouring iſlands. But *Pericles*, receiving notice of this overthrow, returned with all poſſible expedition, and being reinforced with forty ſhips from *Athens* under the command of *Thucydides*, *Agnon* and *Phormio*, and ſoon after with twenty more commanded by *Tlepolemus* and *Anticles*, and moreover with forty from *Chios* and *Lesbos*, he attacked *Meliſſus*, b
and defeated the *Samians* both by ſea and land, began the ſiege with new vigor, and brought the citizens into great diſtreſs. The town was battered both day and night without intermiſſion; but the *Samians*, though quite tired out with frequent aſſaults on all ſides, and reduced ro the utmoſt diſtreſs for want of proviſions, yet ſuſtained the ſiege for the ſpace of nine months, without once offering to capitulate. On this occaſion the battering rams, ſcorpions and galleries are ſaid to have been firſt invented by one *Artemon* of *Clazomenæ*, whom *Ephorus* the hiſtorian confounds with *Artemon Periphrejus*, mentioned by *Anacreon*, as quoted by *Athenæus* [h]. The *Samians* at length ſeeing they had no hopes of relief, and that their walls were in great part ruined, ſurrendered. The only terms they could obtain were the follow- c
ing, *viz.* that they ſhould demoliſh their walls, give hoſtages for their fidelity in time to come, deliver up their navy, and pay the charges of the war. The *Byzantines*, who had joined the *Samians* in this war, ſubmitted at the ſame time to the *Athenians*. Thus *Pericles*, having put to death the authors of the revolt, and re-eſtabliſhed the democracy, returned to *Athens* [i]. This war happened according to *Thucydides* in the ſixth of the thirty years truce between the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians*; but *Diodorus Siculus* places it in the fourth year of the eighty-fourth olympiad, that is after the ſaid truce was expired.

FROM this time the *Samians* continued ſubject to the *Athenians* till the twentieth year of the *Peloponneſian* war, when the common people of *Samos* taking up arms d
againſt the nobility, who had again uſurped all the power, ſlew two hundred of them, baniſhed the reſt, and divided their lands and houſes among themſelves. This ſo pleaſed the *Athenians*, at whoſe inſtigation the people had revolted, that they reſtored to them all their ancient privileges, and allowed them to govern their republic according to their own laws. The enſuing year when the government of the four hundred was ſet up at *Athens*, the great men among the *Samians*, to the number of three hundred, formed a new conſpiracy againſt the democracy, and being aſſiſted by *Piſander* and other *Athenians*, who favoured the oligarchy, they attempted to make themſelves maſters of the city with a deſign to murder all thoſe who were for the popular faction. But the people having timely notice of their deſign, and e
being ſupported by *Leon*, *Diomedon*, *Thraſybulus*, and other *Athenians*, who were then in *Samos*, and profeſſed enemies to the oligarchy, repulſed them, and having killed about thirty of the three hundred conſpirators, obliged the reſt to ſubmit to the democracy. In this ſtate the iſland of *Samos* continued long ſubject to the *Athenians*, and was reſorted to by ſuch of them as could not endure the tyranny of the four hundred uſurpers. When *Athens* was beſieged and taken by *Lyſander* the *Lacedæmonian* admiral, after his famous victory at *Ægos-Potamos*, the iſland of *Samos* was alſo reduced by the conqueror, who aboliſhed the popular government, and put the whole power into the hands of ten men, who from their number were called the *Deciarchæ*. This form of government continued for the ſpace of near ten years, f
till the *Athenians*, having regained the ſovereignty of the ſeas by their ſignal victory over the *Lacedæmonians* at *Cnidus*, reſtored the democracy, and took a new poſſeſſion of the iſland. But ſoon after the *Samians* revolting from *Athens* entered into a confederacy with the *Lacedæmonians*; but being in the mean time attacked by *Tigranes* one of the *Perſian* governors of the *Leſſer Aſia*, and by him brought under ſubjection to the king of *Perſia*, they had recourſe to the *Athenians* their ancient allies, who immediately ſent *Timotheus* to their aſſiſtance. *Timotheus* landing his men in the iſland, laid ſiege to the city, and in a few days obliged the *Perſians*, who held

[h] ATHEN. l. xii. [i] THUCYD. l. i. DIODOR. SICUL. l. xii. PLUT. in Pericl.

it,

a it, to capitulate and leave the *Samians* in the full poſſeſſion of their ancient liberties [k]. From this time the iſland of *Samos* continued faithful to the *Athenians* till they were reduced by the *Romans*, who obliged the *Samians* and other iſlanders to pay a yearly tribute to *Rome*. But in the *Roman* times the *Samians* were a very inconſiderable people, and had quite degenerated from the valour of their anceſtors. Not being able to defend themſelves they were an eaſy prey to the princes of *Macedon*, *Syria*, and *Pergamus*. They became ſubject to *Rome* upon the death of *Eumenes* the laſt king of *Pergamus*, who bequeathed, as the *Romans* pretended, his dominions to their republic. *Auguſtus* reſtored them, for what ſervice we know not, to their former liberty, ſuffering them to live according to their own laws in the ſame manner as
b they had done during their alliance with *Athens*. By this indulgence the iſland, which had come into the hands of the *Romans* in a mean condition, began to flouriſh again, and in a ſhort time became ſo populous, that many of the inhabitants were obliged to abandon their country, which could not maintain ſuch multitudes, and ſettle in the neighbouring iſland of *Icaria*, which was then but thinly inhabited [l]. In this happy ſtate they continued till the reign of *Veſpaſian*, who reduced *Samos* with the other *Greek* iſlands, to a *Roman* province [m].

[k] Probus in Timoth. [l] Strab. l. xiv. Dion. lib. liv. Euseb. Chron. [m] Sueton. in Veſpaſ.

SECT. VII.

The Hiſtory of the other Greek *iſlands.*

c BESIDES the *Greek* iſlands we have already deſcribed, there are many others, which if we diſmiſſed this ſubject without taking ſome notice of, as they make no ſmall figure in the ancient hiſtory of *Greece*, we ſhould after all look upon ours as maimed and imperfect. Theſe lie partly in the *Ægean* and *Icarian*, and partly in the *Cretan*, *Myrtoan*, and *Ionian* ſeas, or in the *Propontis*; whence we ſhall, with *Strabo* [n], begin our account of them, deſcribing firſt ſuch as are on the coaſt of *Aſia*, and therefore reckoned by all geographers among the *Aſiatic* iſlands. In the *Propontis*, now the *Sea of Marmora* (P), the following iſlands are taken notice of by *Ptolemy*, *Strabo*, *Pliny*, *Mela*, &c. viz. *Proconneſus*, *Besbicus*, *Phœbe*, *Alone*, *Phyſia*, *Ophioeſſa*, *Gonimi*, and *Liparæ*. *Proconneſus*, or, as others write it, *Præ-*
b *conneſus*, was anciently known likewiſe by the name of *Elaphonneſus*, that is the iſland of *Stags* [o], it being particularly remarkable, as the ſcholiaſt of *Apollonius* obſerves, for the vaſt numbers of ſtags with which it was ſtocked. *Pliny* [p], *Strabo* [q], and *Vitruvius* [r] greatly commend the marble quarries of *Proconneſus*, and tell us, that the ſtately palace of *Mauſolus* at *Halicarnaſſus* was lined with this marble, which, according to *Vitruvius*, received a brighter poliſh than any other. Hence *Conſtantine the Great*, if we believe *Zoſimus* [s], made uſe of the *Proconneſian* marble only in embelliſhing the public ſtructures of his new city. *Ptolemy* places this iſland on the coaſt of *Thrace*, wherein he contradicts all the ancient geographers, who ſpeak of it as lying on the coaſt of *Aſia* over-againſt *Cyzicum*; whence the *Proconneſian* marble, as *Pliny* obſerves, is often from that city called *Cyzican* (Q) [t].

Iſlands of the Propontis. Proconneſus.

[n] Strab. l. xiii. p. 425. [o] Plin. l. iii. c. 4. Scholiaſt. Apoll. ad lib. ii. v. 279. [p] Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 6. [q] Strab. ubi ſupra. [r] Vitruvius, l. xi. c. 7. [s] Zosimus, l. ii. c. 20. [t] Plin. ibid.

(P) The *Propontis*, ſo called according to *Suidas* becauſe it lies before the *Pontus*, and is, as it were, an inlet into that ſea, extends from the *Helleſpont* to the *Boſphorus Thracius*, and is about three hundred miles in compaſs, being confined on the north by *Thrace*, and on the ſouth by the kingdom of *Pontus*. It is now called by the *Turks* the *White Sea* in oppoſition to the *Pontus Euxinus*, which they ſtile the *Black-Sea*; and by the *Franks* the *Sea of Marmora*, from an iſland, formerly known by the name of *Proconneſus*, which name in proceſs of time was changed by the *Latins* into that of *Marmora* by reaſon of the excellent marble found in its quarries.

(Q) *Stephanus* and *Scylax* ſpeak of *Proconneſus* and *Elaphonneſus* as two different iſlands, and tell us, that in the former were anciently two cities both bearing the name of the iſland, and diſtinguiſhed by the epithets of the *New* and the *Old Proconneſus*; the firſt, ſay they, was built by the *Mileſians*, and the other by the inhabitants of the iſland. *Ariſteas* and *Bion* were both natives of *Proconneſus*. *Ariſteas* was born, according to *Suidas*, in the fiftieth olympiad, and lived in the reigns of *Cyrus* and *Cræſus*. He was the ſon of *Democharis*, or, as others will have it, of *Caueſtrobius*. He wrote a *Theogony* in proſe, and the hiſtory of the *Arimaſpians*, an *Hyperborean* people,

Besbicus.

Besbicus, a ſmall iſland between *Cyzicum* and the mouth of the *Rhyndacus*, is a counted by *Pliny* [n] among thoſe iſlands which, being firſt joined to the continent, were ſeparated from it by the violence of the ſeas or earthquakes. The others, to which he ſuppoſes the ſame misfortune to have happened, are *Sicily*, *Cyprus*, and *Eubœa*, the firſt having been ſeparated, according to him, from *Italy*, the ſecond from *Syria*, and the laſt from *Bœotia*. The other iſlands in the *Propontis* are of no note, and therefore leaving them, ſince we know nothing of them but their bare names, we ſhall proceed to the *Ægean* ſea (R), deſcribing ſuch iſlands as lie on the coaſt of *Aſia* and make any figure in hiſtory.

[n] Idem, l. ii. c. 88.

people, in verſe. This poem, as *Suidas* informs us, was compriſed in three books. He is quoted by *Herodotus* in the following words (18). "*Ariſtæas*, a poet of *Proconneſus*, and ſon to *Cauſtrobius*, ſays in his verſes, "that he was tranſported by *Apollo* into "the territories of the *Iſſedonians*; beyond whom "the *Arimaſpians* dwell, who are a people having "but one eye; that the next region abounds with "griffins, which guard the gold of the country; "and that the *Hyperboreans* are ſituate beyond them, "their country bordering on the ſea; that all theſe "nations, except the *Hyperboreans*, were continually "employed in making war on their neighbours; "that the *Iſſedonians* were expelled by the *Arimaſ*"*pians*, the *Scythians* by the *Iſſedonians*, and the "*Cimmerians*, inhabiting the coaſts of the ſouth-ſea, "by the *Scythians*. Our hiſtorian adds, that *Ariſtæas* was in no reſpect inferior to any of his fellow citizens, and that entering one day into a fuller's ſhop, he there died ſuddenly. Hereupon the fuller, having ſhut his door, went to acquaint the relations of the deceaſed with what had happened. The news of his death being ſpread over the city, a certain *Cyzicenian*, arriving from *Artace*, diſputed the truth of the report, affirming that he had met him and converſed with him in his way to *Cyzicus*. While he obſtinately perſiſted in maintaining his aſſertion, the relations of *Ariſtæas* came with all things neceſſary for removing the body; but could not find *Ariſtæas* either alive or dead. Seven years after he appeared again in *Proconneſus*, compoſed thoſe verſes which are by the *Greeks* called *Arimaſpian*, and then diſappeared a ſecond time. *Herodotus* adds, that three hundred and forty years after this ſecond diſappearing of *Ariſtæas*, he ſhewed himſelf anew in the city of the *Metapontius*, exhorting them to erect an altar to *Apollo*, and a ſtatue by the altar, which ſhould bear the name of *Ariſtæas* the *Proconneſian*; he told them on that occaſion, that they were the only nation of the *Italian* coaſt that had ever been favoured with the preſence of *Apollo*, and that he himſelf attended the god in the ſhape of a raven. Having pronounced theſe words, he vaniſhed; and the *Metapontins*, going to conſult the oracle of *Delphos* concerning the apparition, were admoniſhed by the *Pythian* to do as they had been directed, if they deſired their affairs to proſper. In purſuance therefore of this oracle they erected an altar to *Apollo*, and near it a ſtatue to *Ariſtæas*, which were ſtill remaining in our hiſtorian's time (19). The ſame ſtory is related by *Pliny* (20), *Apollonius* (21), *Maximus Tyrius* (22), *Origines* (23), *Heſychius* (24), and *Tzetzes* (25). *Strabo*, *Tatian*, and *Pauſanias* likewiſe mention this author. *Longinus* in his treatiſe of the *ſublime* quotes ſome of his verſes, as does alſo *Julius Pollux*. *Gellius* ranks him among the writers of extraordinary events and fables (26), and *Pliny* cites him to prove that the *Arimaſpians*, who had but one eye, were continually at war with a kind of wild beaſts called *Griffins*, that guarded the gold, which the *Arimaſpians* dug out of the mines (27). All theſe relations are fabulous, and therefore, in the opinion of *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*, the poem, entitled *Arimaſpians*, was a ſpurious piece falſely aſcribed to *Ariſtæas*. *Tatian* tells us, that *Ariſtæas* flouriſhed before *Homer*; but *Strabo* will have him to be that poet's maſter.

Bion was contemporary with *Pherecydes*, who flouriſhed about the fiftieth olympiad. He copied the titles, and abridged the works of *Cadmus* the *Mileſian*, as *Clemens Alexandrinus* informs us (28). The ſame author quotes ſeveral of his apophthegms. *Cadmus*, whoſe works *Bion* is ſaid to have abridged, was the firſt who wrote a hiſtory in proſe (29), and is commonly believed to have lived before the *Trojan* war. *Strabo* mentions this *Cadmus* (whom we muſt diſtinguiſh from another *Cadmus* a *Mileſian* alſo, but of a much later date) and ſays that he, *Pherecydes* and *Hecatæus*, were the firſt three writers in proſe (30).

(R) The *Ægean* ſea, now the *Archipelago*, is that ſea which ſeparates *Europe* from *Aſia*, waſhing on one ſide *Greece* and *Macedon*, and on the other *Caria*, *Ionia*, and *Phrygia*. There is a great variance among authors about the etymology of its name. *Pliny* will have it to be ſo called from *Ægis* an iſland, or rather a rock, ſacred to *Neptune*, and lying between the iſlands of *Tenos* and *Chios* (31). *Solinus* and the ſcholiaſt of *Apollonius* agree with *Pliny*. The iſland of *Ægis* borrowed its name, according to the ſame *Pliny* (32), from the *Greek* word *Aix*, ſignifying a goat, which that iſland at ſome diſtance reſembles. *Feſtus* offers three different opinions; the *Ægean* ſea, ſays he, was ſo named either from its iſlands, which lying ſcattered up and down, look at a diſtance like ſo many goats, or from *Ægea* queen of the *Amazons*, who was drowned in it, or becauſe *Ægeus*, the father of *Theſeus*, apprehending his ſon might be devoured by the *Minotaur*, threw himſelf out of grief into the ſea and periſhed. *Strabo* (33) derives it from a city of *Eubœa* called *Ægæ*; *Statius* from *Ægeon*, one of the giants that warred againſt *Jupiter*, and was by *Neptune*, who overcame him, chained to a rock in this ſea; and *Nicocrates* from *Ægeus*, a name anciently given to *Neptune*. *Bochart* recurs, according to his cuſtom, to the *Phœnician* language, and forms the name of *Ægeum* from the word *Az*, ſignifying among the *Phœnicians* *wild*, *cruel*, and *violent*, which he pretends to have been given to this ſea by the *Phœnicians*, who firſt inhabited the iſlands, by reaſon it is ſubject to frequent ſtorms, which among ſo many rocks and iſlands prove very dangerous (34). The *Icarian*,

(18) *Herodot. l.* iv. (19) *Idem ibid.* (20) *Plin. l.* viii. *c.* 3. (21) *Apollon. in Hiſt. Mirab.* (22) *Maxim. Tyr. Diſſert.* 22. & 28. (23) *Origin. in Celſum, l.* iii. (24) *Heſych. de Philoſoph.* (25) *Tzetzes Chil.* 2. *hiſt.* 50. (26) *Aul. Gell. l.* ix. (27) *Plin. l.* vii. *c.* 2. (28) *Clem. Alexandrin. Stromat l.* vi. (29) *Plin. l.* ii. *c.* 5—6. (30) *Strab. l.* i. (31) *Plin. l.* iv. *c.* 11. (32) *Idem ibid.* (33) *Strab. l.* viii. *p.* 266. (34) *Bochart. Phaleg. l.* i. *c.* 3.

THE

a THE ancient geographers reckon fifty-three iſlands from *Tenedos* to *Crete*, and comprehend them all under two general denominations. Thoſe which form a circle round *Delos*, a little iſland revered by the ancients for being reputed the birth-place of *Apollo* and *Diana*, they call the *Cyclades* from the *Greek* word *cyclos*, ſignifying a circle; ſuch as are at a greater diſtance from *Delos* they call *Sporades* from the *Greek* word *Speiro*, importing to ſcatter or ſow, theſe iſlands being ſcattered up and down the *Ægean* ſea. To begin with the *Sporades* on the coaſt of *Aſia*, *Pliny* [w] mentions the following iſlands at the mouth of the *Helleſpont* over-againſt the country of *Troas*, viz. the *Aſcanian* iſlands, ſo called, according to ſome, from *Aſcanius* the ſon of *Æneas*, according to others, from *Askenaz* one of *Gomer*'s ſons, the iſlands of b *Platæa*, *Lamia*, *Plitania*, *Plate*, *Scopelos*, *Gethone*, *Arthedon*, *Cælæ*, *Laguſſæ* and *Didymæ*. Theſe iſlands are very ſmall, and therefore ſcarce taken notice of by other geographers or hiſtorians. Near them lies the iſland of *Tenedos* about two leagues from the ſhore. Behind this iſland the *Greeks*, as is well known, feigning to return into their own country, lay concealed till their plot againſt *Troy* took effect. But as we have already given an account of this iſland [x], we ſhall only add here, that the learned *Bochart* derives the name of *Tenedos* from the *Phœnician* word *Tin-edum*, ſignifying red clay, which was found here and in great requeſt for the making of earthen-ware [y].

The iſlands of the Ægean ſea on the coaſt of Aſia.

Tenedos.

Lesbos, one of the moſt conſiderable iſlands of the *Ægean* ſea or *Archipelago*, was c anciently called *Pelaſgia*, from the *Pelaſgi*, by whom it was ſuppoſed to have been firſt peopled; *Macaria*, from *Macareus* the grandſon of *Jupiter*, who ſettled here; *Lesbus* from the ſon-in-law, and ſucceſſor of *Macareus*, who bore that name, *&c.* It is, according to *Strabo* [z], ſixty-two, according to *Pliny*, fifty-ſix miles diſtant from *Tenedos*, divided from the continent of *Aſia* by a ſtraight ſeven miles and a half over, in length ſeventy miles, and an hundred and ſixty-eight in compaſs. All the ancient hiſtorians, geographers, and others, who ſpeak of the greater iſlands in the *Mediterranean* and *Ægean* ſeas, conſtantly reckon *Lesbos* in the ſeventh place, tho' no two of them agree in the diſpoſing of the reſt. This *Bochart*, who, if we may be allowed to uſe the common ſaying, ſees farther into a mill-ſtone than any other, d ſurmiſed to be myſterious; and accordingly, with the help of his *Phœnician* etymologicon, found out that the iſland of *Lesbos* was without change put in the ſeventh place, becauſe its name was derived from the *Phœnician* word *Esbuith*, ſignifying ſeven. But to derive *Lesbos* from *Esbuith* requires ſeveral alterations, and withal a greater ſtock of anagrammatical wit than is fallen to every body's ſhare. This iſland had in former times, if we believe *Pliny* [a], eight cities of note; *Herodotus* [b] ſpeaks of ſix, but *Pomponius Mela* and *Scylax* name only five; the former leaves out *Methymna*, and the latter *Arisba*. Theſe cities were, *Arisba*, which was quite ruined by an earthquake; *Pyrrha* ſeated on the weſtern coaſt of the iſland towards *Greece*, and diſtant from *Mitylene*, which ſtands on the other ſea, eighty furlongs [c]. This city under- e went the ſame fate as *Arisba*, and alſo the cities of *Hiera* and *Agamis* [d]. *Ereſſus* or *Ereſus*, placed by *Ptolemy* between *Pyrrha* and *Mela*, the moſt ſouthern promontory of *Lesbos*, but by *Strabo* between *Pyrrha* and *Sigrium* the moſt northern promontory of the iſland. *Ereſſus* was the birth-place of the famous philoſopher *Theophraſtus*, who ſucceeded *Ariſtotle* in the *Peripatetic* ſchool. *Antiſſa*, which was, according to *Strabo* [e], in ancient times an iſland by itſelf, and thence called *Antiſſa*, becauſe it lay over-againſt *Lesbos*, then known by the name of *Iſſa*. This city,

Lesbos.

Names.

Cities.

w PLIN. l. v. c. 31. x Vol. II. p. 307. y BOCHART. Phaleg. l. i. c. 3. z STRAB. l. xiii. a PLIN. ubi ſupra. b HERODOT. l. i. c STRAB. ubi ſupra. d STRAB. ibid. PLIN. l. iii. c. 9. e STRAB. ibid.

Icarian, *Carpathian*, *Cretan* ſeas, ſo called from the iſlands they waſh, and alſo the *Myrtoan*, are but parts of the *Ægean* ſea taken in its full extent. The *Myrtoan* lies, according to *Strabo* (35), *Pliny* (36), and *Pauſanias* (37), &c. between *Crete*, *Peloponneſus*, *Attica* and *Eubœa*, and not on the ſide of *Aſia*, as *Ptolemy* (38) would have it. That author places *Miletus*, *Jaſſus*, *Myndus*, and the other maritime cities of *Caria* on the *Myrtoan* ſea, wherein he contradicts all the ancient geographers as well as hiſtorians. This ſea borrowed its name, either from an iſland called *Myrtus*, as *Pliny* informs us (39), or from *Myrtilus* the ſon of *Mercury*, or a nymph named *Myrton*, as *Pauſanias* inſinuates (40). The *Ægean* is now called the *Archipelago*, from the *Greek* words ἀρχὸς chief, and πέλαγος the ſea, it being the chief and greateſt ſea in thoſe parts.

(35) *Strab. l.* xi. *p.* 85. (36) *Plin. l.* xiv. *c.* 11, *&* 12. (37) *Pauſan. Arcad. c.* 14. (38) *Ptol. l.* v. *c.* 11. (39) *Plin. ubi ſupra.* (40) *Pauſan. ubi ſupra.*

having

having diſobliged the *Romans*, was deſtroyed by *Labeo*, and the inhabitants tranſ- a
planted to *Methymna* [f]. *Methymna*, the native city of *Arion*, who is ſuppoſed to have been the firſt inventor of tragedies, and of the *Dithyrambic* verſe. This city borrowed its name from *Methymna* one of the daughters of *Macareus* [g], of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak anon; and was the ſecond city in rank of the whole iſland, eſpecially after the inhabitants of *Antiſſa* were tranſplanted hither by the *Romans*. *Methymna* was famous for the fruitfulneſs of its territory, and the excellent wines it produced. When the other cities of *Lesbos* revolted from the *Athenians*, *Methymna* continued ſtedfaſt in its former alliance, and proved very ſerviceable in the reducing of the reſt [h]. *Mitylene*, the capital of the whole iſland, ſo called from the daughter of *Macareus*, who married *Lesbus*, as we have hinted b
above. *Cicero* [i] and *Vitruvius* [k] greatly commend this city on account of the ſtateline ſs of its buildings, and the fertility of its ſoil. *Strabo* tells us, that it abounded with the neceſſaries and delights of life [l], and *Horace* beſtows upon it the epithet of famous or renowned [m]. A modern traveller is of opinion that the preſent city of *Caſtro* was built on the ruins of *Mitylene*, there being to this day many veſtigies of a great city to be ſeen in *Caſtro* and its neighbourhood [n]. But *Mitylene* was not ſo renowned on account of its magnificent buildings, and fruitful ſoil, as for the many great men it produced. *Pittacus*, one of the ſeven ſages of *Greece*; *Alcæus* the famous *Lyric* poet; *Sappho*, called by *Strabo* a prodigy, by others the tenth muſe; *Terpander*, who was the firſt that fitted ſeven ſtrings to the lyre, which gave occaſion to the fable of *Orpheus*'s head being heard to ſpeak in this iſland after it was c
cut off in *Thrace*, as *Euſtathius* ingeniouſly explains it [o]; *Hellanicus*, the celebrated hiſtorian, and *Callias*, famous for his notes on *Alcæus* and *Sappho* were all natives of *Mitylene*. To theſe we may add with *Strabo*, *Diophanes*, a famous rhetorician, who was tutor to *Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus*, and afterwards preſſed him to revive the *Licinian* law, which occaſioned great diſturbances in the republic; *Potamon*, *Leſtode*, *Crinagoras*, and *Theophanes*, all mentioned by *Strabo* as men of great parts and learning. *Theophanes* had a great influence over *Pompey*, who honoured him with his confidence, and an employment of diſtinction in his troops; and the *Greek* in gratitude to his benefactor, wrote the hiſtory of his glorious conqueſts. *Mitylene* d
was in ancient times the ſeat of all polite arts and literature. There *Epicurus* read public lectures at thirty years of age [p], and *Ariſtotle* reſided two years to improve by the converſation of the learned men of the place [q]. In the *Roman* times ſuch as were diſſatisfied with the government at home, or deſirous to perfect themſelves in polite literature, retired to *Athens*, *Rhodes*, or *Mitylene*. Among the former was *Marcellus*, who after the battle of *Pharſalia* withdrew to this city, and was ſo taken with the converſation of the many learned men he found there, that *Cicero* could not prevail upon him to abandon the place and return to *Rome*, even after he had obtained his pardon from *Cæſar* [r]. This city ſuffered greatly in the *Peloponneſian* war after it had revolted from the *Athenians*, as we read in *Thucydides* [s]. In the *Mithridatic* war it was the only city that refuſed to ſubmit to the *Romans*, after the treaty of e
peace was concluded between *Mithridates* and *Sylla*. Wherefore it was beſieged, taken, and razed to the ground by *Minucius Thermus*. *Julius Cæſar*, who was then making his firſt campaign, ſignalized himſelf at this ſiege, and was honoured with ſeveral civic crowns. The city was ſoon after rebuilt, and in favour of *Theophanes* reſtored by *Pompey* to the full enjoyment of all its ancient privileges [t]. *Pliny* ſays that in his time it enjoyed the ſame liberty which *Pompey* had granted it. The emperor *Trajan* embelliſhed it with many coſtly buildings, and called it from his own name *Trajanopolis*; but the ancient name prevailed, and in proceſs of time became common to the whole iſland, which to this day is called *Metalin*.

Soil. THE fruitfulneſs of this iſland is much ſpoke of by the ancients; it produced great f
quantities of delicious fruits, and exquiſite wines, which, if we believe our modern travellers, ſtill deſerve the mighty praiſes beſtowed upon them by *Strabo*, *Horace*, *Athenæus*, *Ælian*, &c. We are told, that while *Ariſtotle* was dying, a diſpute aroſe among his diſciples about the perſon who ſhould ſucceed him, ſome thinking *Me-*

[f] LIV. l. xlv. c. 31. PLIN. l. v. c. 31. [g] DIODOR. SICUL. l. v. [h] THUCYD. l. iii. [i] CIC. de Leg. Agr. [k] VITRUV. l. i. c. 6. [l] STRAB. l. xiii. [m] HORAT. l. i. Od. 7. [n] TOURNEFORT Voyage au Levant, &c. [o] EUSTATH. in Dionyſ. [p] DIOGEN. LAERT. in vit. Philoſoph. [q] Idem ibid. [r] CIC. l. iv. epiſt. 7. SENECA ad Helviam, c. 9. [s] THUCYD. l. iii. & viii. [t] VELL. PATERCUL. l. iii. c. 18. PLUT. in Pompeio.

nedemus

a *nedemus* of *Rhodes* the moſt proper man to keep up the reputation of the *Peripatetic* ſchool, and others declaring in favour of *Theophraſtus* the *Lesbian*. The matter was at laſt referred to *Ariſtotle* himſelf, who having called for ſome wine of both iſlands, and taſted them, ſaid they were both excellent wines, but that the *Rhodian* was not to compare with the *Lesbian*; thereby giving to underſtand, that *Theophraſtus* excelled his competitors as much as the wine of *Lesbos* did that of *Rhodes* [u]. *Triſtanus* mentions a medal of the emperor *Geta*, who, according to *Spartianus*, did not diſlike good wine, with a fortune on the reverſe, holding in her right hand the rudder of a ſhip, and in her left a cornucopiæ with a bunch of grapes, and underneath the inſcription *Mitylene*. *Pliny* tells us, that the wine of *Lesbos* was deemed no leſs wholeſome
b than pleaſant by *Eraſiſtratus*, one of the greateſt phyſicians of antiquity. The ſame author ſpeaks of the jaſper of *Lesbos*, and of a certain kind of pine-trees yielding pitch. As to the morals of the ancient *Lesbians*, we cannot ſay any thing in their commendation; they were given to all ſorts of lewdneſs and debauchery, inſomuch that to expreſs the lewd and diſſolute life of a debauchee, the antients uſed to ſay, that he lived like a *Lesbian* [w]. *Goltzius* exhibits a medal, which does no great honour to the *Lesbian* women.

Inhabitants.

THIS iſland, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, was firſt peopled by the *Pelaſgi*; for *Xanthus* the ſon of *Triopas*, prince of the *Pelaſgians*, who came from *Argos*, having firſt ſettled in *Lycia*, and there reigned ſome time over the *Pelaſgians*, who had
c attended him in this expedition, ſailed from thence to *Lesbos*, which, as it lay at that time deſolate, he divided among his followers, changing its ancient name of *Iſſa* into that of *Pelagia*. In proceſs of time, that is, after ſeven generations, the inhabitants being all deſtroyed by *Deucalion*'s flood, the iſland lay waſte and deſolate, till *Macareus* happening to touch there, and being taken with the pleaſantneſs and fertility of the country, ſettled in it, and built the city of *Olanus*. The fame of his juſtice and humanity drew many *Ionians* to him, by whoſe means he poſſeſſed himſelf of ſome of the neighbouring iſlands, and in a ſhort time became very powerful. In his time *Lesbos*, the ſon of *Lapithas*, and grandſon of *Æolus*, arriving in this iſland by the direction of the oracle at *Delphos*, with a new colony, was kindly received
d by the inhabitants, and being allowed to enjoy, with his followers, the ſame rights and privileges as thoſe who were there before him, he married *Methymna* the eldeſt daughter of *Macareus*, after whoſe death he called the iſland from his own name *Lesbus* [x]. This is the account *Diodorus* gives us of the firſt inhabitants of *Lesbus*; but *Strabo* [y], *Herodotus* [z], *Thucydides* [a], *Pauſanias* [b], *Ptolemy* [c], *Velleius* [d], unanimouſly tell us, that it was firſt peopled by the *Æolians*, and conſtantly ſpeak of the *Lesbians* as having come originally from *Æolis*.

Government and hiſtory.

THE *Lesbians* were, like moſt of the other *Greek* nations, firſt governed by kings; but of theſe we find four only mentioned in hiſtory, *viz.* *Macareus*, *Lesbus*, *Æolion*, and *Penthilus*. *Macareus* is ſaid to have ſubdued ſome of the neighbouring iſlands,
e *viz.* *Samos*, whither he ſent one of his ſons, by name *Cycholaus*, who divided the iſland among his followers, and ruled over them as king; *Cos*, over which he appointed his ſecond ſon *Nicander* king; and *Rhodes*, great part of which was held by his third ſon *Leucippus*. Theſe conqueſts *Macareus* made, if we believe *Diodorus* [e], ſoon after the flood of *Deucalion*, that is, about 1046 years before the *Chriſtian* æra, when the iſlands were but thinly peopled. But *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus* tells us, that *Xanthus* the *Pelaſgian*, long before the reign of *Macareus*, had peopled *Lesbos*, and that *Macareus* did not ſubdue, but only peopled ſome of the adjacent iſlands [f]. *Macareus* was ſucceeded by *Lesbus* the ſon of *Lapithus*, who marrying *Methymna* the daughter of *Macareus*, had the iſland for her dowry. *Æolion*
f is mentioned by *Homer* as reigning in *Lesbos*; and *Penthilus* by *Pauſanias* [g], who tells us, that *Penthilus* was king of *Mycenæ*, and that he ſubdued great part of *Æolis*, with the iſland of *Lesbos*, whence he places him among the *Lesbian* kings. In proceſs of time the democratical form of government univerſally prevailed in all the *Greek* ſtates, and, amongſt others, in *Lesbos*, the *Lesbians* having driven out their kings, as *Ariſtotle* informs us [h], when they began to rule not as kings, but as tyrants. Upon this revolution great troubles aroſe in the iſland, each city aſpiring to the ſame

[u] AUL. GELL. l. xii. c. 5. [w] SUIDAS, verbo Ασσίσαι. [x] DIODOR. SICUL. l. v. c. 16.
[y] STRABO, ubi ſupra. [z] HERODOT. l. vi. [a] THUCYDID. l. iii & vii. [b] PAUSAN. in Phocicis.
[c] PTOLEM. l. v. c. 2. [d] VELLEIUS PATERCUL. l. ii. [e] DIODOR. SICUL. l. v. c. 16. [f] DIONYS. HALICARNAS. l. i. c. 33, 34. [g] PAUSAN. in Corinthiac. [h] ARISTOT. Polit. l. v. c. 10.

power over the others, which they could not bear in one man. In this conteſt the a
city of *Mitylene* at laſt prevailed, and by that means became ſo powerful, that the *Mityleneans* being diſengaged from all wars at home, began to entertain thoughts of making conqueſts on the continent. Accordingly having equipped a fleet, they made a deſcent on the country of *Troas*, which they in great part reduced, and held undiſturbed till the time of *Piſiſtratus* tyrant of *Athens*, who took from them the city of *Sigeum*, and put it into the hands of *Hegeſiſtratus* his natural ſon by a woman of *Argos*. This occaſioned a war between the *Athenians* and *Mytileneans*, which was carried on with great vigor by the contending parties, till they were reconciled by the mediation of *Periander* tyrant of *Corinth*. The terms of accommodation were, that each party ſhould retain what they poſſeſſed, and that the *Lesbians* ſhould be b
allowed to make what conqueſts they pleaſed on the continent of *Aſia*. Thus the *Athenians* remained maſters of *Sigeum*, and the *Mityleneans* quietly poſſeſſed the reſt of *Troas*. In a battle fought during this war, the poet *Alcæus* is ſaid to have betaken himſelf to flight, leaving his armour behind him, which the *Athenians*, who carried the day, hung up in the temple of *Minerva* at *Sigeum*. This diſgrace the poet lamented in a poem, which he inſcribed to *Menalippus*, who had attended him in his flight [i]. This war was ſcarce ended, when the other cities of *Lesbos*, not being able to brook the yoke laid upon them by *Mytilene*, revolted. Thus a civil war was kindled anew, which *Myrſylus*, a man of great wealth and authority in the iſland, taking advantage of, ſeized on the ſovereignty, and ruled without controul. *Alcæus* c
compoſed bitter invectives againſt him, as well as his ſucceſſor in the tyranny *Megalagyrus* [k]. The other tyrants mentioned in hiſtory are *Cleanactis*, *Archæanax*, and *Melanchrus*. *Archæanax* is ſaid to have raiſed ſome ſtately buildings with materials brought from *Troy* [l]. *Melanchrus* was driven out by *Pittacus*, with the aſſiſtance of *Alcæus*, who, on this occaſion, wiped off the diſgrace he had incurred in the *Athenian* war. *Pittacus* having delivered his country from tyrants, took upon himſelf to govern it, being warmly preſſed thereunto by his fellow citizens; but after having reigned ten years, he reſigned all the power which he had been veſted with, and ſpent the remainder of his life in ſtudy and retirement. He was not only a great philoſopher, but an experienced officer. In the above-mentioned war between the d
Athenians and *Mityleneans*, he had the chief command of the army, on which occaſion he gave a ſignal proof both of his courage and good nature; for being unwilling to hazard the lives of his fellow citizens, he challenged *Phrymon* the *Athenian* general to a ſingle combat, notwithſtanding he had been victor at the *Olympic* games. *Phrymon* accepted the challenge, but was conquered and killed by *Pittacus*, who is ſaid to have intangled him in a net, which he had hid under his ſhield. During his adminiſtration he made many wiſe laws, which he comprehended in ſix hundred verſes. One of theſe laws, taken notice of by *Ariſtotle*, *Plato* and *Plutarch*, was, that every fault committed by a man, when drunk, deſerved double puniſhment. Many of his ſentences were written on the walls of the temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos*; e
ſo great was the eſteem which the ancients entertained of his wiſdom. He died ten years after he had reſigned the government, in the third year of the fifty-ſecond olympiad, and ſeventieth of his age [m]. The *Lesbians* maintained their liberties from the time of his reſignation to the reign of *Cyrus* the great; but were in that interval greatly haraſſed by *Polycrates* tyrant of *Samos*, who having defeated their fleet, obliged them to pay him an annual tribute. After the defeat of *Cræſus* king of *Lydia*, they ſubmitted with the other iſlanders to the conqueror, and even agreed, as ſome authors write, to deliver up to him *Pactyas*, who, after having perſuaded the *Lydians* to revolt, had taken ſanctuary in the city of *Mitylene* [n]. Being thus made tributaries to the kings of *Perſia*, they ſerved *Darius* in his wars, both againſt f
Scythia and *Greece*. In the former *Coes*, the ſon of *Erxandrus*, commander of the *Mityleneans*, diſſuaded *Darius* from breaking down the bridge, which he had laid over the *Iſter*, on his march into *Scythia*; for which piece of good advice he was rewarded with the ſovereignty of *Lesbos*, which he did not long enjoy, being driven out by *Eriſtagoras*, at the beginning of the *Ionian* revolt. He was afterwards ſeized by one *Itragoras*, and delivered up to the *Mityleneans*, who ſtoned him to death [o].

[i] HERODOT. l. v. STRABO, l. xiii. [k] STRABO, ubi ſupra. [l] Idem ibid. [m] HERODOT. l. 5. ARISTOT. Ethic. c. 6. & Polit. 3. c. 10. PLUT. in Socrate. VAL. MAX. l. vi. c. 5. ÆLIAN. Var. Hiſt. l. ii. c. 29, &c. [n] HERODOT. l. i. [o] HERODOT. l. iv. JOANN. TZETZES, Chiliad. 3.

The

a The *Lesbians* being thus delivered from the tyranny of *Coes*, readily came into the meaſures of *Hiſtiæus* and *Ariſtagoras*; but in the ſea-fight near *Lade*, over-againſt *Miletus*, followed the example of the *Samians*, retiring in the heat of the engagement, and abandoning their allies. By this means the *Perſians* having gained a complete victory, ſoon reduced *Lesbos*, as well as the other iſlands. The *Leſbians*, after the defeat of the confederate fleet, had joined *Hiſtiæus*, and ſubdued the iſland of *Chios*; on which account they were treated by *Darius* with more ſeverity than the other iſlanders. This treatment they were forced to endure till the battle of *Mycale*, when they revolted with the other *Greeks*, and joined their countrymen againſt the common enemy. After the ſignal victory obtained at *Mycale* by the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians*, they entered into an alliance with the conquerors, who promiſed to
b protect them whenever they ſhould be attacked by the *Perſians* [p]. In the courſe of the war, being provoked at the haughty behaviour of *Pauſanias* the *Lacedæmonian* commander, they, together with the other allies, deſerted him, and put themſelves under the command and protection of the *Athenians*, by which means the *Lacedæmonians* loſt the chief command [q]. Neither did the *Leſbians* long continue faithful to the *Athenians*, but abandoned them in the third year of the *Peloponneſian* war. But of this revolt, and the evils which it brought upon *Mitylene*, we have ſpoke at length in the foregoing volume [r]. After the great overthrow received by the *Athenians* in *Sicily*, they revolted anew from *Athens*; but were ſoon again brought under ſubjection, as we have related in the hiſtory of *Athens* [s]. From this time to the reign of
c *Alexander*, we find nothing upon record concerning the *Leſbians* worth mentioning. In the war which that prince made upon the *Perſians*, the *Leſbians* readily joined him; whereupon *Memnon* the *Rhodian* made a deſcent upon the iſland, and reduced it not without great loſs, the city of *Mitylene* having ſtood a long ſiege. At laſt the *Mityleneans* ſurrendered, upon condition that the *Macedonians*, who were there in gariſon, ſhould be ſuffered to depart unmoleſted; which ſo pleaſed *Alexander*, that after he had regained the city, he reſtored the inhabitants to their former liberty, enlarged their territory, and confirmed many privileges, not on them only, but on all the *Leſbians* [t]. *Alexander* having made himſelf maſter of the whole iſland, by driving the *Perſians* from all the places they poſſeſſed there, delivered up the tyrants, namely,
d *Æriſtonicus* and *Chryſolaus*, to thoſe whom they had oppreſſed, allowing them to inflict upon their oppreſſors what puniſhments they pleaſed. They were both firſt cruelly racked, and then put to death, which, as *Diodorus* obſerves, prevented others from aſpiring to the tyranny, even after the death of *Alexander*. Thus they enjoyed their liberty till the time of *Pompey* the great, who reduced the iſland of *Lesbos* to a *Roman* province, for having delivered up to *Mithridates M. Aquilius*, the chief of the *Roman* deputies ſent into *Aſia*. However he ſoon reſtored *Mitylene* to the enjoyment of its antient privileges, as we have related above, whence it is counted by *Pliny* among the free cities.

Hecatonneſi. In the ſtrait which ſeparates *Lesbos* from the continent, are a great many ſmall iſlands called *Hecatonneſi*, from *Apollo*, named anciently *Hecaios*, to whom they were
e conſecrated [u]. Between the promontory *Malea* in *Lesbos*, and that of *Cane* in *Æolis*, lie the three iſlands *Arginuſæ*, famous for the victory which the *Athenians* gained there in the *Peloponneſian* war [w]. *Cicero*, who mentions this battle, calls theſe iſlands *Arginuſſæ* [x]. The largeſt of the three, called by *Pliny Arginuſa*, had a town bearing the ſame name [y]. Arginuſæ.

Chios. *Chios*, now *Scio*, diſtant from *Lesbos* about four hundred furlongs, and nine hundred in circuit, lies between *Lesbos* and *Samos*, oppoſite to the peninſula of *Ionia*, on which ſtand *Erythræ*, *Clazomenæ* and *Teos* [z]. It is divided from *Ionia* by a canal, which is but three leagues over. This iſland was known to the ancients by the names *Names.*
of *Æthalia*, *Macris*, *Pithyuſa*, &c. but that of *Chios* prevailed over all the reſt, which
f ſome derive from the name of a nymph, others from the *Greek* word *Chion*, ſignifying ſnow, the mountains of the iſland, eſpecially mount *Pelenæus*, being often covered with ſnow. But *Iſidorus* [a] is of opinion, that the name of *Chios* was borrowed from the *Syriac*, that word ſignifying in the *Syriac* tongue, *maſtic*, with which this iſland abounds above all other places.

[p] Herodot. l. ix. [q] Plut. in Ariſtide. [r] Hist. Univers. Vol. II. p. 505. [s] Ibid. p. 521. [t] Diodor. Sicul. l. xvii. Curt. l. iv. [u] Strabo, l. xiii. p. 425. [w] Strabo, ibid. Diodor. Sicul. l. xiii. c. 98. Thucyd. l. viii. p. 616. Xenoph. l. i. Rer. Græc. p. 261. [x] Cic. l. i. Offic. c. 24. [y] Plin. l. v. c. 31. [z] Strabo, ubi ſupra. [a] Isidor. in Origin.

As

Soil, &c. As for its ſoil, *Athenæus* calls it a mountainous and rugged country; however, it produced excellent wine, and is on that account highly commended by the ancients. *Oenopion*, the ſon of *Bacchus*, if we believe *Theopompus*, as quoted by *Athenæus*, taught the *Chians* the manner of cultivating the vine, and they the reſt of mankind. The ſame author adds, that the firſt red wine was made in this iſland. *Virgil*, *Horace*, and *Silius Italicus* ſeem not to have diſliked the wine of *Chios*, eſpecially that which was ſqueezed from the grapes of *Ariuſa* or *Ariſia*, and is called by *Virgil* [b] *Arviſian nectar*, by *Silius Ariſian ambroſia*. *Strabo* prefers this to all the wines of *Greece* [d]. *Pliny* often ſpeaks of it, and quotes *Varro* to prove, that it was often preſcribed at *Rome* as an excellent ſtomachic [e]. The ſame author adds, that *Hortenſius* left to his heir ten thouſand casks of this wine. *Julius Cæſar* uſed to regale his friends with the *Arviſian* wine in his public entertainments, that wine being, as *Athenæus* ſubjoins, an excellent digeſter, exceeding wholeſome, and far ſurpaſſing all others in taſte and flavor [f]. Hence we may eaſily comprehend why we find ſo many medals of *Chios* in *Goltzius* [g], with bunches of grapes, casks, and other implements for making of wine. The figs of *Chios* were likewiſe in great reputation, and are no leſs commended by the ancient writers than the wine. *Strabo* takes notice of the quarries of *Chios*, and *Pliny* tells us, that the firſt jaſper was diſcovered in this iſland. *Cicero* happening to be here when it was firſt made uſe of, the inhabitants ſhewed him it as a curioſity; but the *Roman*, after having viewed it with attention, ſaid, That he ſhould be better pleaſed with the fabric they were then carrying on, if it were built with ſtone from *Tibur*, a city in the neighbourhood of *Rome*. But the chief produce of this iſland is *maſtic*, which is produced by the lentisk-trees in greater plenty here than any-where elſe. But for the deſcription of the maſtic, and the trees that produce it, we refer the readers to our modern travellers [h], who give a very diſtinct account of them. *Vitruvius* mentions a ſpring in *Chios*, which deprived of their ſenſes all thoſe who taſted its waters; for which reaſon an epigram was placed over it, warning all paſſengers of the danger [i]. *Chios*, the chief town of the iſland, ſtood on the eaſtern coaſt, in the moſt pleaſant and fruitful part of the country, and was, according to *Strabo*, forty ſtades in circumference [k]. This city pretended to be the birth-place of *Homer*; and *Leo Allatius*, a native of *Scio*, has taken a great deal of pains to ſhew, that this pretenſion was well grounded [l]. The inhabitants, to this day, ſhew the ſchool they ſuppoſe he went to, which is cut out of a rock at the foot of mount *Epos*, on the ſea-ſide, about four miles from the preſent town of *Scio*. They likewiſe pretend to ſhew his dwelling-houſe in a place which bears the poet's name, on the north ſide of the iſland, near *Voliſſo*, called *Boliſſus* by *Thucydides*, and the author of *Homer*'s life. *Boliſſus* ſtands in the midſt of the *Arviſian* fields, ſo famed for the wines they produced. Theſe perhaps did not a little contribute to the raiſing of the poet's vein. The inhabitants of *Chios* were ſo prepoſſeſſed with this opinion that *Homer* was born in their iſland, that, according to *Julius Pollux*, they ſtamped his figure on their money. Several medals are ſtill to be ſeen, which preſerve the traces of this ancient tradition. On one, mentioned by *Beger*, *Homer* is repreſented ſitting in a chair, and holding the *Iliad* in his hand; and on the reverſe, an harp, the ſymbol of poetry, with a ſphinx, which agrees very well with what is ſaid of *Homer*, *viz.* that he knew how to inculcate the fineſt maxims of morality under beautiful allegories and alluſions, and that his fables are ſo many myſtical *veils* which conceal the moſt important truths, and profound knowledge [m]. This iſland has given to the world other very extraordinary men, namely, *Ion*, *Theopompus*, *Theocritus* and *Metrodorus* (S).

This

[b] Virg. Eclog. v. ver. 71. [c] Sil. Italic. l. vii. ver. 210. [d] Strabo, l. xiii. p. 444. [e] Plin. l. iv. c. 7, 14, 15. [f] Athenæus Deipn. l. i. [g] Goltz. de Inſul. Græc. tab. 15, 16. [h] Tournefort, ubi ſupra. Thevenot, &c. [i] Vitruv. l. iii. c. 3. [k] Strabo, ibid. [l] Leo Allat. de patria Homeri. [m] Leo Allat. ibid.

(S) *Ion* flouriſhed about the eighty-ſecond olympiad, and is often mentioned and commended by *Ariſtophanes*, *Athenæus* and *Suidas*, as an elegant writer of tragedies. His firſt performance was exhibited in *Athens*, in the eighty-ſecond olympiad, and met with general applauſe. This cannot be the *Ion*, whom *Plato*, in one of his dialogues, introduces reaſoning with *Socrates*, as ſome writers have imagined; for the tragic poet was of *Chios*, and the other a native of *Epheſus*.

Theopompus flouriſhed in the reigns of *Artaxerxes Ochus* in *Perſia*, and *Philip* the father of *Alexander* the great in *Macedon*. He was diſciple to *Iſocrates*, and, in the opinion of *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*, far excelled his maſter. The ſame author tells us, that he wrote ſeveral books, *viz.* orations, in imitation of thoſe

Inhabitants, government, and hiſtory.

a THIS iſland was firſt peopled, according to *Strabo*, by the *Pelaſgians*; according to *Diodorus* by *Macareus* and his followers, after they had made themſelves maſters of *Lesbos*. But the opinion of *Herodotus*, who will have the *Chians* to be *Ionians*, has generally obtained [n]. As to their government, they were firſt ſubject to kings; but of theſe we find *Hippoclus* alone mentioned in hiſtory. This prince being murdered by his ſubjects, as *Strabo* informs us [o], for a pretended affront offered to the bride of one of the chief men of the iſland, the *Chians* formed themſelves into a republic; but as to the laws and conſtitutions of their new government, we are altogether in the dark. In proceſs of time, with the aſſiſtance, and under the direction of *Iſocrates*, they new-modelled their republic, forming it on the plan of that b of *Athens* [p]; but they did not long enjoy the bleſſings of liberty, being, like the other ſmall ſtates of *Greece*, brought under ſubjection by their domeſtic tyrants. *Athenæus* ſpeaks of *Amphicus* and *Polytechnus*, as the firſt who aſpired to the ſovereignty of the iſland, and aſſumed all the power into their own hands [q]. In the reigns of *Sadyattes* and *Halyattes* kings of *Lydia*, they aſſiſted the *Mileſians* againſt theſe princes, remembring, ſays *Herodotus*, that the *Mileſians* had aſſiſted them in their wars with the *Erythræans* [r]; but neither the occaſion, nor the ſucceſs of this war, nor even the time in which it happened, have been tranſmitted to us. After the defeat of *Cræſus*

[n] HERODOT. l. i. [o] STRABO, ubi ſupra. [p] DIONYS. in vita Iſocrat. [q] ATHENÆUS, l. vi. c. 6. [r] HERODOT. l. i.

thoſe wrote by *Iſocrates*, among which was a funeral oration on *Mauſolus*, called by ſome, *The epitaph of* Mauſolus; a book of epiſtles; an epitome of *Herodotus*; a treatiſe on the doctrine of *Plato*; another of wonderful things; and two hiſtories. His epiſtles, as *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus* informs us, were ſtiled Ἀρχαικὰς, or, as others read it, Ἀχαικὰς. *Athenæus* quotes two of his epiſtles, one addreſſed to the inhabitants of *Chios*, and the other to *Alexander*. *Harpocration* mentions a third written to *Tizamenes*. *Suidas* mentions his abridgment of *Herodotus*, and ſays, that he was therein aſſiſted by *Ephorus*. His treatiſe on the doctrine of *Plato* is quoted by *Athenæus*; and that of wonderful things by the ſcholiaſt of *Ariſtophanes*, by *Apollonius* and *Laertius*. The ſame ſcholiaſt mentions a treatiſe of his on piety and religion. The ſcholiaſt of *Apollonius* quotes the twenty-firſt and twenty-ſecond books of his *Philippics*. *Longinus*, in his treatiſe on the ſublime, produces two paſſages out of *Theopompus*, the one relating to *Philip*, and probably taken from his *Philippics*, where he ſays, that *Philip ſwallowed, without reluctancy, ſuch affronts as the neceſſity of his affairs obliged him to bear*. This expreſſion is cenſured by *Cecilius*, but approved of by *Longinus*, as juſt and proper. The other paſſage relates to the deſcent of the king of *Perſia* into *Egypt*, where the author, in the opinion of *Longinus*, enters into a detail of too mean particulars, which greatly leſſen the beauty of his relations; but the chief works of *Theopompus* were his two hiſtories, the one comprehending the laſt years of the *Peloponneſian* war, and the other the actions of *Philip*. Both theſe pieces are highly commended by *Athenæus* and *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*. The former praiſes *Theopompus* as a lover of truth, and one who ſpared no pains in the ſearch of it. The latter tells us, that his diction was pure and ſimple, and yet ſublime and noble; that it had ſomething very pompous, but was tempered with a juſt harmony; that the whole was well connected, plain and eaſy, *&c.* However, ſome authors have found fault with him as an ill-natured writer, and one who took pleaſure in railing. *Cornelius Nepos*, in the life of *Alcibiades*, and *Lucian*, think his invectives too bitter, and add, that his deſign ſeems to have been rather to cenſure than to relate facts. *Joſephus* ranks him among the hiſtorians, whoſe chief aim was to diſparage cities and nations. *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus* endeavours to excuſe him in this particular, telling us, that he acted like a prudent and ſkilful ſurgeon, who cuts off, or burns the corrupted part of the body, making deep inciſions, and applying cauſtics, without ever hurting ſuch parts as are ſound and vigorous. *Theon* blames his digreſſions as too long, and making the reader forget the main ſubject. *Quintilian*, and with him moſt of the antients agree, that he wrote in the ſtile of an orator rather than of an hiſtorian. His hiſtory of *Philip* conſiſted of 58 books, as *Diodorus Siculus* and *Photius* inform us, and not of 72, as *Suidas* affirms. Theſe *Philip* of *Macedon*, the father of *Perſes*, reduced to 16, by retrenching the many digreſſions with which he had filled them. His hiſtory of the *Peloponneſian* war was comprized in 11 books, according to the anonymous author of the olympiads, in 12 according to *Suidas*. He began where *Thucydides* left off, and ended with the ſea-fight near *Guidus*. Some authors have aſcribed to him the eighth Book of *Thucydides*; but this opinion is rejected by *Marcellinus*. *Anaximenes* of *Lampſacus* publiſhed a hiſtory under his name, which was looked upon as a ſpurious piece. *Photius* epitomized one of the books of his hiſtory; and this epitome is the only part of his works that has reached our times. The ſame *Photius* gives a very particular account of his birth, education, manner of life, works, *&c.* which it would be too tedious to inſert here (41).

Theocritus was contemporary with *Theopompus* and *Ephorus*, and wrote, as *Suidas* witneſſes, ſome learned epiſtles, and the hiſtory of *Libya*. *Strabo* (42) calls him a ſophiſt, and ranks him and *Theopompus* among the illuſtrious men of *Chios*, who, with mutual emulation, ſtrove for the adminiſtration of affairs in their republic. This perhaps is the *Theocritus*, whom *Fulgentius* quotes in his *Mythology*, in the fable of *Perſeus* and the *Gorgons* (43).

Metrodorus flouriſhed in the reign of *Artaxerxes Mnemon* king of *Perſia*, and was, according to *Suidas*, preceptor to *Hippocrates* and *Anaxarchus*. He was by profeſſion a philoſopher and a phyſician, and wrote ſeveral books relating to phyſic, which are often quoted by *Pliny*. *Athenæus* informs us, that he likewiſe wrote a book intitled *Troica*; but none of his works have reached us.

(41) *Vide Photium Biblioth. Cod.* 177. (42) *Strabo, l.* xiv. (43) *Fulgentius, l.* i.

by *Cyrus*, they ſubmitted with the other iſlanders to the conqueror, and even deli- a
vered up to him *Pactyas* the *Lydian*, who had ſtirred up his countrymen to revolt againſt the *Perſians*. This *Pactyas* not finding himſelf in a condition to make head againſt *Mazares*, whom *Cyrus* had ſent againſt him, fled for refuge to the city of *Cyme*. The *Cymæans*, being unwilling to deliver him up to *Mazares*, and, on the other hand, not caring to draw a war upon themſelves by protecting him, ſent him to *Mitylene*; but the *Mityleneans*, at the requeſt of *Mazares*, agreeing to deliver him into the hands of the *Perſians*, the *Cymæans* diſpatched a veſſel to *Lesbos*, and tranſported him to *Chios*. The *Chians*, terrified at the threatening meſſages of *Mazares*, dragging him from the very altar of *Minerva*, the tutelary goddeſs of their city, put him into the hands of *Mazares*, who, for their ready compliance b
with his requeſt, beſtowed upon them the city of *Atarneus* in *Myſia*, over-againſt *Lesbos*, with its territory. Our hiſtorian adds, that, for many years after, the *Chians* declined uſing in their ſacrifices the growth of lands thus acquired, looking upon the corn and fruits of *Atarneus* as unhallowed, and not fit to be offered to the gods [s]. Being reduced by the *Perſians*, they were, like the other iſlanders, employed by them in all their naval expeditions. They ſerved *Darius*, as the ſame hiſtorian tells us, in his expedition againſt the *Scythians*; on which occaſion *Strattias*, ſtiled by *Herodotus* tyrant of *Chios*, ſignalized his affection to that prince, by ſtrenuouſly oppoſing ſuch of the *Ionians* as were for abandoning him, and returning home [t]. In
the *Ionian* revolt the *Chians* readily joined *Ariſtagoras*, ſhook off the *Perſian* yoke, c
and equipped an hundred ſhips, each of which had forty choſen citizens on board. In the ſea-fight at *Lade*, they diſtinguiſhed themſelves in a very particular manner; for the *Samians*, *Lesbians*, and moſt of the other *Ionians* betaking themſelves to flight in the very beginning of the engagement, the *Chians* fought to the laſt, took many of the enemy's ſhips, and gave ſuch proofs of their valour and zeal for the common cauſe, that, had the other *Ionians* followed their example, *Ionia* had been that day delivered from the *Perſian* yoke; but as they were abandoned by all their allies, except eleven *Samian* ſhips, they were at laſt overpowered, and obliged to ſave themſelves by running their ſhips aground at *Mycale*; whence they marched into the ter-
ritory of *Epheſus*. As they arrived in the neighbourhood of the city by night, while d
the women were celebrating the rites of *Ceres*, the *Epheſians*, not knowing what had happened, and ſeeing an armed multitude making towards them, took them for robbers come to ſtrip the women, and without examining further into the matter, ſallying out of the city with their whole force, killed all the *Chians* on the ſpot [u]. Nor did the misfortunes of *Chios* end here; for *Hiſtiæus*, after the defeat of the *Ionians*, retiring to *Chios*, and not being received there, attacked thoſe who oppoſed him, and, with the aſſiſtance of the *Lesbians*, reduced the whole iſland, the *Chians* being greatly weakened by the loſs they had ſuſtained in the fight at ſea. Thus were the *Chians* rewarded by *Hiſtiæus*, who had been the chief cauſe of their revolt, and whom they had aſſiſted to the utmoſt of their power, in hopes of reſcuing their e
country, under his command, from the *Perſian* bondage. *Hiſtiæus* not being able to keep poſſeſſion of the iſland, abandoned it to the *Perſians*, who puniſhed the *Chians* with the utmoſt ſeverity. The moſt handſome of their youths they made eunuchs, and their daughters they ſent to the king of *Perſia*, after having deſtroyed both their houſes and temples, ravaged their territories, and reduced the few inhabitants that remained to a ſtate of ſlavery [w]. Before this laſt cataſtrophe, two great misfortunes befel the *Chians*, which our hiſtorian looks upon as previous ſigns of the many calamities they were to ſuffer from the *Perſians*. They had ſent an hundred young men of the chief families of the iſland to *Delphos*, perhaps with ſome offering; but of that number two only returned home, all the reſt dying of the plague. Not f
long before the ſea-fight off of *Lade*, the ſchool where their youth were educated falling down, buried an hundred and nineteen of them in the ruins [x]. Thus they continued ſubject to the *Perſians*, whom they aſſiſted with a conſiderable ſquadron in their expedition againſt *Greece*, till the battle of *Mycale*, when they revolted with the other *Ionians*, and entered into an alliance with the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* againſt the common enemy [y]. The *Chians* being thus delivered from the *Perſian* yoke, and reſtored to their ancient liberty, flouriſhed, if we believe *Thucydides*,

[s] Idem ibid. [t] Idem ibid. [u] Herodot. l. vi. [w] Idem ibid. [x] Idem ibid.
[y] Idem ibid. Diodor. Sicul. l. xi.

above

a above all the ſtates of *Greece*, *Lacedæmon* alone excepted [z]. When the ſupreme command was, by the unanimous conſent of the allies, conferred upon the *Athenians*, the *Chians*, who greatly contributed thereunto, were favoured by the *Athenians* above the other allies, being exempted from all manner of tribute, and obliged only to furniſh a certain number of ſhips [a]. They continued faithful to the *Athenians* till the twentieth year of the *Peloponneſian* war, when they revolted to the *Lacedæmonians*, upon the dreadful overthrow received by the *Athenians* in *Sicily*; and tho' in this they acted, as *Thucydides* owns, a very prudent part, yet they were, after the loſs of three battles, conſtrained to return to their ancient alliance, in which they continued till the ſocial war, when growing weary of their alliance with *Athens*, they joined
b the *Rhodians*, *Coans* and *Byzantines*, with a deſign to throw off the *Athenian* yoke, and ſet themſelves free. In this they were attended with better ſucceſs than they had been in their former revolt; for after having maintained the war three years, they concluded a peace almoſt upon their own terms [b], as we have related in the hiſtory of *Athens* [c]. From this time they enjoyed a profound peace and tranquillity till the downfal of the *Perſian* empire, when they, together with the other *Greek* ſtates in *Europe* and *Aſia*, became ſubject to the *Macedonian* princes. Their city was beſieged and reduced to great ſtraits by *Philip* the father of *Perſes*, who finding he could not take it by force, proclaimed liberty to all the ſlaves who ſhould revolt, and beſides promiſed them their maſters wives in marriage; but notwithſtanding this offer, not
c one ſingle ſlave, and there were more ſlaves in the city of *Chios* than in any other of *Greece*, attempted to revolt or betray their maſters: Whereupon *Philip* was obliged to break up the ſiege, after he had loſt a great number of his men [d]. In the war which the *Æolians* waged with the ſame *Philip*, and *Pruſias* king of *Bithynia*, they ſided with the former, which coſt them dear, their territories being laid waſte, and all the open places in the iſland utterly deſtroyed by the troops of the confederate princes. Afterwards they aſſiſted the *Romans* in their wars againſt *Philip*, his ſon *Perſes*, and *Antiochus* ſurnamed the great, king of *Syria*, and were, for their eminent ſervices, not only declared free, but honoured with the title of friends and allies of the people of *Rome*. They were ſtrangely oppreſſed and loaded with taxes by
d *Zenobius*, one of *Mithridates Eupator*'s lieutenants, for refuſing to join that prince againſt the *Romans*, but amply rewarded by *Sylla*, after he had overthrown *Mithridates*, for their attachment to the intereſt of *Rome*. The *Roman* general reſtored them to the full enjoyment of all their ancient rights and privileges, which they maintained undiſturbed, living in great eaſe and plenty, till the reign of *Veſpaſian*, who reduced *Chios*, with the other iſlands of the *Ægean* ſea, to a *Roman* province; but, at the ſame time, allowed the *Chians* to live according to their own laws, under the ſuperintendance of a *Roman* prætor, whoſe province comprehended all the iſlands in the *Ægean* ſea, from the mouth of the *Helleſpont* to *Rhodes*.

Iſlands lying round Chios.

SEVERAL ſmall iſlands lie round *Chios*, which were formerly ſubject to that ſtate,
e *viz.* *Thaluſſa* or *Daphnuſa*, *Oenuſſa*, *Elaphitis*, *Eurynaſſa*, ; and over-againſt *Epheſus*, at a greater diſtance from *Chios*, the iſlands of *Piſiſtratus*, as *Pliny* ſtiles them, *viz.* *Anthinæ*, *Myonneſos*, and *Diarrheuſa* [e]. Theſe iſlands are alſo mentioned by *Thucydides* [f], *Herodotus* [g], *Strabo*, &c. [h].

Icaria.

Icaria, now *Nicaria*, lies about twenty miles weſt of *Samos*, and is, according to *Strabo*, three hundred furlongs, that is, thirty-ſeven miles and a half in circumference. It was anciently called *Doliche*, *Macris* and *Iſchſiæſa*. The name of *Icaria* it is ſuppoſed to have borrowed from *Icarus* the ſon of *Dædalus*, who is ſaid to have been drowned near this iſland, whence the neighbouring ſea took the name of the *Icarian* ſea, which, according to *Pliny*, extends from *Samos* to *Mycone*. *Bochart*
f derives the name of *Icaria* from the *Phœnician* word *Icaure*, which ſignifies full of fiſh, and agrees with the name of *Ichthueſſa*, given to this iſland by the ancient *Greeks*. *Icaria*, if we believe *Strabo*, was never well peopled; however it had two pretty conſiderable towns, *viz.* *Dracanon* and *Ænoe*. It had good paſture ground, and was on that account, as the ſame writer tells us, of great uſe to the *Samians*, who were long maſters of it [i]. The inhabitants of *Icaria* were particularly addicted to the worſhip of *Diana*, whence *Callimachus* did not ſcruple to ſay, that the goddeſs took more delight in the iſland of *Icaria* than any other of the *Ægean* ſea. He

[z] THUCYD. l. viii. [a] Idem, l. vi. [b] DIODOR. SICUL. l. xvi. [c] HIST. UNIVERS. Vol. II. p. 543. [d] ARRIAN, l. iii. [e] PLIN. l. v. c. 31. [f] THUCYD. l. viii. [g] HERODOT. l. i. [h] STRABO, l. xiv. p. 443. [i] STRABO, l. xiv.

alluded,

alluded, without doubt, to the famous temple erected by the *Icarians* in honour of *Diana*, and called by the antients *Tauropolium*. Some medals of this iſland are ſtill to be ſeen, repreſenting *Diana* in the attire of a huntreſs, and on the reverſe a woman on a bull, whom ſome take for *Europa*; but *Nonius* is of opinion, that the woman repreſents the ſame *Diana*, and the bull the richneſs of the paſtures for which this iſland was once famous. a

Patmos. *Patmos*, or, as others write it, *Pathmos*, lies forty-five miles ſouth of *Icaria*, and is, according to *Pliny*, thirty, according to our modern geographers, only eighteen miles in compaſs. It is a barren, mountainous and rocky country. It had formerly, and has ſtill, ſeveral ſafe and capacious harbours; that which is now called port *La Scala*, is one of the beſt in the *Archipelago*. Near this harbour are to be ſeen ſome pieces of broken columns, which the antiquaries reckon the moſt ancient in the *Archipelago*. The chief town of this iſland, as *Galen* informs us, bore likewiſe the name of *Patmos*. The *Romans* uſed this iſland as a place of baniſhment, under which puniſhment St. *John* reſided here, and wrote his revelations. The preſent inhabitants pretend to ſhew the houſe he lived in, which they call the *Apocalypſe*. *Patmos* is now known by the name of *Palmoſa*. b

Leros. *Leros* is a ſmall iſland, about eighteen miles in compaſs, lying ſouth of *Patmos*. It was anciently very populous, and furniſhed the neighbouring countries with aloes [k]. It had formerly two convenient havens. The inhabitants, called *Lerii*, were reckoned very corrupt by the antients.

Pharmacuſa. *Pharmacuſa* is placed by *Stephanus* over-againſt *Miletus*. In this iſland king *Attalus* was killed, and near it *Julius Cæſar* taken priſoner by the pirates [l]. c

Lade. Between *Pharmacuſa* and the continent, over-againſt *Miletus*, is the iſland of *Lade*, mentioned by *Thucydides* [m], *Strabo* [n], *Pauſanias* [o], *Herodotus* [p], *Arrian* [q], &c. It was anciently called *Late*, as *Pliny* informs us, and inhabited by the *Ionians* [r]. *Minyia*, *Arceſine*, *Belgialis*, *Amorgus*, and *Caryanda* are mentioned by *Ptolemy*, and placed between *Patmos* and *Cos*. Some geographers have placed *Caryanda* in a lake near the coaſt of *Ionia*; but *Pliny*, and *Scylax*, who was a native of this iſland, counted it among the other iſlands of the *Archipelago*.

Cos. *Cos*, *Coos*, or *Cous* is counted by *Pliny* [s], among the moſt conſiderable iſlands of the *Ægean*, or rather *Myrtoan* ſea. It was formerly known by the names of *Merope*, *Cea*, *Nymphæa*, and *Caris*. It lies, according to ſome, in the *Carpathian*, according to others, in the *Myrtoan* ſea, at a ſmall diſtance from the coaſt of *Caria*, and fifteen miles from *Halicarnaſſus*. It was once very famous for its excellent wines, which are highly commended by all the antients. *Strabo* and *Pliny* agree in making it about eighty miles in compaſs. The chief city of the iſland was firſt called *Aſtypalæa*, and afterwards *Cos*. This city is mentioned by *Homer*, who calls it a place well peopled. *Strabo* ſpeaks of a ſtately temple erected by the *Coans* in honour of *Æſculapius*, the tutelary god of their iſland, and enriched with offerings and preſents of great value; but the chief ornament of the place was a *Venus* riſing out of the ſea, done by *Apelles*, and reckoned one of his beſt performances. This inimitable piece was by *Auguſtus* conveyed to *Rome*, and there dedicated to *Cæſar*, *Venus* being reckoned the mother of the *Julian* family. To make ſome amends to the *Coans* for the loſs of ſo valuable a treaſure, the ſame *Auguſtus* eaſed them of a conſiderable part of their annual tribute [t]. This iſland was, in the *Roman* times, famous for a kind of fine ſtuff, which was in great requeſt among the women of diſtinction at *Rome*. It covered them indeed, ſays the hiſtorian, but, at the ſame time, ſhewed them naked [u]; and hence it is ſo much ſpoke of, and inveighed againſt, by the *Latin* poets [w]. But nothing has rendered this iſland more famous than the many great men it has produced, *viz.* *Hippocrates* the reviver of phyſic, *Senius* another famous phyſician, *Ariſton* a *peripatetic* philoſopher, and *Apelles* the ſo much celebrated painter (T). This iſland was, according to *Homer* and *Strabo*, inhabited by *Greeks* d e f

[k] PLIN. l. iv. c. 12. [l] SUET. c. iv. PLUT. in ejus Vita. [m] THUCYD. l. viii. p. 561. [n] STRABO, l. xiv. p. 437. [o] PAUSAN. in Atticis, c. 35. [p] HERODOT. l. vi. c. 7. [q] ARRIAN, l. i. p. 52. [r] PLIN. l. v. c. 31. [s] PLIN. l. v. [t] STRABO, l. xiv. p. 452. [u] VELL. PATERC. l. i. [w] HORAT. l. iv. Od. 13. PROPERT. l. i. Eleg. 2. TIBULL. l. ii. Eleg. 4 & 6.

(T) To theſe we may add *Siſyphus*, who is ſaid to have been ſecretary to *Teucer*, and to have poſſeſſed the records of the *Trojan* war, which *Homer* made uſe of. He is mentioned by *Tzetzes*, and in a manuſcript chronology quoted by the learned *Leo Allatius*. As to *Hippocrates*, he learned, if we believe *Pliny* (44), the firſt rudiments of phyſic, by peruſing certain tablets, called by the *Latins*, *tabella votivæ*, which

(44) *Plin. l.* vii. *c.* 37.

a *Greeks* before the *Trojan* war, a colony of *Dorians* having paſſed over into it from the continent [x]. The *Coans* were firſt governed by kings, among whom we find mention made of *Eurypylus* contemporary with *Hercules*; of *Chalcon*, *Antiphus*, and *Phidippus*. The two latter are ſaid by *Homer* and *Theocritus* to have ſerved at the ſiege of *Troy*. The kingly government gave room to a democracy, and this, as *Ariſtotle* informs us [y], to an ariſtocracy, which was aboliſhed by ſome private men, who taking the whole power into their hands, governed with an abſolute ſway. Among theſe *Nicippus* and *Scythes* are mentioned by *Ælian* [z]. *Hippocrates*, in one of his letters, tells us, that the *Coans* refuſed to give earth and water to the meſſengers of *Darius* and *Xerxes*; but this does not agree with what we read in *Herodotus*, who counts the *Coans* among the *Greeks* who ſerved as auxiliaries in the army of
b *Xerxes* [a]. In the twentieth year of the *Peloponneſian* war, the city of *Cos*, as we read in *Thucydides* [b], was thrown down by an earthquake, the moſt violent one that had ever happened in thoſe parts. Soon after this calamity, before they had time to repair the walls of their city, *Aſtyochus* the *Lacedæmonian* making a deſcent on the iſland, for the *Coans* ſided with the *Athenians*, laid waſte the whole country, plundered the city, the inhabitants having fled to the mountains, and retired to *Cnidus* with an immenſe booty. When *Mithridates* commanded all the *Romans* in *Aſia* to be maſſacred, the only place that ſhewed any regard to them was the iſland of *Cos*, where they were ſuffered to enjoy the common rights of aſylum in the ſacred places [c].
c *Mithridates* ſoon after invaded the iſland, took the metropolis, and committed great devaſtations in their territory; but the *Coans* no ſooner ſaw *Lucullus*, *Sylla*'s queſtor, appear off their coaſt, than they roſe up in arms, drove out the king's gariſon, and received the *Romans*, by whom they were amply rewarded, *Sylla* having exempted them from all manner of tribute, and allowed them to live according to their own laws [d]. *Tacitus* tells us, that the *Coans* continued ever faithful to the *Romans*, did them many good ſervices, and greatly contributed to ſome victories gained by their fleets. However, in the reign of the emperor *Claudius*, we find them, like the other *Greek* ſtates, paying an annual tribute to *Rome*, which that emperor eaſed them of, in compliance with the requeſt of *Xenophon* his phyſician, whom he pretended to be one of the deſcendents of *Æſculapius* [e]. This immunity from all impoſitions, taxes and
d tributes they enjoyed till the reign of *Veſpaſian*, who reducing them to a *Roman* province, exacted the ſame tribute from them as from the other *Aſiatic* iſlands. *Strabo* tells us, that the iſland of *Niſyra*, called formerly *Porphyris*, was once joined to *Cos* [f]; but Niſyra.
ſeparated from it by the violence of the winds and ſeas. This iſland is ſixty furlongs from *Cos*, and as many from *Telos*, being, according to *Strabo*, eighty furlongs in compaſs.

Carpathus lies between *Rhodes* and *Crete* in the ſea, which, from this iſland, is Carpathus.
called the *Carpathian* ſea, and has, to the north, the *Ionian*, to the ſouth the *Egyptian*, to the weſt the *Cretan* and *African* ſeas [g]. This iſland is two hundred furlongs in compaſs, and an hundred in length [h]. It had anciently, according to *Strabo*, four cities; according to *Scylax* only three. *Ptolemy* mentions but one, which he calls
e *Poſidium*. This iſland is now called *Scarpanto*. Divers other iſlands lie diſperſed on this coaſt, and are mentioned by *Pliny*, *Strabo*, *Ptolemy*, *Thucydides*, &c. *viz.* *Caſos*, Caſos, *&c.*
eighty furlongs in compaſs; *Synic* over-againſt the continent of *Caria*, between *Lorima* and *Cnidus*; *Chalæ*, diſtant from *Carpathus* four hundred furlongs; *Telos*, over-againſt *Triopium*, an hundred and forty furlongs in circuit; *Arconneſus*, lying off of *Halicarnaſſus*, with ſeveral other iſlands mentioned by *Pliny* [i] in the *Ceramic* gulf, that is, in the ſea between the city of *Halicarnaſſus* and the iſland of *Cos*. This bay

[x] Strabo, l. xiv. [y] Aristot. Polit. l. v. c. 3. [z] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. l. i. c. 29. [a] Herodot. l. ix. [b] Thucyd. l. viii. [c] Val. Max. l. ix. c. 2. Plut. in Sylla. Dio. legat. 36. Memnon, c. 33. [d] Plut. ubi ſupra. [e] Tacitus Annal. l. xii. [f] Strabo, l. x. prope finem. [g] Idem ibid. [h] Idem ibid. & Scylax, p. 93. [i] Plin. l. iv. c. 12.

which were hung up in the temples; for, agreeable to an ancient cuſtom, which prevailed all over *Greece*, ſuch as recovered from any diſtemper, uſed to write on a tablet the nature and ſymptoms of their reſpective maladies, and the remedies which had been attended with moſt ſucceſs. Theſe tablets *Hippocrates* is ſaid to have copied and followed when he firſt began to practiſe. A tablet of this nature was diſcovered at *Rome*, not many years ago, among the ruins of the ancient temple of *Æſculapius*, with this inſcription in *Greek*; Julianus *being afflicted with vomiting of blood, and abandoned by men, the gods haſtened to his relief, and having nouriſhed him for the ſpace of three days with honey, reſtored him to his health; for which favour he came to return them thanks in the preſence of the people.*

was ſo called from the city of *Cerâmus*, which *Pliny* places in the iſland of *Arconneſus*; a but all other geographers on the continent, between *Cnidus* and *Halicarnaſſus*. This bay is called by ſome writers the *Ceraunian* bay, and the city from which it borrowed its name, *Ceraunus*. [k].

Iſlands in the Cretan *ſea.* The *Cretan* ſea is properly that part of the *Ægean* ſea which lies about *Crete*, and formerly belonged, together with the iſlands it contained, to the *Cretans*. Theſe iſlands are, *Claude*, *Dia*, *Letoa*, *Ægilia*, *Calymna*, *Aſtypalæa*, *Thera*, &c. *Claude*, which is mentioned in the *Acts*, and had, in *Pliny*'s time, a city called *Gaulos*, and now *Gozo*, lies ſouth of *Crete*. *Dia*, now *Standia*, is about three leagues diſtant from *Crete*, and rather a rock than an iſland. *Letoa* is now known by the name of *Criſtina*, and *Ægilia* by that of *Cerigo*. The former lies near *Crete*; the other not far from b *Peloponneſus*. *Calymna* is celebrated by the antients for its excellent honey [m]. *Aſtypalæa*, now *Stampala*, lies off the ſouth-weſt coaſt of *Cos*, is about ſixty miles in compaſs, and had formerly a city bearing the ſame name, with two ſafe harbours.

Thera. *Thera* is placed by *Strabo* between *Crete* and *Egypt*, and ſaid to be twenty-five miles in compaſs; but the modern geographers more rightly place it between *Crete* and the *Cyclades*, and allow it thirty-ſix miles in circuit, wherein they agree with *Stephanus Byzantinus*. This iſland was firſt peopled by the *Phœnicians*; for *Cadmus*, as *Herodotus* [n], *Pauſanias* [o], and *Strabo* [p], inform us, arriving here in ſearch of his ſiſter *Europa*, left ſome of his followers under the command of his kinſman *Membliares* to people the iſland, which was then called *Calliſta*. This name it changed in c proceſs of time to that of *Thera*, from *Theras* the *Lacedæmonian*, the ſon of *Auteſion*, and grandſon of *Tiſamenes*, who led into this iſland a colony of *Lacedæmonians* and *Mynians*. The ſtory is thus related by *Herodotus* [q]; the *Argonauts*, on their return from *Colchis*, ſtopped at *Lemnos*, where their poſterity retained the name of *Mynians*. Theſe, being driven out of *Lemnos* by the *Pelaſgians*, ſailed to *Lacedæmon*, and arriving at *Taygetus*, landed there. When the *Lacedæmonians* heard of their arrival, they diſpatched a meſſenger to enquire who they were, and whence they came. They anſwered, that they were *Mynians*, deſcended from thoſe heroes who had attended *Jaſon* to *Colchis*. The *Lacedæmonians* underſtanding that they were of *Minyan* extraction, ſent another meſſenger to enquire with what deſign they had landed in d their territories. To this they anſwered, that being expelled *Lemnos* by the *Pelaſgians*, they were deſirous to return to and ſettle in the country of their anceſtors. The *Lacedæmonians* readily complied with their deſire, allowing them to ſhare with them their lands and privileges, and even to marry *Lacedæmonian* women; but not long after theſe new-comers conſpired together to ſeize on the lands of the ancient proprietors, and uſurp the ſupreme authority; but their plot being diſcovered, they were all apprehended, and ſentenced to die. As the ſentence, according to the cuſtom of the country, was to be put in execution in the night, the wives of the *Mynians*, who were daughters to the principal Perſons of *Sparta*, asked leave to take their laſt farewel of their husbands; which being granted, they changed their e garments with them, the women remaining in the priſon, and the men making their eſcape, diſguiſed like women, to the city of *Taygetus*. At this time *Theras*, who had been regent of the kingdom of *Sparta* during the minority of his nephews *Euryſthenes* and *Procles*, the ſons of *Ariſtodemus*, having reſigned to them the government, and not liking to obey after he had taſted the pleaſure of commanding, declared his reſolution to leave *Lacedæmon*, and ſettle in the iſland of *Calliſta*, which was then held by the *Phœnicians*. As the *Lacedæmonians* purſued the *Mynians* to *Taygetus*, with a deſign to ſeize them there, and put them to death, purſuant to the ſentence pronounced againſt them, *Theras* interceded in their behalf, promiſing to tranſport them out of the country, and by that means free the *Lacedæmonians* from their f troubleſome gueſts. The *Lacedæmonians* complied with his deſire, and *Theras*, with the *Mynians*, and a great many of his countrymen, ſet ſail to *Calliſta*, where they all ſettled. Thus was the iſland peopled, firſt by the *Phœnicians*, and afterwards by the *Mynians* and *Lacedæmonians*, under the conduct of *Theras*. *Herodotus*, who gives us this account of the inhabitants of *Thera*, names two of the deſcendents of *Theras*, who reigned here, *viz.* *Æſanius* and his ſon *Grynus*. The latter went to *Delphos* to ſacrifice an hecatomb in honour of *Apollo*, attended by the moſt eminent citizens of

[k] STRABO, l. xiv. POMP. MELA, l. i. c. 16. [l] ACTS xxvii. 16. [m] POMP. MELA, p. 213. OVID. Metam. l. viii. ver. 222. [n] HERODOT. l. iv. [o] PAUSAN. l. iii & vii. [p] STRABO, l. viii. [q] HERODOT. ubi ſupra.

the

3

a the place, among whom was *Battus* the ſon of *Polymneſtus* or *Cyrnus*, a man of great diſtinction among the *Mynians*. While *Theras* conſulted the oracle about other affairs, the *Pythian* commanded him to build a city in *Libya*; from the execution of which command he excuſed himſelf on account of his age, deſiring the oracle to employ therein ſome of the young men there preſent, and at the ſame time pointing to *Battus*. On their return they ſlighted the oracle, nor did they know in what part of the world *Libya* was; but a drought, which laſted ſeven years in *Thera*, and deſtroyed all the trees in the iſland, except one, obliged the king to return to the oracle, which commanded them again to build a town in *Libya*; and ſend a colony thither. Thus ſeeing no end of their calamity, they diſpatched ſome of their citi-
b zens to *Crete*, with orders to enquire, whether any of the *Cretans*, or other inhabitants of that iſland, had ever been in *Libya*. Theſe meſſengers travelling from place to place, arrived in the city of *Itanus*, where having met with one *Corobius* a dyer of purple, who told them, that he had, by diſtreſs of weather, been driven to an iſland of *Libya* called *Platæa*, they prevailed upon him, with the promiſe of a great reward, to go with them to *Thera*. The *Theræans* found means to perſuade him to conduct a ſmall number of men to the iſland of *Platæa*, whence they ſoon returned to give an account of the place to their countrymen, leaving *Corobius* there with proviſions for two months; but as they did not return within the time appointed, *Corobius* was reduced to the laſt extremity, when a ſhip from *Samos*, bound home-
c wards from *Egypt*, arrived in the harbour. The *Samians* being informed by *Corobius* of all that had happened, left him ſubſiſtence for a year; during which time the *Theræans* returned with a numerous colony, and having divided the lands among them, choſe *Battus* for their king. *Battus* ſeeing himſelf raiſed to this dignity, made many wiſe laws, governed his new kingdom with great prudence, and built a city, which, by order of the oracle, he called *Cyrene*. This city, in proceſs of time, became very famous, and one of the moſt powerful ſtates of *Africa*, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel of this hiſtory [r].

The iſlands of *Thera* and *Melos* were the only two places, that, in the *Peloponneſian* war, ſided with the *Lacedæmonians*, and held out to the laſt againſt the *Athe-*
d *nians*, tho' ſollicited, with advantageous offers, to join the other iſlands. *Thera* made then, as *Herodotus* informs us [s], a very conſiderable figure, was well peopled, and had no fewer than ſeven cities of no ſmall note. It has ſtill five towns pretty well peopled, *viz. Apanomeria*, *Scaro* or *Caſtro*, *Pyrgos*, *Emperio* or *Nebrio*, and *Acroteri*. Near *Apanomeria* is a capacious harbour, in the ſhape of a half-moon; but ſhips cannot anchor in it, no bottom having ever yet been found. In this harbour there are two ſmall iſlands, and at a little diſtance from it two others, called by *Pliny*, *Strabo*, and *Seneca*, *Hiera* or *Automate*, and *Therafia*. *Seneca* tells us [t], that the iſland of *Therafia* appeared firſt in his time; and *Pliny* [u] ſpeaks of another, which he calls *Thia*, and places near *Hiera*, as quite new. This iſland, ſays he, has been
e ſeen iſſuing out of the ſea in our days; and *Juſtin* [w] tells us, that, in his time, a great earthquake happening between the iſlands of *Thera* and *Therafia*, a new iſland ſprung up, to the great ſurprize of all who beheld it. *Dion Caſſius* [x] alſo ſpeaks of an iſland appearing here in the reign of *Claudius*, which *Aurelius Victor* [y] calls a conſiderable iſland, and *Syncellus* mentions as appearing firſt in the forty-ſixth year of the *Chriſtian* æra. *Cedrenus* [z] tells us, that in the tenth year of *Leo Iſauricus* there appeared, for ſome days together, a thick fog between the iſlands of *Thera* and *Therafia*, and a ſmoke, as if a burning kiln or furnace were riſing up; and that, on a ſudden, there appeared, floating on the ſurface of the water, a new iſland, which at laſt faſtened to the iſland of *Hiera*, and conſiderably increaſed its bulk. At the ſame
f time ſuch vaſt quantities of pumice-ſtone were caſt up, as covered the coaſts of *Macedon* and *Aſia*, as far as the *Dardanelles*. This happened, according to *Theophanes*, in the year of Chriſt 712, according to *Nicephorus* in 720. A modern writer, who deſcribes the iſland of *Thera*, called by the modern inhabitants *Santorin*, tells us, that, in his time, there were many old men in the iſland, who aſſured him, that they had ſeen, in 1573, a violent fire break out of the ſea, and ſoon after a new iſland appear, which from thence they called *Micri Cammeni*, that is, the little burnt iſland [a]. This ſeems to confirm what *Strabo* ſays [b], *viz.* That in his time the ſea

[r] Herodot. ibid. [s] Idem ibid. [t] Seneca Quæſt. natural. l. vi. c. 21. [u] Plin. l. ii. c. 77. [w] Justin. l. xxx. c. 4. [x] Dion, l. lx. [y] Aurel. Victor in Claud. [z] Cedren. Compend. Hiſt. ann. Chriſt. 713. [a] Father Richards in his account of St. *Erini*. [b] Strab. l. i.

between

between *Thera* and *Therasia* was obſerved to boil four days together, and that an island 1500 paces in compaſs ſuddenly appeared, as if it had been plucked up by engines from the bottom of the water. A modern traveller tells us, that a few years before his arrival in the iſland, an immenſe quantity of pumice-ſtone aroſe out of the harbour of *Thera*, with ſuch a dreadful noiſe, that at *Scio*, which is above 200 miles diſtant from *Thera*, they imagined the *Venetian* and *Ottoman* fleets had engaged [c]. In 1707 a new iſland appeared, if we may credit the accounts from the *Levant*, near *Santorin* or *Thera*, which was two miles in circuit at its firſt appearance, and was a few months after conſiderably increaſed by additional rocks caſt up in violent earthquakes by the ſea. The preſent inhabitants of *Thera* never fail to acquaint ſtrangers, that the many rocks which are ſeen about their iſland, were all brought into the world by earthquakes. *Pliny* tells us [d], That *Thera* itſelf firſt appeared after a violent earthquake; and that *Thia*, which is but two furlongs from it, was caſt up by the ſea in his time, on the eighth of the *Ides* of *July*, *M. Junius Silanus* and *L. Balbus* being then conſuls. What *Pliny* advances is vouched by many other ancient writers.

a

b

There are ſtill to be ſeen in *Thera* the ruins of the temples of *Neptune* and *Minerva* mentioned by *Strabo*, *Pliny*, and the ſcholiaſt of *Pindar*. The iſland was conſecrated to *Apollo*, and thence is called by *Pindar the holy iſland* [e]. The many inſcriptions that are ſtill remaining, ſhew, that this iſland made no ſmall figure even in the *Roman* times. It is now known by the name of *Santorin* or *Santorino*, probably derived from St. *Irene*, the tutelary ſaint of the iſland. Theſe are the chief iſlands in the *Ægean*, *Icarian* and *Cretan* ſeas on the coaſts of *Aſia*. We ſhall now proceed to the *Cyclades*, the number and order of which is, according to *Strabo* [f], as follows, *Helena*, *Ceos*, *Cythnus*, *Seriphus*, *Melos*, *Siphnus*, *Cimolis*, *Prepoſinthus*, *Oleaſ rus*, *Naxus*, *Parus*, *Syrus*, *Myconus*, *Tenus*, *Andrus*, *Gyarus*. Moſt of theſe iſlands lie ſouth of *Delos*; ſo that this iſland is not ſtrictly in the midſt of the *Cyclades*, as the ancients ſeem to have ſuppoſed.

c

The Cyclades.

Helena.

Helena, now *Macroniſi*, was anciently known by the names of *Macris* and *Cranae*; but that of *Helena* prevailed over the other two, and was borrowed, according to *Strabo* [g], *Pauſanias* [h], and *Stephanus*, from the *Grecian* beauty of that name, *Paris* having ſtopped ſome time with her in this iſland. It is about three miles in breadth, and eight in length, whence it is called the *Long iſland*. *Pliny* ſays it was ſeparated from the iſland of *Eubœa* by an earthquake. It is a barren and inhoſpitable place, being covered over with a deep ſand, and having but one ſpring, and that, as our modern travellers inform us, but a very poor one. Some have been of opinion, that this iſland was never inhabited; but *Goltzius* mentions two medals relating to its ancient inhabitants. It is ſeparated from the continent of *Attica* by a ſtraight eight miles over [i].

d

Ceos.

Ceos, *Cea* or *Cia* lies oppoſite to the promontory of *Achaia* called *Sunium*, and is fifty miles in compaſs [k]. This iſland is commended by the ancients on account of its fertility, and richneſs of its paſtures [l]. The firſt ſilk-ſtuffs, if *Pliny* and *Solinus* are to be credited, were wrought here. *Ceos* was particularly famous for the excellent figs it produced, as the ſame *Pliny* informs us [m]. It was firſt peopled by *Ariſtæus* the ſon of *Apollo* and *Cyrene*, who being grieved for the death of his ſon *Actæon*, retired from *Thebes*, at the perſuaſion of his mother, and went over with ſome *Thebans* to *Ceos*, at that time uninhabited [n]. *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, that he retired to the iſland of *Cos*; but the ancients, as *Servius* obſerves, called both theſe iſlands by the ſame name of *Cos*. Be that as it will, the iſland of *Ceos* became ſo populous, that a law obtained there, commanding all perſons upwards of ſixty to be poiſoned, that others might have wherewithal to ſubſiſt; ſo that none above ſixty were to be ſeen in the iſland, being obliged, after they arrived at that age, either to ſubmit to the law, or abandon the country, leaving all their effects behind them [o]. *Ceos* had, in former times, four famous cities, *viz. Julis*, *Carthæa*, *Coreſſus*, and *Præeſſa*. The two latter were, according to *Pliny*, ſwallowed up by an earthquake [p]. The other two flouriſhed in *Strabo*'s time. *Carthæa* ſtood on a riſing ground, at the end of a valley, about three miles from the ſea. The ſituation of it, as deſcribed by

e

f

[c] Thevenot, c. 68. [d] Plin. l. ii. c. 87. [e] Pindar, Od. 4. [f] Strabo, l. x. p. 334.
[g] Strabo, l. ix. p. 275. [h] Pausan. in Atticis. [i] Strabo, l. x. [k] Plin. l. iv. c. 12.
[l] Idem ibid. & Virg. Georg. l. i. vet. 14. [m] Plin. l. xvi. c. 27. [n] Servius in Virg. Georg. l. i. [o] Strabo, l. x. [p] Plin. ubi ſupra.

Strabo,

a *Strabo*, agrees with that of the preſent town of *Zia*, which gives name to the whole iſland. The ruins both of *Carthæa* and *Julis* are ſtill remaining; thoſe of the latter take up a whole mountain, and are called by the modern inhabitants *Polis*, that is, the city. Near this place are to be ſeen the ruins of a ſtately temple, with a great many pieces of broken pillars and ſtatues of moſt exquiſite workmanſhip. The walls of the city were of marble, and ſome pieces are ſtill remaining above twelve feet in length. *Julis* was, according to *Strabo*, the birth-place of *Simonides*, *Bacchylides*, *Eraſiſtratus*, and *Ariſto* (U). The *Oxford* marbles tell us [q], That *Simonides*, the ſon of *Leoprepis*, invented a ſort of artificial memory, whereof he ſhewed the principles at *Athens*, and add, That he was deſcended of another *Simonides*, who
b was a poet no leſs renowned than himſelf. One of theſe two poets invented thoſe doleful verſes, which are ſung at funerals, and are called by the *Latins*, *Næniæ* [r]. *Strabo* tells us, That the *Athenians* having beſieged the city of *Julis*, raiſed the ſiege, upon advice, that the inhabitants had reſolved to murder all the children under a certain age, that other uſeful perſons might not be employed in looking after them [s]. *Ceos* was, with the other *Greek* iſlands, ſubdued by the *Romans*, and beſtowed upon the *Athenians* by *Marc Antony* the *triumvir*, [t] together with *Ægina*, *Tinos*, and ſome other adjoining iſlands [u], which were all reduced to one *Roman* province by *Veſpaſian*.

Cythnus, about twelve miles eaſt of *Ceos*, is counted, by *Strabo*, among the moſt Cythnus.
c fruitful iſlands of the *Ægean* ſea. It was the birth-place of *Cyadias*, an eminent painter mentioned by *Dionyſius*, and his commentator *Euſtathius*. The cheeſe of *Cythnus* was, according to *Stephanus* and *Julius Pollux*, in great requeſt among the ancients. The iſland is now called *Thermia*, from the *Greek* word *Thermos*, ſignifying hot, by reaſon it abounds with hot ſprings, which are much commended by the ancients. There are ſome remains of an ancient and very magnificent city on the ſouthern coaſt.

Seriphus, now *Serpho*, is a barren rock rather than an iſland, whence *Tacitus* calls Seriphus.
it the *Seriphian* rock [v]. *Pliny* allows it only twelve miles in compaſs [w]; but, according to our modern travellers, it is thirty-ſix. The rugged and ſteep mountains of
d *Seriphus* gave the poets occaſion to feign, that *Perſeus* transformed the inhabitants into ſtones. *Strabo* tells us, That on this coaſt was found the cheſt, wherein *Acriſius* had ſhut up *Perſeus* and his mother *Danae* [x]. *Origen* ſpeaks of the inhabitants of this

[q] Epoch. 55. [r] Vide Horat. l. ii. Od. 1. [s] Strabo, ubi ſupra. [t] Appian, l. i.
[u] Tacit. Annal. iv. c. 25. [w] Plin. l. iv. c. 12. [x] Strabo, l. x.

(U) The ancients mention two great men natives of *Ceos*, both bearing the name of *Simonides*. The elder the ſon of one *Leopredes*, was born in the fifty-ſixth olympiad, and died in the ſeventy-eighth, in the eighty-ninth year of his age. He wrote in the *Doric* dialect the hiſtory of *Cambyſes* and *Darius Hiſtaſpes*, and deſcribed in *Lyric* verſes the battles of *Artemiſium* and *Salamis*. He is ſaid to have added to the *Greek* alphabet, the four letters H, Ω, Ξ, Ψ. He had, according to *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus* and *Quintilian*, a particular talent in moving his readers to compaſſion; and to this probably *Catullus* alluded in the following lines:

Paulum quidlibet adlocutionis
Maſtis lacrymulis Simonideis.

He was highly favoured by the greateſt princes of *Greece* and *Sicily*, eſpecially by *Pauſanias* and *Hiero*. He wrote ſeveral books, a catalogue of which may be ſeen in *Suidas*, and the anonymous author of the chronology of the olympiads (35). He carried the prize of poetry, probably in *Syracuſe*, being then in the eightieth year of his age. After his death the *Syracuſians* erected a magnificent monument to his memory, which was afterwards demoliſhed by *Phœnix* general of the *Agrigentines*. On this occaſion *Callimachus* wrote a piece againſt *Phœnix*, wherein he introduced *Simonides* complaining of that general for not ſhewing the ſame regard to him, which *Caſtor* and *Pollux* had ſhewn, when they reſcued him from the danger he was in of being cruſhed under the ruins of a houſe that was ready to fall, as *Phœdrus* relates in his fables.

The other *Simonides* was grandſon of *Simonides* the elder, and flouriſhed a little before the *Peloponneſian* war. He was, as *Suidas* informs us, author of the three books of inventions, and wrote as many of genealogies, whence the ſcholiaſt of *Apollonius* gives him the ſurname of the *Genealogiſt*. *Bacchylides* was nearly related to *Simonides*, and wrote ſome tragedies. *Ariſto* was a *Peripatetic* philoſopher of no mean character. *Eraſiſtratus* was an eminent phyſician, the grandſon of *Ariſtotle*, and flouriſhed under *Ptolemy Philadelphus* or *Antiochus Nicanor*. He is ſaid to have been the firſt who diſcovered that *Antiochus Soter* was in love with his mother-in-law *Stratonice*, as we ſhall relate in the hiſtory of that prince's reign. *Eraſiſtratus* is mentioned by *Pliny* (36), *Plutarch* (37), *Appian* (38), *Gellius* (39), *Valerius Maximus* (40), &c.

(35) *Suidas in lex. & anonym. olymp.* 82. (36) *Plin. l.* xiv. *c.* 7. *l.* x. *c.* 9. *l.* xxvi. *c.* 2. *l.* xxix. *c.* 1.
(37) *Plut. in Demet.* (38) *Appian. in Syriac.* (39) *Aul. Gell. l.* xvi. *c.* 3. (40) *Val. Max. l.* v. *c.* 7.

iſland with great contempt [y]; but *Herodotus* lets us know, that the inhabitants of *Seriphus*, *Siphnos* and *Melos* were the only iſlanders that refuſed to admit the fleet and troops of *Xerxes* [z]. The ſame author adds, that the *Seriphians* were originally *Athenians*, and that they aſſiſted their countrymen with two gallies againſt the *Perſians*. They were in ancient times governed by kings; but of theſe we find one only mentioned in hiſtory, *viz. Polydectes*, and of him we know nothing but what we read in the poets. To this place the *Romans* confined enormous offenders. Here died *Caſſius Severus* the famous orator, baniſhed by *Auguſtus* for ſpeaking with too much freedom; a fault which ſeventeen years of baniſhment in the iſle of *Crete* had not cured him of [a]. *Veſtilia* the wife of *Labeo*, being convicted of adultery, was ſent to *Seriphus* to ſpend the remainder of her life there [o]. One *Stratonicus*, mentioned by *Plutarch* [c], being baniſhed to this iſland, found the place ſo very diſagreeable, that he one day asked his landlord, What crimes were puniſhed in his country with baniſhment? The *Seriphian* anſwered, Perjury. Why then, replied *Stratonicus*, don't you forſwear yourſelf, that you may be baniſhed from ſuch an execrable place? *Pliny* [d] and *Ælian* [e] tell us, that the frogs of *Seriphos* are naturally mute, but as noiſy as any others when tranſported out of the iſland. *Jupiter*, ſay the poets, ſtruck the frogs dumb at the requeſt of *Perſeus*, who could not ſleep here for the noiſe they made; but *Theophraſtus* aſcribes their ſilence to the chillneſs of the waters in this iſland. The waters, as our modern travellers obſerve, are not colder here than elſewhere, nor the frogs leſs noiſy [f]. However this groundleſs report gave riſe to the proverb quoted by *Stephanus* and *Suidas*, *As ſilent as a frog of* Seriphus. This iſland abounds with mines of iron and load-ſtone, and had anciently a very convenient harbour. The onions of *Seriphos* are highly commended by *Spon*; they grow on ſmall ſpots of ground between the rocks, and are cultivated by the inhabitants with extraordinary care, being the only commodity the iſland affords.

Melos. *Melos* lies about twenty-four miles off of cape *Scyllæum*, now *Schilli*, in *Peloponneſus*, is ſixty miles in compaſs, and according to *Pliny* [g], almoſt round. This iſland, though ſmall, made a very conſiderable figure in the flouriſhing ages of *Greece*. *Melos*, ſays *Thucydides* [h], enjoyed its liberty ſeven hundred years before the *Peloponneſian* war. The inhabitants, ſays the ſame *Thucydides* [i], were originally *Lacedæmonians*, and therefore refuſed in the time of the *Peloponneſian* war to join the *Athenians*, declaring that they would maintain a ſtrict neutrality, which they did accordingly. *Stephanus* and *Feſtus* will have the *Melians* to be a colony of *Phœnicians*, and the iſland to have borrowed its name from one *Melos* who led the colony. Be that as it will, the *Melians* could never be prevailed upon to join the other iſlanders and *Athenians* againſt the *Lacedæmonians*; which the *Athenians* reſenting, ſent *Nicias* with a fleet of threeſcore ſail, and two thouſand land-forces to beſiege the capital of the iſland. *Nicias* landed in the iſland, laid waſte the country, but was obliged to raiſe the ſiege of the town, the *Melians* having made a more vigorous reſiſtance than he expected [k]. Some time after the *Athenians* made another deſcent with three thouſand men under the command of *Cleomedes* and *Tiſias*, but could not reduce the town till they were reinforced with new troops from *Athens*, which arriving with *Philocrates* brought the *Melians* to ſuch ſtraits that they were forced to ſurrender at diſcretion. The *Athenians*, at the inſtigation of *Alcibiades*, treated them with great cruelty, putting all thoſe to the ſword, who were able to bear arms, and carrying into *Attica* the women and children, where they were ſold for ſlaves. The iſland being thus quite unpeopled, a new colony was ſent thither from *Athens*. But not long after *Lyſander* the *Lacedæmonian* general, having obliged the *Athenians* in their turn to ſurrender at diſcretion, releaſed the captive *Melians*, and reſtored them to their native country, after having driven from thence the *Athenian* colony [l]. *Melos* afterwards underwent the ſame fate as the other iſlands of the *Ægean* ſea, that is, it fell under the yoke of the *Romans*, and was by them reduced with the other iſlands to a province. *Melos* was the birth-place of the philoſopher *Diagoras*, who was the firſt, as *Lactantius* informs us, that aſſerted there were no gods, whence he had the ſurname of *Atheiſt*. This iſland abounds with iron mines, and was in former ages famed for its wine and honey; from the latter ſome are of opinion it took the name of *Melos*.

[y] ORIGEN. in Celſ. l. i. [z] HERODOT. l. viii. c. 41. [a] TACIT. Annal. l. iv. c. 21. [b] EUSEB. Chron. p. 158. [c] PLUT. de Exil. [d] PLIN. l. iii. c. 37. [e] ÆLIAN. Var. Hiſt. l. viii. c. 58. [f] TOURNEFORT Voyage au Levant, &c. [g] PLIN. l. iv. c. 12. [h] THUCYD. l. v. [i] Idem, l. ii. [k] Idem, l. iii. & DIODOR. SICUL. l. xii. [l] THUCYD. l. v. PLUT. in Alcibiad. PLUT. in Lyſandr. [m] CLEM. ALEXAND. Pædagog. l. ii. c. 1. [n] JUL. POLL. Onomaſt. l. vi. c. 10.

Clemens

a *Clemens Alexandrinus* [m] and *Julius Pollux* [n] greatly commend the paſtures and mineral waters of this iſland; but *Hippocrates* ſpeaks of one, who being cured of the itch by uſing the waters of *Melos*, fell into a dropſy, of which he died [o]. The alum of *Melos* was in great requeſt among the *Romans*, who preferred it, as we read in *Pliny* [p], to that of any other country except the *Egyptian*.

Siphnus, now *Siphanto*, is about thirty-ſix miles diſtant from *Melos*, and, accord- Siphnus.
ing to *Pliny*, twenty-eight in circumference, though our modern geographers allow it to be forty. It was anciently known by the names of *Merope*, or *Merapia*, and *Acis*. The name of *Siphnus*, if we believe *Stephanus*, is of a later date, and borrowed from *Siphnus* the ſon of *Sunion*, who ſettled here with a colony. The air of
b *Siphnus* is exceeding wholeſome, and the ſoil equally fruitful, producing great plenty of delicious fruits, and corn enough to ſupport its inhabitants. The morals of the ancient *Siphnians* were very depraved; whence it was proverbially ſaid of perſons leading a debauched and diſſolute life, that *they lived like* Siphnians [q]. *Siphnus* had formerly ſeveral good harbours, and has ſtill five very ſafe ones, viz. *Faro*, *Vati*, *Chitriani*, *Chironiſſo*, and *Calanca*. There were formerly here rich mines of gold, as *Pauſanias* informs us [r], and great plenty of lead; whence the inhabitants were reckoned very rich, and the iſland diſtinguiſhed with the epithet of *happy* [s]. *Theophraſtus* [t], *Pliny* [u], and *Iſidorus* [w] mention certain cups of ſtone made in *Siphnos*, which were in great eſteem among the *Romans*. In the laſt century the grand ſignior ſent
c ſome *Jews* to examine into the lead-mines; but the inhabitants apprehending they ſhould be obliged to work in them, bribed the captain of the veſſel, which brought the *Jews*, to ſink his ſhip; by which means the cargo of ore was loſt, and the *Jews*, who deſigned to farm the mines, all drowned. Some time after other undertakers came upon the ſame errand, but as they met with no better ſucceſs, the undertaking was dropt [x].

Cimolis is ſeparated from *Melos* by a ſtraight, which is ſcarce a mile over. It is, Cimolis.
according to *Pliny*, twelve miles in compaſs, and was anciently called *Echinuſa*, or the *iſland of Vipers*. It is now known by the name of *Argentiere*, which it borrowed from the ſilver mines, with which it is ſaid to abound. The preſent inhabitants
d ſhew theſe mines to ſtrangers, but are afraid to meddle with them, leſt the *Turks* ſhould load them with taxes under pretence that they reaped great advantages from them. This iſland is a very barren place, and full of rocks and mountains. It is ſcarce ever mentioned in hiſtory, having always followed the fate of *Melos*. The *terra Cimolia*, or *Cimolian* earth is greatly commended by *Pliny* [y]; it is a kind of chalk uſed by the preſent inhabitants, as it was by their forefathers in *Pliny*'s time [z], in waſhing linen, and whitening it. The ſame author ſpeaks of the medicinal virtues of this earth; but theſe it has no more at preſent, and perhaps never had. The whole iſland is covered with this ſort of chalk, whence it is called by *Ovid* a chalky country [a].

e *Prepeſinthus* is a ſmall iſland between *Siphnus* and *Melos*, about four miles in Prepeſinthus.
compaſs. It is mentioned only by *Artemidorus* and *Strabo* [b], and contains nothing worthy of notice.

Olearus, or *Oliaros*, mentioned by *Strabo* [c], *Pliny* [d], *Virgil* [e], *Ovid* [f], &c. is ſix- Olearos.
teen miles in compaſs, and ſeparated from the iſle of *Paros* by a ſtrait ſeven miles over. This iſland was, according to *Heraclides Ponticus*, as quoted by *Stephanus*, firſt peopled by a *Phœnician* colony from *Sidon*. This iſland, now known by the name of *Antiparos*, exhibits one of the greateſt curioſities in nature, namely the vegetation of ſtones, which is deſcribed at length by a modern traveller, to whom we refer our readers [g].

f *Naxos*, now *Naxia*, was formerly known by the names of *Strongyle*, *Dia*, *Diony-* Naxus.
ſias, *Callipolis*, and *Little Sicily*. It was called *Strongyle* from a *Greek* word ſignifying *round*, though in reality it is rather ſquare than round. The names of *Dia* or *Divine*, and *Dionyſias* were given it as being conſecrated in a peculiar manner to the fabulous god *Dionyſus* or *Bacchus*. The name of *Callipolis*, *Pliny* and *Solinus* derive from the metropolis of the iſland, formerly a moſt beautiful city, which is the import

[o] Hippocr. Epid. l. v. [p] Plin. l. xxxv. c. 15. [q] Stephanus, Hesychius, Suidas, verbo Σιφνίες & Σιφνιάζειν. [r] Pausan. in Phocis. [s] Isidorus, Orig. l. xvi. c. 4. [t] Theophrastus de lapid. [u] Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 22. [w] Isidor. ubi ſupra. [x] Vide Tournefort. Voyage au Levant. [y] Plin. l. xxxiv. c. 15. [z] Idem ibid. [a] Ovid. Metamorph. l. vii. v. 463. [b] Strab. l. x. p. 334. [c] Strab. ibid. [d] Plin. ubi ſupra. [e] Virgil. Æneid. 3. v. 126. [f] Ovid. Metamorph. l. vii. v. 126. [g] Tournefort ubi ſupra, Tom. 1. epiſt. 5.

of

of the word *Calliſolis* [a]. The great fruitfulneſs of the country gave riſe to the name of *Little Sicily*, *Naxus* being the moſt fruitful of all the *Cyclades*, as *Agathemerus* informs us [b], and no leſs fertile than *Sicily* itſelf. As for the name of *Naxus*, ſome tell us that it was borrowed from one *Naxus*, under whoſe conduct the *Carians* poſſeſſed themſelves of the iſland; others pretend it received this name from *Naxus* the ſon of *Endymion*. *Stephanus*, *Suidas*, and *Phavorinus* derive the name of *Naxus* from the *Greek* word *Naxai*, ſignifying to ſacrifice, and will have it to have been ſo called from the many ſacrifices offered here to *Bacchus*. With theſe *Bochart* agrees as to its being called *Naxos* from the ſacrifices performed here in honour of *Bacchus*, but will have the word *Naxos* to be a corruption of the *Phœnician Nacſa* or *Nieſa*, ſignifying a ſacrifice or offering. *Naxos* is, according to *Pliny* [c], ſeventy-five, according to the preſent inhabitants, an hundred miles in compaſs. It has *Paros* to the weſt. *Myconos* and *Delos* to the north, and *Ios* to the ſouth. This iſland is the moſt fruitful of the *Archipelago*, and was in former ages famed for the excellent wines it produced: *Archilochus*, as quoted by *Athenæus*, compares them to the nectar of the gods; and *Aſclepiades*, cited by *Stephanus*, tells us, that *Bacchus* took more delight in *Naxus* than in any other place whatſoever, having himſelf taught the inhabitants to cultivate their vines. The wine of *Naxus* maintains to this day its ancient reputation, being by ſome deemed the beſt of the *Levant*. Beſides wine this iſland abounds with all ſorts of delicious fruits, the plains being covered with orange, olive, lemon, cedar, citron, pomgranate, mulberry and fig-trees. It was formerly famous for quarries of that ſort of marble, which the *Greeks* called *Ophites*, from its being green and ſpeckled with white ſpots like the skin of a ſerpent. The beſt emeril is found here on mountains near the weſtern coaſt, whence the neighbouring cape is called by the *Italians* *Capo Smeriglio*, or the *Emeril Cape*. As to the inhabitants of *Naxus*, *Diodorus* tells us that the iſland was firſt peopled by the *Thracians*, who ſettled here on the following occaſion.

Boreas had two ſons, *Butes* and *Lycurgus*, by different mothers. *Butes*, who was the younger, entered into a plot againſt his brother; which being diſcovered, *Boreas* commanded him to leave *Thrace* and find himſelf ſome other habitation. *Butes* imbarqued with his accomplices, and ſteering his courſe to the *Cyclades*, poſſeſſed himſelf of *Naxos*, then called *Strongyle*, and lived upon plunder, ſeizing all the ſhips that ſailed that way. But as *Butes* and his *Thracians* wanted women, and the neighbouring iſlands were either thinly inhabited, or quite deſolate, they ſailed to *Theſſaly*, and landing there ſeized upon ſome women, while they were celebrating the myſteries of *Bacchus* on a mountain near the ſhore called *Diros*. *Butes* having uſed violence on this occaſion to *Coronides*, ſhe made her complaints to *Bacchus*, who ſtruck *Butes* with madneſs, which occaſioned his death, he having thrown himſelf down a precipice, and died of the fall. The other *Thracians* returned with the *Theſſalian* women to *Strongyle*, carrying with them, amongſt others, *Iphimedia* the wife of *Alocas*, and *Pancratis* his daughter, both women of extraordinary beauty. On their return they created *Agaſſamenus* king of the iſland in the room of *Butes*, beſtowing upon him *Pancratis*, as he did *Iphimedia* on one of his intimate friends, whom he had appointed commander in chief of his forces. In the mean time *Aloeas* ſent his two ſons *Otus* and *Ephialtes* in queſt of his wife and daughter. Theſe landing in the iſland with a ſtrong body of men, engaged the *Thracians*, routed them, took their metropolis by ſtorm, and made themſelves maſters of the whole iſland. Not long after the two brothers fell out, which occaſioned a civil war, wherein many were killed on both ſides, and amongſt the reſt the two brothers by one another; but the *Theſſalians* afterwards adored them as demigods or heroes. After the *Theſſalians* had held the iſland for the ſpace of two hundred years and upwards, they were at length obliged by a drought and famine to abandon it. After the *Trojan* war the *Carians*, being then powerful at ſea, ſettled here, and called the iſland *Naxus* from their king, who was the ſon of *Polemon*. He was ſucceeded by his ſon *Leucippus*, and *Leucippus* by his ſon *Smardius*, in whoſe reign *Theſeus* coming out of *Crete* landed here with *Ariadne*, whom he was, as *Diodorus* tells us, commanded in his ſleep by *Bacchus* to leave in this iſland, which he did accordingly, and *Bacchus* having retired

[a] Plin. l. iv. c. 12. [b] Agath. l. i. c. 5. [c] Plin. ubi ſupra.

with

a with her to mount *Arius*, they both ſoon after diſappeared [k] (W). In proceſs of time a colony of *Cnidians* and *Rhodians* ſettled here under the conduct of *Hippothous* and *Xuthus*; and laſt of all the *Ionians*, who by degrees poſſeſſed themſelves of the whole iſland, whence the *Naxians* are by *Herodotus* called *Ionians*, and ranked among the *Athenian* colonies [l].

Naxus was formerly a very flouriſhing republic, and by far the moſt powerful of the *Cyclades*, as *Herodotus* informs us [m], and had ſeveral cities of note, amongſt others *Naxus* the metropolis of the iſland mentioned by *Ptolemy* [n]; the preſent city of *Naxia*, which is the capital, was perhaps built on the ruins of the ancient *Naxus*, whence it retains the ſame name.

b THE *Naxians* were firſt governed by kings, as we have hinted above out of *Diodorus*; but afterwards formed themſelves into a republic, and enjoyed their liberty till the time of *Piſiſtratus* tyrant of *Athens*, who having ſubdued *Naxus* beſtowed it upon *Lygdamis* a native of the iſland for having aſſiſted him with men and money in uſurping the ſovereign power [o]. Upon the death of *Lygdamis* they recovered their liberty, and even poſſeſſed themſelves of the neighbouring iſlands of *Paros* and *Andros*. In the reign of *Darius Hyſtaſpis*, *Ariſtagoras* governor of *Miletus* in *Ionia*, formed a deſign of ſurprizing *Naxus* under colour of reſtoring the nobles who had been driven out by the popular faction, and taken refuge in *Miletus*. *Darius* furniſhed him with two hundred ſhips and a conſiderable body of land-forces to be c employed in this expedition. But the *Naxians*, being forewarned by *Magabates* the *Perſian* general, with whom *Ariſtagoras* happened to fall out, put themſelves in a poſture of defence, and obliged *Ariſtagoras* after a ſiege of four months to drop the enterprize, and retire to the continent. On the miſcarriage of this expedition *Ariſtagoras*, as we have related in the hiſtory of *Perſia*, revolted from the *Perſians*, and prevailed upon the *Ionians* to join in his revolt, which brought endleſs calamities upon *Ionia*. Not long after the *Perſians* made a ſecond deſcent on *Naxus* under the command of *Datis* and *Artaphernes*, and meeting with no oppoſition, the inhabitants having at their approach abandoned their habitations, and fled to the mountains, they poſſeſſed themſelves of the iſland, ravaged the whole country, and laid d the city with its temples in aſhes [p]. The *Naxians* being thus brought under the *Perſian* yoke, could not help ſending ſome ſhips of war to their aſſiſtance in their expedition againſt *Greece*; but the officers, who commanded them, at the perſuaſion of *Democritus*, the moſt wealthy and powerful citizen of *Naxos*, inſtead of joining the *Perſians*, went over with their ſhips to the *Athenians*. At the battle of *Platæa* the *Naxians* gave ſingular proofs of their valour, as we read in *Diodorus Siculus*, being above the other iſlanders zealous in the defence of the common liberties of *Greece* [q]. They were at that time, according to *Herodotus*, in a very flouriſhing condition, had a great number of ſlaves, a ſquadron of ſhips well appointed, and eight thouſand land-forces [r]. In the *Peloponneſian* war they declared for the *Athenians*, as did e moſt of the other iſlands of the *Ægean* ſea; but being treated by them more like ſubjects than allies, attempted to ſhake off the yoke. The *Athenians* ſent a powerful fleet againſt them, beſieged their capital, and forced them to accept what conditions *Athens* was pleaſed to impoſe. *Thucydides* obſerves that *Naxus* was the firſt of the confederate cities which the *Athenians* deprived of their liberty [s]. From this time they continued ſubject to the *Athenians* till they fell into the hands of the *Romans*, which happened in the *Mithridatic* war. After the battle of *Philippi Mark Antony* beſtowed *Naxos*, *Andros*, and ſome other iſlands on the *Rhodians*, who oppreſſed them to ſuch a degree that he was ſoon obliged to drive them out, and

[k] DIODOR. SICUL. l. v. [l] HERODOT. l. viii. [m] Idem, l. v. [n] PTOL. Geog. l. iii. c. 15. [o] HERODOT. l. i. [p] Idem, l. vi. [q] DIODOR. SICUL. l. v. [r] HERODOT. l. ix. [s] THUCYD. l. i.

(W) The ancients mention two women, who had the common name of *Ariadne*; and in honour of both feſtivals were yearly ſolemnized in the iſland of *Naxos*. The one was thought to be of a gay and pleaſant temper; and therefore her feſtival was obſerved with muſic and many other expreſſions of joy and mirth. The other was the ſame whom *Theſeus* is ſuppoſed to have left big with child on the coaſt of *Naxus*, and is ſaid to have been of a melancholy diſpoſition, whence the ſolemnity dedicated to her had a ſhew of ſorrow and mourning. In memory of her being left by *Theſeus*, it was uſual on this occaſion for a young man to lie down and counterfeit all the agonies of women in labour. This feſtival is ſaid to have been firſt inſtituted by *Theſeus* to atone in ſome degree for his ingratitude to her (41).

(41) *Plut. in Theſeo.*

reſtore thoſe iſlanders to their former ſtate of liberty, which they enjoyed till the a
reign of *Veſpaſian* [u].

WITHIN a ſtone's caſt from *Naxus* is a rock, on which is ſtill to be ſeen a very beautiful gate of marble, which the inhabitants call the gate of *Bacchus*'s palace; but is without all doubt part of the magnificent temple, which the *Naxians* built here in honour of that god. For they had a tradition that *Bacchus* was born in their iſland, and educated among them by the nymphs *Philias*, *Coronidis*, and *Cleidis*, and that out of gratitude for the kindneſs ſhewn him in his infancy by the *Naxians*, he had taken the iſland under his protection, and on ſeveral occaſions aſſiſted them in a miraculous manner againſt their enemies. The gate we are ſpeaking of is eighteen foot high, eleven foot three inches broad, and remarkably beautiful. This temple b
and the iſland on which it ſtood, were joined to *Naxus* by a ſtone bridge, on which were to be ſeen in 1547 the conduits which ſerved to convey the wine from *Naxus* into the cellars of the temple. This is what we learn from *Bennedetto Berdonio* [w]; but our more modern travellers take no notice of this bridge.

Paros. THE iſland of *Paros* was anciently called *Paſtia*, *Minoa*, or *Minoia*, *Demetrias*, *Zacynthus*, *Hyria*, *Hileaſſa*, and *Cabarnis* [x]. The name of *Cabarnis* is borrowed, according to *Stephanus*, from one *Cabarnus*, who firſt acquainted *Ceres* with the rape of her daughter *Proſerpine*, or, according to *Heſychius*, from the *Cabarni*, the prieſts of *Ceres* being ſo called by the inhabitants of this iſland. *Bochart* [y] tells us that the word *Cabarnis* in the *Phœnician* tongue ſignifies to ſacrifice, whence the prieſts were c
called in ſome places, ſuch eſpecially as had any communication with *Phœnice*, *Cabarni*, that is ſacrificers. The name of *Minoa* it borrowed from *Minos* king of *Crete*, who ſubdued this as he did moſt of the other iſlands of the *Ægean* ſea [z]. It was called *Paros*, which name it retains to this day, from *Paros* the ſon of *Parrhaſius*, or, as *Stephanus* will have it, of *Jaſon* the *Argonaut*. *Paros*, according to *Pliny*'s computation [a], is diſtant from *Naxos* ſeven miles and a half, and twenty-eight from *Delos*. Some of the modern travellers will have it to be fourſcore [b], others only fifty miles in compaſs [c]. *Pliny* ſays it is half as large as *Naxos*, that is, between thirty-ſix and thirty-ſeven miles in compaſs. It was anciently a rich and powerful iſland, being called by *Stephanus* the moſt wealthy and happy of the *Cyclades*, and d
by *Cornelius Nepos* an iſland elated with its riches [d]. The city of *Paros*, which was the metropolis of the iſland, is ſtiled by *Stephanus* a potent city, and ſaid to have been one of the largeſt in the *Archipelago*; the preſent city of *Paros*, or, as the natives call it, *Parichia*, is ſuppoſed to have been built upon its ruins, the neighbouring country abounding with valuable monuments of antiquity; the very walls of the preſent city are built with columns, architraves, pedeſtals, mingled with pieces of ancient marble of a ſurprizing bigneſs, which were once employed in more noble edifices. Every one knows, that *Paros* was formerly famous for its marble, which was of an extraordinary whiteneſs, and in ſuch requeſt among the ancients, that the beſt ſtatuaries uſed no other [e]. *Pliny* tells us [f], that the *Parian* marble and e
no other was made uſe of in adorning the frontiſpiece of the celebrated labyrinth in *Egypt*, which was counted one of the wonders of the world. The beſt quarries were thoſe of mount *Marpeſus* or *Marpeſſus*, mentioned by *Virgil* [g] and his interpreter *Servius*. In this mountain are ſtill to be ſeen caverns of an extraordinary depth, which the modern inhabitants and travellers take to be the ancient quarries. The quarries of *Paros*, if *Pliny* is to be credited, were ſo deep, that even in the cleareſt weather the workmen were obliged to uſe lamps, whence the marble was called by the *Greeks Lychnites*, that is worked by the light of lamps [h]. The ſame author tells us, that in a block of marble, dug up in one of theſe quarries, when broken by the workmen, there appeared a beautiful repreſentation of *Silanus* engraved on the f
ſtone by the hand of nature [i]. In one of the quarries diſtant about four miles from the preſent city of *Parichia* is ſtill to be ſeen a baſſo-relievo cut in the rock, and containing twenty-nine figures of nymphs and ſatyrs dancing a kind of brawl. This was done, as appears from the inſcription, by one *Adamas Odryſes* in honour of the nymphs. Though *Pliny* greatly commends the *Parian* marble, yet he prefers to it that of *Luna* in *Italy*, as being both whiter and of a cloſer grain [k]. The iſland is

[u] APPIAN. l. v. [w] BORDON. Viaggio all Archipelago. [x] STEPHANUS, HESYCHIUS, SOLIN. &c.
[y] BOCHART. Phaleg. l. i. c. 4. [z] PLIN. l. iv. c. 12. [a] PLIN. ibid. [b] FERRARIUS. [c] PORCHACHI. [d] CORN. NEPOS, in Alcibiade. [e] PLIN. l. iv. c. 12. & l. xxxvi. c. 5. [f] Idem ibid.
[g] VIRGIL. Æneid. 6. [h] PLIN. l. xxxvi. c. 5. [i] Idem, l. iii. c. 5. [k] Idem, l. xxxvi. c. 5.

provided

a provided with ſeveral capacious and ſafe harbours, and was anciently much reſorted to by traders. *Archilochus*, the inventor of the *Iambic* verſe, was a native of *Paros*. *Horace* was in the right when he ſaid, that rage armed him with *Iambics* [l]; for his verſes were ſo ſatirical and biting, that *Lycambes*, againſt whom he wrote, hanged himſelf out of deſpair. *Lycambes* after having betrothed his daughter to him beſtowed her upon another, which affront the poet revenged by compoſing thoſe bitter invectives, which obliged *Lycambes* to lay violent hands on himſelf. His books were forbidden at *Sparta* for their wanton and obſcene expreſſions, and himſelf baniſhed the country. He was contemporary with *Gyges* king of *Lydia*. The author of the moſt valuable monument of antiquity now extant, that is, of the
b *Oxford* marbles, was born in this iſland, as *Gaſſendus* informs us [m], but his name has not reached us. He lived, according to the learned *Uſher*, in the third century before the chriſtian æra. As to the inhabitants of *Paros*, this iſland was, according to *Thucydides* [n], firſt peopled by the *Phœnicians*, who were before other nations maſters of the ſea. Afterwards the *Carians* ſettled here, as we are told both by *Thucydides* [o] and *Diodorus* [p]. But it is no eaſy matter to reconcile theſe two authors as to the time when the *Carians* came firſt into the iſland; for *Thucydides* tells us, that the *Carians* were driven out by the *Cretans* under the conduct of *Minos*; and *Diodorus* writes that the *Carians* did not ſettle here till after the *Trojan* war, and that they found the *Cretans* in poſſeſſion of the iſland. *Stephanus* is of opinion that the *Cretans*
c mixed with ſome *Arcadians* were the only nations that ever poſſeſſed this iſland. *Minos* himſelf, if we believe *Pliny* [q], reſided ſome time in the iſland of *Paros*, and received here the melancholy news of the death of his ſon *Androgeus*, who was killed in *Attica* after he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf at the public games. When *Hercules* paſſed through *Paros*, going in queſt of the girdle of *Hippolita* by order of *Euryſtheus*, he found there *Eurydæmon*, *Chryſes*, *Nephalion*, and *Philolaus*, the ſons of *Minos*, and with them a great many *Cretans* [r].

As to the hiſtory of *Paros*, we find the inhabitants of this iſland choſen from among all the *Greeks* by the *Mileſians* to compoſe the differences, which had for two generations rent that unhappy ſtate into various parties and factions [s]. They acquit-
d ted themſelves of this charge with great prudence, and reformed the government in the manner we have related in the hiſtory of *Miletus*. They joined *Darius* in his expedition againſt *Greece*, aſſiſting him with a conſiderable ſquadron, but after the victory obtained by *Miltiades* at *Marathon* they were reduced to great ſtraits by that general. The matter is thus related by *Herodotus* [t]: *Miltiades* having by his ſucceſs at *Marathon* acquired a much greater reputation at *Athens* than he had before, demanded ſeventy ſhips of the *Athenians* with men and money in proportion, aſſuring them, without declaring his deſign, that he would lead them into a country, from whence they ſhould bring home great riches without any manner of trouble. The *Athenians*, accepting the propoſal with joy, prepared the ſhips, and *Miltiades* being
e ſupplied with all things neceſſary for his enterprize, ſet ſail for *Paros*, under colour of chaſtiſing the *Parians* for having aſſiſted the *Perſians* at *Marathon*. But the true motive of his expedition was his private hatred againſt the *Parians*, becauſe one *Lyſagoras* the ſon of *Tiſeus*, who was of *Parian* extraction, had ſpoke ill of him to *Hydarnes* the *Perſian*. *Miltiades* on his arrival at *Paros* beſieged the capital, threatning to take it by ſtorm and plunder the houſes, unleſs the citizens ſent him an hundred talents. The *Parians* inſtead of granting him his demand, applied themſelves wholly to the defence of their city, repairing the fortifications, and working in the night till they had made their walls twice as high as they were before in that part where they were leaſt defenſible; inſomuch that *Miltiades* could not by any
f means make himſelf maſter of the city. That great general ſeeing he could not reduce the *Parians* by force, had recourſe to one *Timo* prieſteſs of the national gods, and then his priſoner, who adviſed him to perform ſome ſecret ceremony in the temple of *Ceres* near the city. *Miltiades* followed her advice, went directly to the incloſure of the temple, and after having endeavoured in vain to open the gate, mounted the wall and leaped down with a deſign to enter the ſacred place. But while he ſtood before the door of the temple, being ſeized with a ſudden terror, he reſolved to return, and leaping down from the ſame place had the misfortune to break his leg. The ceremony either did not ſucceed, or was not at leaſt attended with the promiſed

[l] Horat. de Arte Poetica. [m] Gassend. in vita Peireſc. [n] Thucyd. l. i. [o] Idem ibid.
[p] Diodor. l. v. [q] Plin. l. iii. c. 14. [r] Diodor. Sicul. l. xv. [s] Herodot. l. vi. [t] Idem, l. vi.

ſucceſs;

ſucceſs; for *Miltiades*, after having kept the city blocked up for the ſpace of twenty-ſix days, was obliged to drop the enterprize and return to *Athens* with diſgrace [u]. Upon his departure the *Parians* being informed of the counſel which *Timo* had given to *Miltiades*, and deſirous to bring her to juſtice, ſent deputies to conſult the oracle of *Delphos*, whether they ſhould puniſh her with death for endeavouring to betray the city to the enemy, and diſcovering the ſacred myſteries to *Miltiades*, which it was a great crime to reveal to any man. The *Pythian* anſwered, That *Timo* was not the author of that advice, but that the gods having determined to deſtroy *Miltiades*, had only made her the inſtrument of his death [w]. *Cornelius Nepos* likewiſe relates the ſiege of *Paros* by *Miltiades*, but varies in ſome particulars from *Herodotus*; for that writer tells us, That the *Athenian* general having inveſted the city by ſea and land, reduced it to ſuch ſtraits, that the inhabitants deſired to capitulate. But in the mean time a wood on the continent taking fire, by what accident was never known, the *Parians* imagined it to be a ſignal given them by the fleet of *Darius* advancing to their relief; whereupon they broke off the conferences, and would no more hearken to the terms offered them by the enemy. *Miltiades* likewiſe, apprehending that the *Perſian* fleet approached, ſet fire to his engines, and weighing anchor returned to *Athens*, where he was condemned to defray the charges of that unſucceſsful expedition, amounting to fifty talents [x]. *Stephanus* tells us, That the *Parians* had already agreed to ſurrender their city; but that a foreſt on the ſide of *Mycone* taking fire, and the *Parians* not doubting but it was a ſignal given them by the *Perſian* general *Datis*, who was haſtening to their relief, would not ſtand to their agreement; which gave riſe to the proverb, *To keep one's word after the* Parian *manner*. After the battle of *Salamis Themiſtocles* ſubjected *Paros* and moſt of the other neighbouring iſlands to *Athens*, obliging them to ſupply him with large ſums by way of puniſhment for having favoured the *Perſians* [y]. It appears from the famous monument of *Adulas*, which *Coſmos* of *Egypt* has deſcribed with great exactneſs [z], that *Paros* and the other *Cyclades* were once ſubject to the *Ptolemies* of *Egypt*, theſe iſlands being mentioned in that monument, which was erected in the reign of *Ptolemy Euergetes*. However *Paros* fell again under the power of the *Athenians*, who continued maſters of it till they were driven out by *Mithridates* the great. But that prince being obliged to yield to the good fortune of *Sylla*, to the valour of *Lucullus*, and to the greatneſs of *Pompey*, as *Florus* expreſſes it, this and the other iſlands of the *Archipelago* ſubmitted to the *Romans*, who reduced them to a province with *Lydia*, *Phrygia*, and *Caria*.

Syros. *Syros* is placed by *Strabo* between *Paros* and *Delos* [a], and ſaid by *Pliny* to be twenty miles in compaſs [b]. *Mutianus*, as quoted by *Pliny*, makes it an hundred and ſixty, but our modern travellers agree with *Pliny*. This iſland had formerly a town of no ſmall note bearing the name, as appears from an ancient inſcription ſtill to be ſeen in the preſent town of *Syra*, and from many ruins of ſtately buildings at a ſmall diſtance from the harbour. *Syros*, according to *Homer*'s account of it, abounded with corn, wine, and all other neceſſaries of life, and was reckoned one of the moſt healthy places of the *Ægean* ſea, the plague never having raged there with any violence [c]. This iſland, as we learn from the ſame poet, was frequented in the earlieſt ages by the *Phœnician* merchants, who after having paſſed a whole year here, carried off with them one of the concubines of *Cteſias* king of the place, ſhe being a native of *Sidon*, and the daughter of *Arybas* king of that city. *Pherecydes*, one of the moſt ancient philoſophers of *Greece*, the diſciple of *Pittacus*, and maſter of *Pythagoras*, was born in *Syros*. *Strabo*, *Porphyrius*, *Apuleius*, and the author of the chronology of the olympiads tell us, that he was the firſt, or one of the firſt, that wrote in proſe. *Tzetzes* ſays, he was the firſt who obſerved the periods of the moon, and foretold eclipſes; that he was the maſter of *Thales* the *Mileſian*, and that he wrote ten books on the origin of the gods. He was the firſt, according to *Cicero* [d], who taught the immortality of the ſoul. He is charged by *Suidas* with being the author of the metempſychoſis, or tranſmigration of ſouls out of one body into another. He is greatly commended on account of his knowledge by *Diogenes Laertius*, *Apuleius*, *Jamblichus*, *Lactantius*, *Euſtathius*, &c. who all agree him to have been one of the

[u] HERODOT. l. vi. [w] Idem ibid. [x] CORNEL. NEPOS, in vita Miltiad. [y] HERODOT. l. viii. [z] Vide BERNARD. de Montfaucon in Topogr. Chriſtian. de Mundo, l. ii. [a] STRAB. l. x. [b] PLIN. l. iv. c. 12. [c] HOMER. Odyſſ. ó v. 405. [d] CIC. Quæſt. Tuſc. l. i. c. 158.

greateſt

a greateſt philoſophers that *Greece* ever produced, and add, that he learnt his philoſophy of the *Phœnicians*, being well acquainted with their language and books (X). *Stephanus* reckons *Syros* among the *Ionian* colonies; it is at preſent known by the names of *Siro*, *Sira*, and *Zyra*, and by many confounded with the iſland of *Skyros*, anciently *Scyrus*, which we ſhall deſcribe in its proper place. Off the eaſtern coaſt of *Syros* lie three ſmall iſlands called *Gadroniſi*.

Myconus lies between *Icaria* and *Delos*, about three miles diſtance from the latter, and is thirty-ſix in circuit. It borrowed the name of *Myconus* or *Mycone* from one *Myconus* the ſon of *Ænius* and grandſon of *Caryſtus* and *Rhyas* [c]; but who theſe were, neither *Strabo* nor *Stephanus* his tranſcriber have thought fit to acquaint us. Myconus.

b This iſland was long uninhabited by reaſon of the frequent and dreadful earthquakes to which it was ſubject; but they no ſooner ceaſed than the inhabitants of the adjoining iſlands ſettled in it, and built a town to which they gave the name of the iſland [f]. The poets feigned, that the centaurs killed by *Hercules* were buried here, whence took riſe the proverb, *To place all things under one Mycone*, applied to thoſe, who under one and the ſame title touched upon quite different ſubjects [g]. *Strabo*, and after him *Euſtathius* [h], obſerves that the *Myconians* grew bald very early, whence they were called by way of contempt, *The bald heads of Mycone*. Our modern travellers confirm *Strabo*'s obſervation, aſſuring us that the preſent *Myconians* loſe their hair when twenty or twenty-five years old [i]. *Pliny* tells us that in this iſland chil-

c dren are all born without hair, and that both men and women ſoon loſe that ornament given by nature [k]. They were heretofore reckoned arrant paraſites; whence *Archilochus*, as quoted by *Athenæus* [l], taxes one *Pericles* with coming to a feaſt after the *Myconian* manner, that is, without being invited. In this iſland there is great ſcarcity of water, but the wine it formerly produced is highly commended by *Pliny* [m]. *Wheeler* ſpeaks of a medal which he purchaſed here with *Jupiter*'s head on one ſide, and a bunch of grapes on the other. *Virgil* gives the iſland of *Mycone* the epithet of high [n], wherein he diſagrees with *Ovid*, who calls it a low iſland [o]. But *Virgil* in all likelihood alluded to mount *Dimaſtos* mentioned by *Pliny* as the higheſt in the iſland [p]; ſince the iſland itſelf lies, according to *Strabo*, very low.

d Between *Mycone* and *Delos*, about a mile from the former, lies the iſle of *Tragoniſi* about three miles in compaſs. It formerly abounded with goats, whence it had the name of *Tragoniſi* or the *Goat-iſland*.

THIS iſland was firſt called *Hydruſia* from the *Greek* word *hydor*, ſignifying water, being more plentifully ſupplied with ſprings than the other iſlands; afterwards it had the name of *Ophiuſa*, from the ſerpents which infeſted the iſland, the *Greek* word *Ophis* ſignifying a ſerpent; and laſtly the name of *Tenos* was given it from one *Tenos* the firſt who ſettled here [q]. *Bochart* pretends the word *Tenos* to be derived from *Tannoth*, which in the *Phœnician* language ſignifies a ſerpent [r], and anſwers the *Greek* word *Ophiuſa* or *Ophiuſſa*. *Pliny* places *Tenos* one mile from *Andros*, fifteen from Tenos.

[c] STRAB. l. x. [f] Idem ibid. [g] Idem ibid. & ERASM. Chiliad. [h] EUSTATH. in Dionyſ. v. 526. [i] TOURNEFORT, Vol. I. [k] PLIN. l. xi c. 7. [l] ATHEN. Deipnoſoph. l. i. [m] PLIN. l. xiv. c. 1. [n] VIRGIL. Æneid. l. iii. v. 76. [o] OVID. Metamorph. l. vii. v. 463. [p] PLIN. l. iv. c. 12. [q] PLIN. l. iv. c. 12. [r] BOCHART. Phaleg. l. ii. c. 3.

(X) Some writers tell us, that *Pherecydes* was a native of *Babylon*, and in favour of this opinion quote *Euſtathius*; but there is evidently a miſtake in the paſſage, which they alledge, ſince *Euſtathius* in the very ſame place calls him a native of *Syros*. Some therefore in the text of that writer inſtead of Βαβυλόνιος read Βασίδος, as it is in *Suidas* and the chronology of the olympiads, or Βάδυος, as in *Laertius*, that is, the ſon of *Babis* or *Badis*. *Heraclides*, *Apuleius*, *Ælian*, *Pauſanias*, *Porphyrius* and *Jamblichus* mention two other writers bearing the ſame name; the one of *Athens*, and the other of the iſland of *Leros*; ſome take theſe two to be but one, born, according to them, in *Athens*, and brought up in *Leros*; others are of opinion that there was but one *Pherecydes*, and make the *Athenian*, *Lerian* and *Syrian* one and the ſame perſon; and indeed the paſſages quoted out of the other two by *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus*, *Germanicus*, *Hyginus*, *Marcellinus*, *Euſebius*, and *Suidas*, ſeem to be taken out of the books, which have been aſcribed to *Pherecydes* of *Syros*. He was called the *Athenian*, ſay they, becauſe he wrote a book, entitled, *The genealogy of the* Athenians; and as to the name of *Lerian*, it might have been given him becauſe he lived ſome time in the iſland of *Leros*. *Strabo* no-where mentions *Pherecydes* of *Leros*, but often ſpeaks of the other two, calling the one a philoſopher, and the other an hiſtorian. *Cicero* (42), the ſcholiaſt of *Euripides* (43), *Macrobius* (44), and *Origen* (45), quote *Pherecydes* without mentioning his country; whence ſome have concluded that there was but one writer of that name. Though it is no eaſy matter to decide this queſtion, yet the authority of *Strabo*, a moſt accurate writer, is of more weight with us than that of our modern critics.

(42) *Cic. de orat. l.* ii. (43) *Scholiaſt. Euripid. in Alceſt.* (44) *Macrob. Saturnal. l.* v. *c.* 21. (45) *Origen. in Celſ. l.* i.

Delos, and ſays [s]'tis fifteen miles in extent. *Tournefort* will have it to be ſixty miles a
in compaſs, *Porcachi* forty, and *Ferrarius* but five and-thirty. It is very mountainous, but nevertheleſs produces great plenty of excellent fruit. The wine of *Tenos* was in great requeſt among the ancients; whence ſeveral medals of this iſland are ſtill to be ſeen with bunches of grapes on the reverſe [s]. The name of *Tenos* was common to the iſland and its capital [t], which, according to *Strabo*, was not a great, but a well-built city, and had a ſtately temple in an adjoining grove dedicated to *Neptune* [u]. This temple and grove enjoyed the privileges of an aſylum, which were abridged by *Tiberius*, as were thoſe of the moſt famous temples in the *Levant* [w]. *Philocorus*, as quoted by *Clemens Alexandrinus* [x], tells us, that *Neptune* was worſhipped by the *Tenians* as the god of phyſic. *Golzius*, *Triſtanus*, and others exhibit ſeveral b
medals of this iſland repreſenting *Neptune*, with his trident on the reverſe; the ſerpent, which is on ſome medals joined to the trident, was among the ancients an emblem of phyſic; beſides, *Tenos* was anciently called *Ophiuſa*, or the *Snake-iſland*, as we have obſerved already; and *Heſychius* tells us, that it was cleared of the ſerpents, which infeſted it, by *Neptune*, who for that purpoſe brought great flights of ſtorks into the iſland. The *Tenians* were once very powerful by ſea, as *Herodotus* informs us [y]; but nevertheleſs were ſo terrified at the approach of the *Perſian* fleet, that they ſubmitted without making the leaſt oppoſition, and aſſiſted *Xerxes* in his expedition againſt *Greece*. This iſland afterwards underwent the ſame fate as the others of the *Archipelago*, being firſt ſubdued by the *Athenians*, who drove out the *Perſians*, afterwards by the *Ma-* c
cedonian princes, and laſtly by the *Romans*.

Andros. The iſland of *Andros* lies between *Tenos* and *Eubœa*, being diſtant from the former one mile, and ten from the latter [z]. *Pliny* will have it to be ninety-three miles in compaſs; but the inhabitants ſay it is an hundred and twenty. The ancients give it various names, viz. *Cauros*, *Laſia*, *Nonagria*, *Epagris*, *Antandros*, and *Hydruſia*. The name of *Andros* it borrowed from one *Andreus*, who was, according to *Diodorus Siculus* [a], one of the generals, whom *Rhadamanthus* appointed to govern the *Cyclades*, after they had of their own accord ſubmitted to him. *Conon* will have this *Andreus* to be the ſon of *Anius*, and grandſon of *Apollo* and *Creuſa*, and to have been the firſt who ſettled in this iſland. As to the name of *Antandros*, the ſame author tells us, d
that *Aſcanius*, the ſon of *Æneas*, being taken priſoner by the *Pelaſgians*, gave them this iſland for his ranſom, which on that account was called *Antandros*, that is, delivered *for one man* [b]. It had formerly a city of great note bearing the ſame name, and ſituated very advantageouſly on the brow of a hill, which commanded the whole coaſt [c]. There are ſtill to be ſeen about two miles from the preſent town of *Arna* the ruins of a great and ſtrong wall with the fragments of many columns, chapiters, baſes, broken ſtatues, and ſeveral inſcriptions, ſome of which mention the ſenate and people of *Andros*, and the prieſts of *Bacchus*; for in the town of *Andros* ſtood, as we read in *Strabo* and *Pliny*, a famous temple dedicated to that god. The territory of *Andros* was anciently, and is ſtill, one of the moſt fertile and e
pleaſant countries in the whole *Archipelago*, abounding with all kinds of delicious fruit, and watered with innumerable ſprings, whence it had the name of *Hydruſia*, a name given by the *Greeks* to all places plentifully ſupplied with water. *Mutianus*, as quoted by *Pliny* [d], tells us, that near the temple of *Bacchus* was a ſpring, called *the gift of Jupiter*, the waters whereof had the taſte of wine in the month of *January*, during the feaſts of *Bacchus*, which laſted ſeven days. The ſame author adds, that the waters, if carried to a place whence the temple could not be ſeen, loſt their miraculous taſte [e]. *Pauſanias* makes no mention of this ſpring, but ſays, that during the feaſts of *Bacchus* wine flowed, or was at leaſt by the *Andrians* believed to flow from the temple of that god; the prieſts, no doubt, found their account f
in keeping up this belief by conveying through ſecret conduits great quantity of wine into the temple. The *Andrians* were the firſt of all the iſlanders who joined the *Perſians*; wherefore *Themiſtocles*, after the ſignal victory gained at *Salamis*, reſolved to attack the city of *Andros*, and oblige the inhabitants to pay large contributions for the maintenance of his fleet. Having landed his men in the iſland, he ſent heralds to the magiſtrates, acquainting them that the *Athenians* were come

[s] Vaillant. Numiſm. Græc. Spon. Voyage, &c. [t] Plin. ubi ſupra. [u] Strab. ubi ſupra. [w] Tacit. Annal. l. iii. c. 60. & 63. [x] Clem. Alex. Admon. ad Gentes. [y] Herodot. l. viii. [z] Plin. l. iv. c. 12. [a] Diodor. Sicul. l. v. [b] Conon. narrat. 41. [c] Herodot. l. viii. & Galen. de Simpl. Med. Facul. l. ix. [d] Plin. l. ii. c. 103. [e] Idem, l. xxxi. c. 6.

againſt

a againſt them with two powerful divinities *perſuaſion* and *force*, and therefore they muſt part with their money by fair means or by foul. The *Andrians* returned anſwer, that they likewiſe had two mighty deities, who were very fond of their iſland, *poverty* and *impoſſibility*, and therefore could give no money. *Themiſtocles*, not ſatisfied with this anſwer, laid ſiege to the town [f]. Our hiſtorian does not acquaint us with the event of this undertaking; but we may ſuppoſe that the *Athenian* general made himſelf maſter of the place, ſince *Pericles*, as we read in *Plutarch* [g], a few years after ſent thither a colony of two hundred and fifty *Athenians*. It did not long continue ſubject to *Athens*, being retaken by the *Perſians*, and beſieged in vain by *Alcibiades*, who after having taken and fortified the caſtle of *Gaurium*, left *Thraſy-*
b *bulus* in it with a ſtrong gariſon, and retired firſt to *Rhodes*, and thence to the iſland of *Cos* [h]. This, as the other *Greek* iſlands, ſubmitted to *Alexander*, after whoſe death it ſided with *Antigonus*, who was driven out by *Ptolemy*, whoſe ſucceſſors held it to the *Roman* times, when *Attalus* king of *Pergamus* beſieged the metropolis at the head of a *Roman* army, and having taken it, was by the *Romans* put in poſſeſſion of the whole iſland. Upon the death of that prince the people of *Rome* claimed the iſland of *Andros* as well as his other dominions in virtue of his laſt will [i].

Gyarus, *Gyara*, or *Gyaræ*, lies near *Delos*, and is according to *Pliny* [k] twelve miles in compaſs. It is the moſt abandoned and diſagreeable place of the whole *Archipelago*. In *Strabo*'s time it had but one ſmall village, and that inhabited by a
c few beggarly fiſhermen, who after the battle of *Actium* ſent a deputation to *Auguſtus* to obtain a diminution of their annual tribute, which was ſet at an hundred and fifty denarii [l]. We are told by the ancient writers, that this iſland was once infeſted by ſwarms of field-mice of an extraordinary ſize, which, after having driven out the inhabitants, were forced to live upon the iron that was dug out of the mines, finding nothing elſe to ſubſiſt on in ſo barren a place [m]. It was not therefore without reaſon that the *Romans* uſed to baniſh offenders to this iſland; for they had not in their wide-ſpreading dominions a more wretched and uncomfortable place to ſend them to. Gyarus.

THESE are the iſlands counted by *Strabo*, *Artemidorus*, *Pomponius Mela*, *Stephanus*,
d and *Scylax* among the *Cyclades*. We ſhall now proceed to *Delos* itſelf, and ſuch iſlands as lie north of it on the coaſts of *Greece*, *Theſſaly*, and *Thrace*.

Delos, an iſland heretofore of great fame, but at preſent an inhoſpitable and abandoned rock ſerving only for a retreat to pirates, is placed by *Pliny* at fifteen miles diſtance from *Myconus*, eighteen from *Naxus*, and fifty from *Icaria* [n]. But that writer was certainly miſtaken in his meaſures with regard to *Myconus* and *Naxus*, the former being diſtant from *Delos* but three miles, and the latter forty. *Delos* was known to the ancients by the names of *Cynethos* or *Cynthos*, *Aſteria*, *Pelaſgia*, *Chlamydias*, *Lagia*, *Pyrpilis*, *Scythias*, *Midia*, and *Ortygia* [o]. It was named *Ortygia* and *Lagia* from the two *Greek* words *ortyx* and *lagos*, the former ſignifying a quail, and the latter a hare, there being anciently great ſtore of both in this iſland. The ſcholiaſt of *Apollonius* [p]
e ſays it was called *Ortygia* from a ſiſter of *Latona* bearing that name, and *Cynethos* from the ſon of *Apollo*. *Pyrpilis Pliny* derives from the *Greek* word *Pyr*, ſignifying fire, which he pretends to have been firſt found out here [q]. As to the name of *Delos* the etymologiſts all agree in deriving it from a *Greek* verb ſignifying *to appear*, but vary as to the reaſon of its being appropriated to the iſland before us. *Pliny*, after *Ariſtotle*, pretends that the name of *Delos* was given it becauſe it roſe unexpectedly out of the ſea, and appeared floating on the water [r]. *Solinus* thinks it was the firſt of the iſlands that began to appear after it had been with the others of the *Archipelago* for the ſpace of nine months under water in the famous deluge that hap-
f pened in the time of *Ogyges*. But this opinion is altogether groundleſs and repugnant to reaſon; for allowing all theſe iſlands to have been drowned in that deluge, yet the iſland we are ſpeaking of could not appear the firſt after the waters began to retire, it being much lower than the iſlands of *Andros*, *Tinos*, *Myconus*, *Syros*, and *Naxus*. *Stephanus* tells us that the name of *Delos* was given it on account of the oracle of *Apollo*, which made things, that were perplexed and obſcure, clear and apparent. The poets will have it to be named *Delos*, becauſe *Latona* being delivered Delos.

[f] HERODOT. l. viii. [g] PLUT. in Pericl. [h] DIODOR. SICUL. l. xiii. [i] LIV. l. xxxi. c. 43. [k] PLIN. l. iv. c. 12. [l] STRAB. l. x. [m] PLIN. l. iii. c. 29. ANTIGON. Cariſt. narrat. Mirab. c. 21. ARIST. lib. de mirab. Auſcul. ÆLIAN. Hiſt. Anim. l. v. c. 14. [n] PLIN. l. iv. c. 12. [o] Idem ibid. [p] Scholiaſt. in v. 1129. [q] PLIN. ibid. [r] Idem ibid.

of

of *Apollo* and and *Diana*, ſhewed herſelf firſt here, not having dared to appear before for fear of *Juno*. It is ſtill called by the *Greeks Dili* or *Deli* in the plural, becauſe under that name they comprehend another iſland known to the ancients by the name of *Rhenæa*, which at ſome diſtance ſeems to be joined to *Delos*. Theſe two the preſent inhabitants diſtinguiſh by the epithets of *little* and *great*; the *Delos* of the ancients they ſtile the *Little Delis*, it being but ſeven miles in compaſs, whereas the other is eighteen. *Pliny* ranks *Delos* among the floating iſlands, and the poets tell us, that it was faſtened, ſome ſay by *Neptune*, others by *Apollo*, with ſtrong chains to the neighbouring iſlands of *Gyarus* and *Myconus* (Y). a

As *Latona* was ſuppoſed to have been delivered in this iſland of *Apollo* and *Diana*, three moſt magnificent temples were erected here to theſe deities. That of *Apollo* was, according to *Strabo* [s], begun by *Eryſichthon* the ſon of *Cecrops*, but afterwards enlarged and embelliſhed at the common charges of all the ſtates of *Greece*. *Plutarch* tells us, that it was one of the moſt ſtately buildings in the univerſe, and ſpeaks of an altar in it, which, in his opinion, deſerves a place among the ſeven wonders of the world. It was built with the horns of various animals, ſo artificially joined and adapted to one another, as to hang together without being faſtened by any kind of cement [t]. The trunk of the famous ſtatue of *Apollo*, mentioned by *Strabo* and *Pliny*, is ſtill an object of great admiration to all travellers. It is without head, feet, arms or legs; but, from the parts that are yet remaining, it plainly appears, that the ancients did not exaggerate when they commended it as a wonder of art. It was of a gigantic ſize, tho' cut out of one ſingle block of marble, the ſhoulders being ſix feet broad, and the thighs nine feet round. At a ſmall diſtance from this ſtatue lies, amongſt confuſed heaps of broken columns, architraves, baſes, chapiters, *&c.* a ſquare piece of marble, fifteen feet and a half long, ten feet nine inches broad, and two feet three inches thick, which, without all doubt, ſerved as a pedeſtal to this coloſſus. It bears, in very fair characters, this inſcription in *Greek*, *The* Naxians *to* Apollo. *Plutarch* tells us, in the life of *Nicias*, that he cauſed to be ſet up near the temple of *Delos*, a huge palm-tree of braſs, which he conſecrated to *Apollo*; and adds, that a violent ſtorm of wind threw down this tree on a coloſſean ſtatue raiſed by the inhabitants of *Naxus* [u]. Round the temple were magnificent portico's built at the charges of various princes, as appears from inſcriptions which are ſtill very plain. The names of *Philip* king of *Macedon*, *Dionyſius Eutyches*, *Mithridates Euergetes*, *Mithridates Eupator*, kings of *Pontus*, and *Nicomedes* king of *Bithynia*, are found on ſeveral pedeſtals. Moſt of our modern travellers take this *Dionyſius* to be one of the tyrants of *Syracuſe*; but the ſurname of *Eutyches* or happy, does not at all ſuit *Dionyſius* the younger, who was far from being happy, as is plain from the account we have given of his reign in the hiſtory of *Sicily*. As to *Dionyſius* the elder, we find him every-where plundering and deſtroying the temples of the gods, even in his old age; we are therefore inclined to believe, that this *Dionyſius* was tyrant of *Heraclea*; for both *Memnon* [w] and *Diodorus Siculus* [x] ſpeak of one *Dionyſius* tyrant of *Heraclea*, whoſe reign laſted thirty years, and was very happy. The ruins of the temple, which take up great part of the iſland, are carefully deſcribed by *Spon*, *Wheeler*, *Tournefort* and others, to whom we refer our readers. To this temple the inhabitants of the neighbouring iſlands ſent yearly a company of virgins, to celebrate, with dancing, the feſtival of *Apollo* and his ſiſter *Diana*, and to make offerings in the name of their reſpective cities. b c d e

As *Delos* was the reputed birth-place of *Apollo* and *Diana*, it was highly revered by all nations, even by the *Perſians* themſelves, who, after having laid waſte the other iſlands, and every-where deſtroyed the temples of the gods, ſpared *Delos*; nay *Datis*, who commanded the *Perſian* fleet, would not even permit his ſhips to anchor in that harbour; but from *Naxus*, where he had committed great devaſta- f

[s] STRABO, l. x. [t] PLUT. de Solert. Animal. [u] PLUT. in Nicia. [w] MEMNON apud Phot. Biblioth. c. 5. [x] DIODOR. SICUL. l. xiv & xx. ATHENÆUS Deipn. l. xii. c. 26.

(Y) This is elegantly expreſſed by *Petronius Arbiter* in the following lines:

Delos jam ſtabili revincta terra,
Olim purpureo mari natabat,
Et moto levis hinc & inde vento
Ibat fluctibus inquieta ſummis.
Mox illam geminis deus catenis,
Hac alta Gyaro ligavit, illac
Conſtanti Myconæ dedit tenendam (46)

(46) *Petron. Arb. in frag. Satir.*

tions,

a tions, and burnt the city with all its temples, he proceeded to *Rhenæa*. There he received intelligence, that the *Delians* had on his approach abandoned their iſland, and retired with their effects to *Tenos*; whereupon he ſent a herald to them with this meſſage: Sacred men, upon what account have you abandoned your habitations, and by your flight diſcovered the ill opinion you have of me? I am not your enemy by inclination; and beſides, I have been commanded by the king to forbear practiſing any ſort of hoſtilities in a country where two gods were born, or uſing violence of any kind againſt the inhabitants or the place. Return therefore to your houſes, and reſume the poſſeſſion of your lands. Upon the return of the meſſenger, he ſent the weight of three hundred talents of frankincenſe to be burnt on the altar of
b *Apollo*, and ſet ſail with his whole fleet, without ſuffering any of his ſoldiers to land in the iſland. The *Delians* ſay, that, ſoon after his departure, the iſland was ſhaken by a violent earthquake, the firſt that had ever been felt there; and that *Apollo* thereby foretold the many calamities that were ready to fall upon the *Greeks* of that age; for the misfortunes they ſuffered under *Darius*, *Xerxes* and *Artaxerxes* were far greater than all the evils they had undergone for twenty generations before, as our hiſtorian rightly obſerves [y]. In this iſland no hoſtilities were practiſed, even by nations that were at war with each other, when they happened to meet here. Of this we have an inſtance in *Livy*, who tells, that the *Roman* deputies, *Caius Popilius*, *Caius Decimius*, and *Caius Hoſtilius*, being obliged to put in at *Delos* on their
c voyage to *Syria* and *Egypt*, found the gallies of *Perſes* king of *Macedon*, and thoſe of *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus* anchored in one and the ſame harbour, tho' theſe two princes were then making war upon one another. The ſame author adds, that the *Romans*, *Macedonians* and *Pergameans* converſed and viſited the temple together, as if they had been friends, the ſanctity of the place ſuſpending, to uſe *Livy*'s expreſſion, all manner of hoſtilities [z].

The offerings that were made to *Apollo* in this iſland, were, according to an ancient cuſtom, firſt wrapped up in wheat-ſtraw. This ceremony paſſed from the *Hyperboreans* to the *Scythians*, and from the *Scythians* ſpread gradually through the bordering nations, as far weſtward as the *Adriatic* ſea, and ſouthward to *Dodona*,
d the *Dodonæans* having been the firſt among the *Greeks* who embraced this cuſtom. Afterwards it prevailed in the cities on the gulf of *Melis*, in the iſland of *Eubœa*, and reached to *Caryſtus*. The *Caryſtians* introduced it among the *Tenians*, and theſe among the *Delians*. Thus was that ceremony firſt brought into *Delos* [a]. Our hiſtorian adds out of the ancient *Delian* writers, that, long before the time we are now ſpeaking of, the *Hyperboreans* had ſent two young women, named *Hyperoche* and *Laodice*, to propagate this ceremony, appointing five perſons of diſtinction to attend them, whoſe memory was in our hiſtorian's time in great veneration among the *Delians*. As none of thoſe, whom the *Hyperboreans* had ſent out upon this errand, returned home, they diſpatched others to the bordering countries, injoining them to
e introduce this ceremony among their neighbours, and prevail upon them to impart it to other nations. Thus, if we believe the *Delians*, theſe ſacred rites were introduced through many other nations and countries, into their iſland. The *Hyperborean* young women, *Hyperoche* and *Laodice*, are ſaid to have died in *Delos*, where their memory was honoured by the *Delian* maids and young men in the following manner: The maids cut off a lock of their hair before marriage, which they uſed to put upon a diſtaff, and offer it to theſe *Hyperborean* virgins on their tomb, which was within the temple of *Diana*. The young men likewiſe offered their hair on the ſame monument, twiſted round a ſmall tuft of graſs. In the ſame age, but before the arrival of *Hyperoche* and *Laodice*, two other *Hyperborean* women, *Argis* and *Opis*, landed in
f *Delos*, and brought into the iſland the firſt knowledge of the ceremony, which was afterwards eſtabliſhed by the two former. *Argis* and *Opis* were, on that account, honoured with great ſolemnity by the *Delian* women, who uſed to aſſemble at ſtated times, and ſing hymns in their praiſe, compoſed by one *Olen* a *Lycian*, the author of ſeveral other hymns ſung in the iſland of *Delos*. The aſhes of the ſacrifices, which were burnt on this occaſion, were thrown upon their ſepulchres, which, in our hiſtorian's time, were ſtill to be ſeen behind the temple of *Diana* [b].

The oracle of *Apollo* in *Delos* was one of the moſt famous oracles in the world, as well for its antiquity, as for the truth and perſpicuity of its anſwers, the number and

[y] Herodot. l. vi. [z] Liv. l. xxxvi. [a] Herodot. l. iv. [b] Idem ibid.

richneſs of the ſacred preſents dedicated to the god, and the multitudes of people that from all parts reſorted thither for advice; in which reſpect it ſurpaſſed not only all the oracles of other gods, but thoſe of *Apollo* himſelf, that of *Delphos* alone excepted. Some writers tell us [c], that the iſland had the name of *Delos* from the anſwers that were returned here by the oracle in moſt clear and plain terms, without any ambiguity or obſcurity; whereas in other places they were delivered in words capable of different, nay, oppoſite ſenſes: But theſe anſwers were not to be expected all the year; *Apollo* only kept his ſummer reſidence in this place, and in winter retired to *Patara* a city of *Lycia* [d]. The preſents, which the votaries offered here to *Apollo*, were laid on the altar which we have mentioned above. Some writers tell us, that this altar was erected by *Apollo* himſelf, when he was but four years old, and that it was formed of the horns of goats only killed by *Diana* on mount *Cynthus* [e]. It was not lawful to ſacrifice any living creature upon this altar, it being the will of *Apollo*, that it ſhould be preſerved pure from blood, and all manner of pollution. The whole iſland enjoyed the privileges of an aſylum, which extended to all living creatures, and on that account it abounded with hares, no dogs being ſuffered to enter it [f]. *Piſiſtratus* tyrant of *Athens* was commanded by an oracle, as *Herodotus* informs us [g], to purify the iſland, which he did accordingly, cauſing the dead bodies to be taken up, and removed from all places within the proſpect of the temple. In the ſixth year of the *Peloponneſian* war, the *Athenians*, by the advice of an oracle, purified it anew, by digging up all the dead bodies, and carrying them over to the iſland of *Rhenæa*, where they were interred. Having thus cleared it from ſepulchres and graves, in order to preſerve it from pollution, they put forth an edict, whereby it was enacted, that for the future no perſon ſhould be ſuffered to die, nor any woman to be brought to bed in the iſland; but when they were near the time of the one or the other, they ſhould be carried over into *Rhenæa* [h]. In memory of this purification, the *Athenians* inſtituted a ſolemn feaſt, which was celebrated every fifth year, people flocking on that occaſion to *Delos* from the neighbouring iſlands, and all parts of *Greece*. A few years after, the *Athenians*, to compleat the purification of the iſland, drove out all the ancient inhabitants, whom they pretended to be polluted, on account of a crime by them committed in former times, but not mentioned by our hiſtorian. The *Delian* exiles retired to the continent, and ſettled in the city of *Adramyttium*, beſtowed upon them by *Pharnaces* the *Perſian* governor of *Aſia Minor*. The *Athenians* ſuffered great loſſes, both by ſea and land, after their expulſion; whereupon they ſoon recalled them, and put them anew in poſſeſſion of the iſland. Some choſe to remain in *Adramyttium*, where they were barbarouſly murdered by the command of one *Aſtacus* deputy to *Tiſaphernes* governor of *Lydia* [i].

WE muſt not omit in this place the annual proceſſion made by the *Athenians* to the iſland of *Delos*. The author of this ceremony was *Theſeus*, who being ſent with other *Athenian* youths into *Crete* to be devoured by the *Minotaur*, made a vow to *Apollo*, that, if he granted them a ſafe return, they ſhould make a ſolemn voyage to his temple in *Delos* every year. This was called *Dorias*; the perſons employed in it *Theori* and *Deliaſti*, from the name of the iſland; the chief of them *Architheoros*, and the ſhip, in which they went, *Theoris* or *Delias*, which was the very ſame that carried *Theſeus* and his companions to *Crete*, being preſerved, ſays *Plutarch*, by the *Athenians*, till the time of *Demetrius* of *Phaleros*; they reſtored always what was decayed, and put new planks in the room of the old ones, inſomuch that it furniſhed the philoſophers with matter of diſpute, whether, after ſo many alterations and reparations, it might be ſtill called the ſame ſhip. The beginning of the voyage was computed, as *Plato* informs us [k], from the time that the prieſt of *Apollo* firſt adorned the ſtern of the ſhip with garlands; and it was held unlawful to put any perſon to death till it returned: And this was the reaſon why *Socrates* was reprieved for thirty days after his condemnation [l]. Upon their arrival at *Delos*, they offered a ſolemn ſacrifice, and celebrated a feſtival in honour of *Apollo*, and then repairing to their ſhips, ſailed back to *Athens*, where they were received with great demonſtrations of joy. Another feaſt was inſtituted by *Theſeus* on his return from *Crete*, and

[c] ALEXANDER AB ALEXANDRO. [d] SERVIUS in Virg. Æn. iv. ver. 143. [e] Epiſtola Cydippes ad Acont. CALLIMACHI Hymn. in Apoll. ver. 88. POLITIANI Miſcell. c. 52. [f] THUCYD. l. iv. [g] HERODOT. l. i. [h] THUCYD. l. iii. [i] Idem ibid. [k] PLATO in Phæd. [l] Idem ibid. & XENOPH. Memorab. l. iv.

celebrated

a celebrated every fifth year by the *Delians*, in honour of *Venus*, whoſe ſtatue *Theſeus* received from *Ariadne*, and left in that iſland. The chief ceremonies on this occaſion were the following: They crowned the ſtatue of the goddeſs with garlands, appointed horſe-races, and performed a remarkable dance called the *Crane*, wherein they repreſented, by their motions, the various windings of the *Cretan* labyrinth, out of which *Theſeus*, who was the inventor of the dance, made his eſcape [m].

THE city of *Delos* took up, as is manifeſt from the magnificent ruins that are ſtill to be ſeen, that ſpacious plain which reaches from one coaſt to the other, and extends eaſtward as far as the iſthmus. It was well peopled, and the richeſt city of the *Archipelago*, eſpecially after the deſtruction of *Corinth*, merchants flocking thither
b from all parts, both in regard of the immunity they enjoyed there, and of the convenient ſituation of the place between *Europe* and *Aſia*. *Strabo* calls it one of the moſt frequented empories of the world [n]; and *Pliny* tells us, that all the commodities of *Europe* and *Aſia* were ſold, purchaſed or exchanged there [o]. It contained many noble and ſtately buildings, namely, the temples of *Apollo*, *Diana*, and *Latona*, the portico's of *Philip* of *Macedon*, and of *Dionyſius Eutyches*, a *gymnaſium*, an oval baſon, made at an immenſe expence, for the repreſentation of ſea-fights, and a moſt magnificent theatre.

Strabo [p] and *Callimachus* [q] tell us, that the iſland was watered by the river *Inopus*; but *Pliny* [r] calls it only a ſpring, and adds, that its waters ſwelled and abated at the
c ſame time with thoſe of the *Nile*, as if there had been ſome communication between the *Nile* and the *Inopus*, which, in *Strabo*'s opinion [s], is carrying prodigies too far. At preſent there is no river in the iſland; but one of the nobleſt ſprings in all the *Archipelago*, being twelve paces diameter, and incloſed partly by rocks, and partly by a wall. Mount *Cynthus*, whence *Apollo* has the ſurname of *Cynthius*, is by *Strabo* placed near the city, and ſaid to be ſo high as to cover the whole iſland with its ſhadow; but our modern travellers ſpeak of it as a hill of a very moderate height. On mount *Cynthus* *Latona* is ſaid tohave been delivered of *Apollo* and *Diana*; whence it was looked upon by the ancients as ſacred. It is but one block of granate of the ordinary ſort, cut out on that ſide which faced the city, in regular ſteps, incloſed on
d both ſides with a wall. On the top of the mountain are ſtill to be ſeen the remains of a ſtately building, with a *Moſaic* pavement, many broken pillars, and other valuable monuments of antiquity. From an inſcription which has been lately diſcovered there, and mentions a vow made to *Serapis*, *Iſis*, and *Anubis*, ſome have conjectured, that on this hill ſtood a temple conſecrated to theſe *Egyptian* deities, tho' no-where ſpoke of by the ancients.

THE iſland of *Delos* was, it ſeems, in ancient times, governed by kings; for *Virgil* mentions one *Anius* reigning here in the time of the *Trojan* war. He was, according to that poet, both king, and high prieſt of *Apollo*, and entertained *Æneas* with great kindneſs. This *Anius* was deſcended from *Cadmus*, and had by his wife
e *Dorippe* three daughters, *Oeno*, *Spermo*, and *Elais*, who are feigned by the poets to have received from *Bacchus* the power of changing whatever they touched into wine, wheat or ſeed, and oyl, as their names import, *Oinos* in *Greek* ſignifying wine, *Sperma* ſeed, and *Elaion* oil. The great quantity of wine, wheat and oil, which accrued to their father *Anius* from the offerings made to *Apollo*, gave riſe to this fable [t]. The *Perſians*, as we have hinted above, allowed the *Delians* to enjoy their ancient liberties, after they had reduced all the other *Greek* iſlands. In after-ages the *Athenians* made themſelves maſters of *Delos*, and held it till they were driven out by *Mithridates the Great*, who plundered the rich temple of *Apollo*, and obliged the *Delians* to ſide with him. *Mithridates* was, in his turn, diſpoſſeſſed of it by the
f *Romans*, who granted the inhabitants many privileges, and exempted them from all ſort of tribute and taxes. It is at preſent quite abandoned, the lands being ſo covered with ruins and rubbiſh, as not to admit of any ſort of culture. The inhabitants of *Mycone* hold it now, and pay but ten crowns land-tax to the *Grand Signior* for an iſland, which was once one of the richeſt countries in the world.

THE iſland of *Rhenæa*, *Rhenia* or *Rhene*, is ſeparated from *Delos* by a ſtraight about Rhenæa.
five hundred paces over. It is now called the *Great Sdili* or *Deli*, and is about

[m] THUCYD. l. iii. CALLIMACH. Hymn. Delon. PLUT. in Theſeo. [n] STRABO, l. x. [o] PLIN. l. iv. c. 6. [p] STRABO, ibid. [q] CALLIM. ver. 263. [r] PLIN. l. ii. c. 101. [s] STRABO, l. vi. [t] Vide SERVIUM in l. iii. Æn. ver. 80.

eighteen

eighteen miles in compaſs. *Polycrates* tyrant of *Samos* having made himſelf maſter of this iſland, conſecrated it to *Apollo*, faſtening it to *Delos* with a long chain [u]. It has excellent paſture grounds; but nevertheleſs is at preſent quite abandoned, none daring to ſettle there for fear of the pirates who infeſt the *Archipelago*. On the coaſt facing *Delos* are ſtill to be ſeen the ruins of a great city; and near to the city was the burying-place of the *Delians*, as is plain from ſome inſcriptions on tomb-ſtones found there. It is ſomewhat ſtrange that *Strabo* ſhould call *Rhenæa* a little uninhabited iſland, ſince it is three times as big as *Delos*, and was, in former times, ſo far as we can gueſs from the ruins of ancient buildings, as well peopled as *Delos* itſelf. a

Scyrus. *Scyrus*, now *Sciro*, lies over-againſt *Eubœa*, from which it is about eight and twenty miles diſtant. It is ſixty miles in compaſs, but a very barren and inhoſpitable country, being fu'l of hills and rocks; whence it had the name of *Scyros*; that is, rugged and barren: However, in *Strabo*'s time, it yielded excellent wine, and was famed, as the ſame author tells us, for its goats [w]; but ſo unprovided with corn and all other neceſſaries of life, that any poor and barren country was proverbially called *the principality of* Scyrus [x]. The ſame writer commends the marble quarries of this iſland; and *Pliny* ſpeaks of a kind of ſtone found here, which ſwam when entire, and ſunk when broken. *Scyrus* was, according to *Plutarch* [y], firſt peopled by the *Pelaſgians* and *Carians* (Z); but there is no mention made of it in hiſtory till the reign of *Lycomedes*, who was king of this iſland, when *Theſeus* retired to it to take poſſeſſion of his paternal eſtate. That prince, either jealous of the ſuperior genius of *Theſeus*, or not caring to provoke *Mneſtheus*, who had driven him out of *Athens*, by entertaining the exile, led him to the top of a rock, under pretence of ſhewing him his father's lands, and from thence threw him treacherouſly into the ſea [z]. In this iſland, and in the court of the ſame *Lycomedes*, *Achilles* lay concealed till he was diſcovered by *Ulyſſes*, and ſent, with the other *Greek* princes, to war againſt *Troy*, which, according to the oracle, could not be conquered without his aſſiſtance. While he lived among the king's daughters, diſguiſed under the apparel of a woman, he had by *Deidamia*, who was one of them, *Neoptolemus*, called *Pyrrhus*, on account of his yellow hair. *Neoptolemus* was brought up in this iſland, and raiſed here the brave troops which he carried to the war of *Troy*, to revenge his father's death. Many ages after the *Trojan* war, *Scyrus* was reduced by the *Athenians*, under the command of *Cimon*, who being ordered by an oracle to make diligent ſearch after the bones of *Theſeus*, uſed his utmoſt endeavours to find out the place where they had been buried. After he had ſearched in vain for a long time, he at laſt obſerved an eagle on a riſing ground, digging up the earth with his beak and talons. This prompted him to ſearch carefully the ſame place, where he diſcovered the coffin of a tall man, with a ſword and pike lying by him. He made no further ſearch, but taking for granted, that in the coffin was the body of *Theſeus*, he put it on board a galley richly adorned, and carried it to *Athens*, about 400 years after that hero's death. The remains of ſo great a man were received at *Athens* with great demonſtrations of joy, and placed in the heart of the city, where they ſerved as an aſylum for offenders [a] (A). The iſland of *Scyrus* was taken from b c d e

[u] THUCYD. l. iii. [w] STRABO, l. xiv. [x] ERASM. Chiliad. [y] PLUT. in Theſeo.
[z] Idem ibid. [a] Idem ibid. & in Cimone.

(Z) *Marcianus* of *Heraclea* tells us, that after the iſland had been long held by the *Pelaſgians* and *Carians*, the inhabitants of *Chalcis*, the capital of *Eubœa*, ſent thither a colony, which ſettled on the coaſt, leaving the inland places to the ancient proprietors. The *Dolopes* likewiſe, as *Plutarch* informs us (47), inhabited part of the iſland, and uſed to ſeize and ſtrip ſuch as came to traffic with the *Chalcidians* and other inhabitants. Some of theſe being ſentenced to reſtore to the merchants of *Theſſaly*, the goods which they had taken from them, to prevent the execution of the ſentence, betrayed the town to *Cimon* the *Athenian*, as we read in *Thucydides* (48). The city bore the ſame name as the iſland, and was famous for a magnificent temple built on the ſea-ſide, in honour of *Pallas*, the tutelary goddeſs of the country. Of this temple, and of another dedicated to *Neptune*, there are ſtill ſome remains to be ſeen near the preſent port called St. *George*'s haven. *Goltzius* exhibits the type of a medal of this city, with *Neptune* holding his trident on one ſide, and the prow of a ſhip on the other.

(A) Solemn ſacrifices were offered on this occaſion; and, to perpetuate the remembrance of this event, a yearly conteſt for tragic writers was inſtituted, which became very famous, and greatly contributed to the improvement of dramatic compoſitions, by the emulation it excited among the tragic poets. On this occaſion *Sophocles* brought his firſt performance on the ſtage, and won the prize, tho' he had *Æſchylus* for his competitor; which the conquered poet, who, till that time, had been conſidered as the beſt tragedian of his age, not being able to brook, left *Athens*, and withdrew to *Sicily*, where he ſpent the remainder of his life.

(47) *Plut. in Cimon.* (48) *Thucyd. l.* i.

he

a the *Athenians* by the *Perſians*, but afterwards reſtored to them by the articles of the famous peace of *Antalcidas*. After the death of *Alexander*, to whom this iſland ſubmitted, *Demetrius*, ſurnamed *Poliorcetes* or the *Town taker*, made himſelf maſter of it, and reſtored the inhabitants to their ancient liberty [a], which they enjoyed till they were with the other *Greek* ſtates brought under the *Roman* yoke.

FROM *Scyrus Strabo* proceeds to the iſlands of *Sciathus*, *Peparethus*, *Icos* and *Haloneſus*, which according to him lie in the *Ægean* ſea, near the coaſt of *Magneſia* [b]. *Sciathus*, now *Sciato* and *Sciatta*, lies about four leagues north of *Eubœa*, is thirty miles in compaſs, and ſeparated from the continent of *Magneſia* by a narrow ſtraight [c]. *Pomponius Mela* places it more to the ſouth, over-againſt the *Pegaſean* bay, called b now the gulf of *Volo*. It had formerly two cities, one of which, called alſo *Sciathus*, was demoliſhed by *Philip* the father of *Perſes*, leſt the *Romans* ſhould ſeize it [d]. In the *Roman* times it ſerved as a place of retreat for pirates; wherefore *Bruttius Sura* having made himſelf maſter of it, crucified all the ſlaves he found in the iſland, and cut off the right hands of all the inhabitants he could ſeize [e]. *Seneca* calls it a barren and abandoned iſland, and ſuch it is to this day, being uninhabited on account of the pirates who ſtill continue to infeſt it. Sciathus.

Peparethus is placed by *Stephanus* in the neighbourhood of *Eubœa*, wherein he diſagrees with all the ancients, who ſpeak of it as lying between the iſlands of *Sciathus* and *Scyrus*, thirty leagues from mount *Athos*, and eight from the coaſt of *Mag-* c *neſia*. Some of the modern geographers, namely *Benjamin*, give the iſland of *Peparethus* the name of *Opula*; others, as *Niger*, that of *Lemene*; and ſome, particularly *Caſtaldus*, call it *Seraquino*; but in the ſea-charts it is commonly known by the name of *Piceri*. It is about twenty miles in circumference, and formerly abounded with excellent olives, as *Ovid* informs us [f]. *Pliny* boaſts of the excellency of its wines, and tells us, that *Apollodorus*, a famous phyſician, in a book which he wrote about the choice of wines, and dedicated to *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*, preferred that of *Peparethus* to any other. The ſame author adds, that it was not in great requeſt, as not being palatable, till it was ſeven years old [g]. From the excellence of its wines, it was called in the moſt early ages *Euœnus*, that is, *producing* d *good wine*, or the wine-iſland [h]. In this iſland was formerly a city of the ſame name, which was deſtroyed, together with *Sciathus*, by *Philip* of *Macedon*, in his war with the *Romans* [i]. Peparethus.

Icus is by *Stephanus* counted among the *Cyclades*, and placed near *Eubœa*; but by *Livy* [k] between the iſlands of *Sciathus* and *Scyrus*. It is a very ſmall iſland, but nevertheleſs had anciently two cities, whence it was alſo called *Dipolis*. Icus.

Haloneſus is placed by *Pliny* [l] between *Samothrace* and the *Thracian Cherſoneſus* at an equal diſtance, that is, of fifteen miles, from both. But *Strabo* [m] and *Mela* [n] ſpeak of it as lying between *Icos* and *Scyros*, over-againſt *Magneſia*. It had formerly a town of the ſame name, and being claimed both by the *Athenians* and by *Philip* of e *Macedon*, gave riſe to a war, as *Stephanus* informs us, between thoſe two powers. It is at preſent called *Pelagniſi* and *Pelagiſi*. Haloneſus.

BETWEEN theſe iſlands on the coaſt of *Magneſia*, and *Leſbos* on the coaſt of *Aſia*, lies a ſmall iſland, called by the ancients *Chryſe*, and now known by the name of *S. Strato*. There were formerly two iſlands bearing this name, whereof one, if *Pauſanias* [o] may be credited, ſunk into the ſea, and never afterwards appeared. Chryſe.

THE iſland of *Lemnos* lies between mount *Athos* (B) and the *Thracian Cherſoneſus*, Lemnos.

[a] DIODOR. SICUL. l. xx. [b] STRABO, l. ix. p. 300. [c] HERODOT. l. vii. c. 159. [d] LIV. l. xxxi. c. 19. [e] APPIAN. in Mithridat. [f] OVID. Metam. vii. ver. 470. [g] PLIN. l. xiv. c. 7. [h] Idem, l. iv. c. 12. [i] APPIAN. ubi ſupra. [k] LIV. l. xxxi. c. 45. [l] PLIN. l. iv. c. 12. [m] STRABO ubi ſupra. [n] POMP. MELA, l. ii. c. 7. [o] PAUSAN. in Arcad. c. 33.

(B) Mount *Athos* reaches a great way into the ſea, in the form of a peninſula, and is joined to the land by an iſthmus twelve furlongs over. It extends towards the confines of *Thrace* and *Macedon*, between the gulfs of *Strymon* and *Singum*, of which the former is now called the gulf of *Monte Santo*, and the latter the gulf of *Conteſſa*. *Stephanus* tells us, that it borrowed its name from a giant who lived in that neighbourhood. We may judge of its height by what the ancient writers ſay of it, *viz.* that in the ſummer ſolſtice its ſhade reached as far as the market-place of *Myrina* in the iſland of *Lemnos*; that is, according to *Pliny*, eighty-ſix miles. It is reckoned to be an hundred and fifty miles in circumference, and has been known ſince the *Greek* monks made it the place of their retreat, by the name of *Monte Santo*, or the *Holy mountain*. In the market-place of *Myrina* ſtood a ſtatue of white marble, repreſenting an ox, which being ſhaded by mount *Athos*, gave riſe to the proverb, *Mount* Athos *darkens the white ox of* Lemnos, applicable to thoſe, who, with calumnies and falſe reports, endeavour to tarniſh the reputation of deſerving men (49).

(49) *Vide Eraſm. Chiliad.*

being, according to *Pliny*'s account [p], diſtant twenty-two miles from *Imbros*, eighty- a
ſeven from mount *Athos*, twenty-two from *Samothrace*, and five from *Thaſos*. The ſame author makes it an hundred and twelve miles in compaſs; and *Stephanus* tells us, that it was called *Lemnos* from *Juno*, whom the ancient inhabitants worſhipped under that name, ſacrificing yearly to her a young woman. It was alſo called *Hypſipylea*, from the daughter of *Thoas* king of the iſland; but is now known by the name of *Stalemene* or *Stalimini*. It had in former times two cities, *Hepheſtias* and *Myrina*. The former was the capital of the iſland, and took its name from *Hephaiſtos* or *Vulcan*, the tutelary god of the place, and is now known by the name of *Cochino*, as the latter is by that of *Lemno* and *Stalimene*. The country is full of hills b
and vales, which, in ſome places, are well cultivated, and produce all ſorts of fruit. The eaſtern part of the iſland is dry and barren, but the country lying on the weſtern and ſouthern coaſts, as it abounds more with ſprings, is very fruitful. It has two high mountains, one of which, called by *Heſychius* and *Nicander Meſchilæ*, vomits flames like mount *Ætna* in *Sicily*; and hence the iſland was called in ancient times *Æthalia*, which *Bochart* derives from a *Greek* verb ſignifying to burn. The iſland was conſecrated to *Vulcan*, whom the inhabitants worſhipped as their tutelary god. They were believed to have been the firſt black-ſmiths, which gave the poets occaſion to feign, that *Vulcan*, when he was thrown down from heaven, fell in the iſland of *Lemnos*, where he built his forge. Theſe fabulous opinions were recorded on their medals, ſome of which are ſtill to be ſeen ſtamped with the head of a *Vulcan*, and c
his uſual ſymbols, *viz.* his anvil, pincers and hammer, which, according to the fictions of the poets, he uſed in making new thunderbolts for *Jupiter*. This iſland has ever been famous for a certain kind of earth, or rather chalk, called *Terra Lemnia* from the place, and *Terra Sigillata*, from the ſeal or character that is imprinted on it. It has been always deemed an excellent remedy againſt poiſons, ſtings of ſerpents, wounds and bloody fluxes. In the time of *Dioſcorides* they uſed to mix this earth with goats blood, and ſell it made up in ſmall pellets, each pellet being ſealed with the figure of a goat. This manner of preparing it was no more uſed in *Galen*'s time; for that great man undertook a voyage to *Lemnos*, with no other view but to inquire, on the ſpot, into the nature, virtue and qualities of that wonderful d
earth. He tells us, that it was then dug up with a great many religious ceremonies; that the prieſts went in proceſſion to a riſing ground, at a ſmall diſtance from the city of *Hepheſtias*, the only place where they ſuppoſed this earth to be found; and there, after ſowing a certain meaſure of wheat and barley, and performing other myſterious ceremonies, they loaded a cart with the earth, which they attended in proceſſion to the city. The ceremonies deſcribed by *Galen* have been long ſince aboliſhed, and others, which are ſtill practiſed, brought in probably by the *Venetians* in their room; for on the ſixth of *Auguſt*, and on no other day, all the chief men of the iſland, whether *Turks* or *Chriſtians*, aſſemble at a chapel called *Sotira*, ſtanding half way between the city, or rather the village, of *Cochino*, and the hill e
where the earth is found, to the top of which they walk in proceſſion. There the *Caloyers* or *Greek* prieſts read their liturgy; which being done, certain perſons appointed for that purpoſe begin to dig, and having diſcovered a vein of the earth they look for, give notice thereof to the *Caloyers*, who fill with it certain ſmall hair ſacks, delivering them to the *Turkiſh* governor and other officers there preſent. When they have taken up as much as they think proper, they fill up the place again, and return in proceſſion to the city. Some of the bags are ſent to the *Grand Signior*, and the reſt marked with his ſeal, or with thoſe two words, *Tin Imachton*, that is, *ſealed earth*, ſold by the *Sangiack*, or his deputies, to the inhabitants and foreign merchants. The *Sangiack* is accountable to the *Grand Signior*'s treaſury for the f
money ariſing from the ſale of the whole which is yearly diſpoſed of, it being a capital crime for any of the inhabitants to keep in their houſes, export, or any ways diſpoſe of it without the governor's knowledge and licence. There is no doubt but earth of the ſame nature might be found in other places of the iſland; but none of the orientals would make uſe of it, unleſs it were dug up with the uſual ceremonies, and in the preſence of the *Caloyers*; nay, it would be in no requeſt among them, as our modern travellers inform us, unleſs it were dug up on the uſual day, the ſixth of *Auguſt*.

Terra Sigillata.

[p] Plin. l. iv c. 12.

The

a THE labyrinth of *Lemnos* is much ſpoke of by the ancients, and, in the opinion of *Pliny* [q], preferable to thoſe of *Egypt* and *Crete*. It was a magnificent building, ſupported by forty columns of extraordinary height and thickneſs. The architects employed in raiſing this admirable edifice, were *Zmilus*, *Rholus*, and *Theodorus*, a native of the iſland. Some remains of this ſtately fabric were ſtill to be ſeen in *Pliny*'s time; but *Belonius* tells us, that he could not diſcover, in any part of the iſland, the leaſt veſtiges of it. *The labyrinth.*

THE moſt ancient inhabitants of *Lemnos* were the *Sapeans* and *Sintians*, a people of *Thrace*, to whom *Homer* gives the epithet of hoarſe. Theſe inhabited the iſland before the expedition of the *Argonauts*, whoſe deſcendents, known by the name of b *Minyans*, ſettled here, but ſoon abandoned the country, and retired to the city of *Lacedæmon*, from whence they went to *Triphilia*, and ſtopt in the neighbourhood of *Arena*, in a country which in *Strabo*'s time was called *Lypeia* [r]. Many years after their departure from *Lemnos*, the *Pelaſgians* being driven out of *Attica*, poſſeſſed themſelves of this and the adjacent iſlands, and governed them according to their own laws, till they were brought under ſubjection to *Athens* by *Miltiades*. As to the motive which prompted the *Athenians* to drive them out of *Attica*, there is a great diſagreement among authors, ſome pretending that they were juſtly expelled, and others maintaining, that the *Athenians* therein were guilty of the greateſt injuſtice and treachery. *Herodotus* leaves the cauſe undecided, and only relates what was re- c ported by writers of both ſides. *Hecatæus* (C), as quoted by him [s], tells us, that the *Athenians* ſeeing the lands about *Hymeſſus*, which they had given to the *Pelaſgians* in payment for the wall they had built round the *Acropolis* or citadel of *Athens*, improved from a barren and unprofitable ſoil into a fruitful and well cultivated country, drove them out without any provocation whatſoever, and reſumed the country which they had beſtowed upon them. On the other hand the *Athenians* affirm, that the *Pelaſgians*, while they were poſſeſſed of the country under mount *Hymeſſus*, frequently offered violence to their ſons and daughters, who were ſent for water to a place called the *nine fountains*. They add, that the *Pelaſgians*, not contented with theſe attempts, conſpired to poſſeſs themſelves of *Athens* itſelf; which d conſpiracy being detected, the *Athenians*, to ſhew themſelves as generous as the others had been baſe, inſtead of puniſhing with death, as their treachery deſerved, commanded them only to depart the country. The *Pelaſgians* being thus driven from *Attica*, paſſed over into *Lemnos*, and ſettled there; but deſiring to be revenged on the *Athenians*, they fitted out a fleet, and having laid an ambuſcade for the *Athenian* women, as they celebrated the feaſt of *Diana* in *Brauron*, they ſurprized a great many of them, carried them to *Lemnos*, and there kept them for concubines. Theſe women having many children by the *Pelaſgians*, taught their ſons the language of *Attica*, and manners of the *Athenians*. Being thus brought up, they not only refuſed to converſe with the ſons of the *Pelaſgian* women, but if any of their number e was injured or abuſed by the *Pelaſgians*, they all conſpired to revenge the injury. By this means they gained ſuch an aſcendant over the ſons of the *Pelaſgian* women, that they were obeyed by them, as maſters are by their ſlaves. The *Pelaſgians* obſerving this their haughty behaviour, concluded, that if they began ſo early to uſurp a ſuperority over the children of their lawful wives, they would not fail to treat them as their ſlaves when they attained to man's eſtate. This apprehenſion made ſo deep an impreſſion in their minds, that they reſolved to murder the children they had by the women

[q] PLIN. ubi ſupra. [r] STRABO, ubi ſupra. [s] HERODOT. l. vi.

(C) *Hecatæus* was a native of *Miletus*, flouriſhed, according to *Suidas*, in the ſixty-fifth olympiad, and wrote the lives of *Cyrus* and *Cambyſes*. *Laertius* ſays, that he was a diſciple of *Heraclitus*. He is frequently mentioned by *Herodotus*, who tells us, that *Hecatæus* being at *Thebes* in *Egypt*, had the vanity to give out that he was deſcended from one of the *Egyptian* deities, whereby he became the ſcorn of the prieſts of the country (50). The ſame author informs us, that he did all that lay in his power to diſſuade *Ariſtagoras* from engaging in a war with the *Perſians*, and ſending colonies into *Sardinia*. Beſides the lives of the two above-mentioned princes, he wrote, it ſeems, other books; for *Stephanus* cites the firſt and fourth books of his *Genealogies*, *Harpocration* the ſecond, and *Athenæus* the third. *Stephanus*, *Athenæus* and *Rufus Feſtus* quote a deſcription of *Aſia*, *Europe* and *Lybia* compiled by *Hecatæus*; but *Callimachus*, in his catalogue of authors, aſcribes this work to another *Hecatæus*, whom he ſurnames the *Iſlander*. *Diodorus Siculus* and *Pauſanias* tell us, that the hiſtory of *Hecatæus*, as likewiſe thoſe of *Cadmus* and *Hellanicus*, was full of fables.

(50) *Herodot. l.* ii.

of

of *Attica*; which they did accordingly, extending their cruelty likewiſe to the mothers. After this barbarous murder, their lands, as we are told, became barren, their wives unfruitful, and their flocks did not yield the uſual increaſe; whereupon they ſent perſons to conſult the *Delphian* oracle, about the means they might uſe to be delivered from their calamities. The *Pythian* adviſed them to give ſatisfaction to the *Athenians* in the manner they ſhould require. Having received this anſwer, they diſpatched embaſſadors to *Athens*, declaring that they were ready to undergo any puniſhment the *Athenians* ſhould think fit to impoſe upon them for the injuries they had received at their hands. The *Athenians* hearing their offer, prepared a magnificent feaſt in the *Prytaneum*, and ſhewing them the tables furniſhed with all kinds of proviſions, commanded them to ſurrender their country in as good a condition. The *Pelaſgians* anſwered, that they would comply with their command, when a ſhip ſhould come in one day with a north wind from the territories of *Athens* to their iſland. This they conceived impoſſible, *Athens* lying to the ſouth of *Lemnos*; but, in virtue of this ſolemn promiſe, *Alcibiades* many years after ſummoned them to deliver up their iſland to the *Athenians*.

As to their government, it was at firſt monarchical; but *Thoas* is the only king of *Lemnos* we find mentioned in hiſtory. In his reign, and if we believe *Herodotus* [t], with his aſſiſtance the *Lemnian* women killed all the males of the iſland, with a deſign to turn *Amazons*; from which action, and the murder of the *Athenian* women, which happened long after, any black treachery or cruel murder was called a *Lemnian action* [u]. Other writers tell us, that *Thoas*, whom *Homer* honours with the epithet of *divine*, was no ways concerned in the above-mentioned murder, but ſaved by the piety of his daughter *Hypſipyle* in the common ſlaughter of all the other males, as we have related in the foregoing volume [w]. Some writers tell us [x], that ſhe was baniſhed the iſland for ſparing her father; others, that ſhe was raiſed to the throne, and reigned in *Lemnos* when the *Argonauts* touched at that iſland. *Jaſon*, ſay they, by whom ſhe had two children, and the other *Argonauts*, were ſo kindly entertained by her and her female ſubjects, that they ſtopt there two yeare, and almoſt forgot their intended expedition into *Colchis* for the golden fleece [y]. The *Lemnians*, after having enjoyed their liberty for many ages, were at laſt reduced by *Miltiades*, under the power of the *Athenians*, in the manner we have related elſewhere [z]. In proceſs of time they ſhook off the *Athenian* yoke, but were again ſubjected to their ancient maſters by the *Romans* after the *Macedonian* war, and continued in that ſtate till *Sylla* made them tributary to *Rome*.

Imbros. *Imbros*, now *Embro* and *Lembro*, lies over-againſt the *Thracian Cherſoneſus*, from which it is divided by a narrow ſtraight, being diſtant according to *Thucydides* [a] from *Lemnos* two and twenty miles, and two and thirty, as *Pliny* informs us [b], from *Samothrace*. The ſame *Pliny* makes it twenty-ſeven miles in circumference; but the modern travellers only twenty. It had anciently a very ſafe harbour on the eaſt ſhore, and a city bearing the name of the iſland. The whole iſland was ſacred to the *Cabiri* and to *Mercury*; whence it is ſtiled by *Homer* the *divine Imbros*. In honour of theſe deities an annual ſolemnity was kept by the *Imbrians*, *Lemnians* and *Samothracians*; and ſuch as were initiated into their myſteries were thought effectually ſecured againſt ſtorms at ſea, and all other dangers [c]. The chief ceremony was this: the perſon who was to be initiated, being crowned with olive-branches, and girt about his loins with a purple ribband, was placed upon a throne, round which the prieſts and perſons already initiated danced and ſported [d]. *Imbros*, like the other iſlands of the *Ægean* ſea, was governed ſome time by its own laws, but afterwards ſubjected to the *Perſians*, *Athenians*, *Macedonians*, and to the kings of *Pergamus*. At the peace concluded between *Philip* and the *Romans*, it was by the latter delivered up to the *Athenians*, who held it till *Rome*, becoming powerful in the eaſt, reduced this and the other iſlands to a *Roman* province.

Thaſos. *Thaſos* or *Thaſſus* lies on the coaſt of *Thrace*, at a ſmall diſtance from the mouth of the *Neſſus*. It was formerly known by the names of *Odonis*, *Æria*, *Æthria*, *Ogygia*, *Aëte*, *Ceresis* and *Chryſe*. This laſt name it borrowed from its rich mines of gold much ſpoken of by the ancients. It was called *Thaſos* from *Thaſus* the brother of

[t] HERODOT. ibid. [u] Idem ibid. & ERASM. Chiliad. [w] VOL. II. p. 358. [x] APOLLOD. l. iii. c. 5. [y] Vide STAT. l. iv. & v. Thebaid. [z] VOL. II. p. 466. not. (U). [a] THUCYD. l. viii. [b] PLIN. l. iv. c. 12. [c] DIODOR. SICUL. l. v. [d] PLATO, EUTHYDEMO, HESYCHIUS.

Cadmus,

a *Cadmus*, who ſettled here, and built a city of the ſame name, as *Herodotus* [e] and *Conon* [f] inform us. It is about forty miles in compaſs, and ſo fruitful, that *the fertility of* Thaſos was uſed by the ancients by way of proverb, to expreſs a country yielding great plenty of all the neceſſaries of life [g]. The wine of *Thaſos* is highly commended by *Apuleius* [h], and the *Thaſian* marble by *Seneca* [i]. This iſland was firſt peopled by the *Phœnicians*, whom *Cadmus*, while he was going in ſearch of his ſiſter *Europa*, left here under the conduct of his brother *Thaſus*, as we hinted above. Some ages after, the inhabitants of *Paros* ſent a colony hither, being directed by an oracle *to build a city in the iſland of* Aëria, and to ſend thither a ſufficient number of citizens to people it [k]. The city of *Thaſus* was beſieged in vain by *Hiſtiæus* tyrant of *Miletus*;
b but afterwards taken and diſmantled by *Darius Hyſtaſpis* king of *Perſia*. The *Thaſians* did not continue long ſubject to the *Perſians*, but laid hold of the firſt opportunity that offered to join the *Greeks* againſt the common enemy, entering into an alliance with the *Athenians*, from whom they revolted after the battle fought on the river *Eurymedon* in *Pamphylia*. The *Thaſians* had made themſelves maſters of the gold mines in *Thrace* between the rivers *Niſſus* and *Strymon*; theſe the *Athenians* laid claim to, and the *Thaſians* refuſing to part with them, *Cimon* was ſent againſt them with a mighty fleet. That brave commander engaging them at ſea gained a complete victory, and laid ſiege to their metropolis. The *Thaſians* not finding themſelves in a condition to make head againſt ſo powerful an enemy, had recourſe to the
c *Lacedæmonians*, who promiſed to make a diverſion by invading *Attica*; but were prevented by their domeſtic troubles from performing the promiſe they had made. However the *Thaſians* with their own ſtrength made a moſt obſtinate defence, but being without any hopes of relief ſubmitted to the *Athenians* in the third year of the ſiege upon very diſadvantageous terms, *viz.* to raze their walls; to deliver up their gallies; to pay the uſual tribute; and to quit the mines, and whatever elſe they poſſeſſed on the continent [l]. In the twenty-firſt year of the *Peloponneſian* war, they revolted anew from the *Athenians*, who were for eſtabliſhing an oligarchy in their city, and with the aſſiſtance of the *Lacedæmonians* recovered their ancient liberty after having driven out all thoſe who were attached to the intereſt of *Athens* [m]. They
d maintained themſelves a free people till the time of *Alexander*, to whom they ſubmitted of their own accord, and continued ſubject to the kings of *Macedon*, till they were delivered from the *Macedonian* yoke, and declared free by one of the articles of the peace concluded between *Philip* the father of *Perſes*, and *Flaminius* the *Roman* conſul [n] (D).

Samothrace was anciently known by the names of *Melites*, *Leucaſia*, *Samothrace* or *Lucania*, *Saocis*, *Electria*, and *Dardania*. It was called *Dardania*, according to *Pliny* [o] and *Pauſanias* [p], from *Dardanus*, who retired thither. The ſame authors add, that it changed the name of *Dardania* into that of *Samothrace*, from the time that a colony of *Thracians*, mixed with ſome fugitives from the iſland of *Samos*, ſettled there. But *Diodorus*
e *Siculus* [q] pretends that the *Amazon Myrina*, in the courſe of her conqueſts on the coaſt of the *Ægean* ſea, conſecrated this iſland to *Cybele* under the name of *Samothrace*, a term, ſays he, then uſed to ſignify a conſecrated place. Before, and in the time of the *Trojan* war, it was called *Samos*, and diſtinguiſhed from *Samos* on the coaſt of *Ionia*, and from *Cephalenia* named likewiſe *Samos*, by the epithet of *Thracian*, *Imbrian*, or *Lemnian*. It is by *Homer* conſtantly ſtyled the *Thracian Samos*, which appellation the *Latins*, as *Virgil* [r] informs us, changed into that of *Samothracia*. *Strabo* [s] is of opinion, that it took the name of *Samos* from a *Greek* word ſignifying *high*, this iſland being one of the higheſt in the *Ægean* ſea. Hence

[e] Herodot. l. ii. [f] Conon. Narrat. 37. [g] Vide Erasm. Chiliad. [h] Apuleius, Apolog. p. 289. [i] Seneca, epiſt. 86. [k] Strab. l. x. p. 335. [l] Thucyd. l. i. [m] Idem, l. viii. [n] Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 30. Polyb. in Exc. legat. c. 9. [o] Plin. l. iv. c. 47. [p] Pausan. in Atticis. [q] Diodor. Sicul. l. iv. [r] Virgil. Æneid. l. vii. v. 208. [s] Strab. l. x. p. 315.

(D) *Steſimbrotus*, who is frequently quoted by *Plutarch*, was a native of *Thaſos*, and contemporary with *Cimon*, as *Plutarch* obſerves in the life of that great commander. The ſame writer owns, that in his lives of *Themiſtocles*, *Cimon* and *Pericles*, he took ſeveral particulars from the hiſtory of *Steſimbrotus*. *Tatian* mentions this hiſtorian in the book he wrote againſt the *Gentiles*. The etymologiſt on the word Ἰδαῖοι tells us, that this author's book was intitled, *Of the beginnings or origins*, and that in the ſaid book he maintained the *Idæi Dactyli* to be the ſons of *Jupiter*, and the nymph *Ida*. *Fulgentius* (51) quotes *Steſimbrotus* the *Thaſian* in his account of the death of *Polycrates* tyrant of *Samos*. He is alſo cited by *Apollonius*, and others (52).

(51) *Fulgen. de antiq. Sermon.* (52) *Apollon. l. i. Athen. Euſtathius, &c.*

Priſcian ſtiles it *the high Samos*, and *Homer* [t] tells us, that from this iſland mount *Ida*, the city of *Troy*, and the *Greek* and *Trojan* camps, might be ſeen. It is, according to *Pliny* [u], about two and thirty miles in compaſs, two and twenty diſtant from *Lemnos*, two and thirty from *Imbros*, and eight and thirty from the coaſt of *Thrace*. The modern travellers place it only at three leagues diſtance from the coaſt of *Thrace*, and allow it but twenty miles in circumference. As to the firſt inhabitants of *Samothrace*, *Diodorus* tells us [w], that there is nothing handed down to poſterity relating to them, which we may depend on. Others ſay, [x] that it was firſt peopled by *Thracians*, and that after their arrival in the iſland, the *Pelaſgians*, *Samians*, and *Phœnicians*, ſent thither numerous colonies. They had anciently a peculiar language not underſtood by any other people of *Greece*, whereof ſome words were ſtill uſed in the worſhip of their gods, when *Diodorus Siculus* wrote his hiſtory [y]. The iſland of *Samothrace* was famous on account of the worſhip paid there to the gods called *Cabiri* (E), who were had in ſo great veneration, that it was thought an act of irreverence even to pronounce their names. All the great

[t] Homer. Iliad. N. v. 12. [u] Plin. l. iv. c. 12. [w] Diodor. Sicul. l. v. [x] Strabo, Plin. Pausan. ubi ſupra. [y] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra.

(E) There is ſuch a diſagreement among authors in their accounts of theſe deities, that notwithſtanding all the mythologiſts have ſaid of them, we are ſtill in the dark as to many particulars, and can only form a confuſed idea of their nature, origin and attributes. *Bochart* (53) derives their name from the *Hebrew* word *Cabir*, that is, *great* and *powerful*. This opinion he confirms with the authority of *Euthymius* and *Cedrenus*. The former tells us, that the *Saracens*, who had been idolaters, to the time of the emperor *Heraclius*, worſhipped *Venus* under the name of *Chabar*, that is, the *great* or *powerful*; the latter obſerves, that the ſame people gave the name of *Cubar* to the conſtellation of *Venus*; whence *Bochart* infers, that the gods *Cabiri* were the *great* and *powerful* gods; and indeed they are frequently ſo ſtiled by the writers of the earlieſt ages. But *Steſimbrotus*, as quoted by *Strabo* (54), ſays they were called *Cabiri* or *Cabires* from *Cabirus*, a hill in *Phrygia*, where they were worſhipped in a very ſolemn manner. It is no leſs perplexing to diſcover who the *Cabiri* were, than to trace out the origin of their name. Some confine the number of the *Cabiri* to two, viz. *Jupiter* and *Bacchus*; but *Manaſſeas* enumerates four, *Ceres*, *Proſerpine*, *Pluto*, and *Mercury*, whom he diſguiſes under the myſterious names of *Axioros*, *Axiokerſa*, *Axiokerſos*, and *Kaſmilos*; to theſe *Dionyſiodorus* adds a fourth, whom he ſtiles *Caſmilus*, called by others *Camillus*, and the ſame with *Mercury*; but he was looked upon as one of an inferior rank, and, if we believe *Varro* (55), only as an attendant or ſervant of the *Samothracian* deities. The ſame author tells us, that by the great gods of *Samothrace* were meant only the heaven and earth. Several writers have confined the appellation of *Cabiri* to *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Minerva*. *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*, and *Caſſius Hemina*, as quoted by *Macrobius*, took the *Cabiri* to be the ſame as the *Dii Penates*, or houſhold gods. *Dardanus*, ſay they, brought them from *Samothrace* into *Phrygia*, whence they were carried into *Italy* by *Æneas*. In a *Greek* inſcription quoted by *Alexander ab Alexandro* they are called *Dioskoroi*, which appellation being alſo given by the ancients to *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, ſome have thought them the ſons of *Jupiter* by *Calliope* or *Proſerpine*. The moſt common opinion is, that they were the ſons or grandſons of *Vulcan*; this the *Egyptian* prieſts held, as *Herodotus* informs us (56), and ſome medals are ſtill extant, which ſeem to confirm this opinion. *Goltzius* exhibits two, one of the city of *Theſſalonica*, the other of the emperor *Claudius*, ſurnamed the *Goth*; on the reverſe of both is a *Cabir*, as appears from the *Greek* inſcription, with a hammer in his hand, which ſymbol ſignifies, as all the mythologiſts agree, his being of the race of *Vulcan*. Thus ſome writers make the *Cabiri* to have been the firſt who introduced and taught the art of working iron. A modern writer endeavours to prove, that the *Cabiri* were the ſame as the *Cureſes*, *Corybantes*, and *Telchines*. The latter were called by the *Greeks Deſtroyers*, being ſuppoſed to make uſe of the ſecrets of magic to hurt mankind. The *Telchines* were deemed the authors of all the miſeries which laid waſte the earth; and the ignorant populace imagined they could by their inchantments raiſe ſtorms, and bring plagues, famines, and diſeaſes, whenever they pleaſed (57). All we can infer from the various accounts of the ancient mythologiſts, which are but an odd jumble of contradictions, is, that the *Pagans* themſelves were ignorant of the origin of theſe imaginary deities. However they were worſhipped in ſeveral parts of *Greece* and *Aſia*, chiefly in the cities of *Lemnos*, *Theſſalonica*, *Thebes*, *Rhodes*, &c. *Pauſanias* tells us, that the country of *Pergamus* was conſecrated to the *Cabiri*, and that they had a temple at *Memphis* in *Egypt*, which no one, except the prieſt, who performed the ſacred rites, was allowed to entre (58). *Lactantius* ſpeaks of a god named *Cabirius*, to whom the *Macedonians* paid a particular worſhip. But the iſland of *Samothrace* was, as it were, the center of the ſuperſtitious ceremonies obſerved in honour of the *Cabiri*. There, and no-where elſe, people were initiated into their myſteries. Thoſe who were to be admitted were placed on a kind of throne, and crowned with laurel, having bands of purple tied round their bellies. Then the prieſts and others there preſent danced round them, and this ridiculous mummery ended in oaths and execrations on the perſon, who ſhould ever reveal what paſſed in their aſſemblies. *Heſychius* tells us, that even children were initiated, their parents fancying them, when under the protection of the *Cabiri*, ſafe from thunder, lightning, tempeſts, and all ſorts of dangers. Several writers, namely *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and *Bochart*, have collected the various opinions of the fabulous ages concerning the names, origin, number, myſteries, offices and worſhip of the *Cabiri*, and their ſiſters, called the *Cataride*; to theſe we refer our readers for a more full account of what relates to the *Samothracian* deities.

(53) *Bochart. in Canaan. l.* i. *c.* 15. (54) *Strab. l.* x. (55) *Varr. de Ling. Latin. l.* iv. (56) *Herodot. l.* ii. (57) *Vide Aſtorium in Diſſert. de Cabiris.* (58) *Pauſan. in Bœot.*

heroes

a heroes of antiquity were initiated into the myſteries of theſe deities. Such as were admitted to partake of the ſacred ceremonies uſed to meet in a wood, which became a place of refuge for offenders, and was more reſpected than even the temple of *Delphos*, or the iſland of *Delos*. To this iſland *Perſes* king of *Macedon* fled for refuge, and took up his habitation in a temple dedicated to *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, hoping that the *Romans* would not profance a ſanctuary revered by all the nations of the world; and indeed the *Romans* did not make any attempts upon his life or perſon ſo long as he ſtaid there; for the pagans carried their prejudices ſo far in favour of theſe pretended deities, that they were ſtruck with an awful dread upon the bare mention of their names. Of all the oaths that were in uſe among the anci-
b ents, that by the gods of *Samothrace* was deemed the moſt ſacred and inviolable. Such as were found not to have obſerved this oath were looked upon as the curſe of mankind, and perſons devoted to deſtruction. *Diodorus* [2] tells us, that theſe gods were always preſent, and never failed to aſſiſt thoſe who were initiated, and called upon them in any ſudden and unexpected danger; that *Jaſion*, *Dioſcurus*, *Hercules*, *Orpheus*, &c. being initiated into their rites, proſpered by their favour in all their wars, and that none ever duly performed their ceremonies without being amply rewarded for their piety.

Diodorus Siculus ſpeaks of an inundation, which laid great part of *Samothrace* under water, drowned all the cities on the coaſt of *Aſia*, and overwhelmed ſeveral
c iſlands in the *Ægean* ſea, ſome of which never afterwards appeared. In *Samothrace* the waters roſe to ſuch a height, that they not only covered the champain country, but reached near the tops of the higheſt mountains, and changed the face of the whole country. This deluge is ſuppoſed to have happened before the *Argonautic* expedition, and is ſaid to have been occaſioned by the overflowing of the *Pontic* ſea; which being ſwelled by the waters of the many great rivers that fall into it, diſcharged itſelf through the *Boſphorus Thracius* into the *Propontis*, and through the *Helleſpont* into the *Ægean* ſea. When the waters abated, the inhabitants of *Samothrace* conſecrated to the gods the places where they had been preſerved, erecting altars, and offering up yearly ſacrifices in memory of their deliverance. This they continued to
d do in *Diodorus*'s time, who adds, that even then chapiters of pillars and other pieces of architecture were frequently found under water; which ſhews, ſays he, that this deluge is not a poetical fiction, but real truth [3]. In the opinion of the ancients the *Pontus Euxinus* was only a lake or ſtanding pool, which being overcharged with waters broke firſt in the *Propontis*, and then into the *Ægean*, waſhing away by degrees the earth, which kept it within its firſt bounds, and forming the two channels of the *Boſphorus Thracius*, and the *Helleſpont*, which *Helleſpont* in the ſenſe of the ancients is another *Boſphorus*, that is, an arm of the ſea narrow enough for an ox to ſwim over. In the hypotheſis of the ancients the *Palus Mæotis*, the *Pontus Euxinus*, the *Propontis* and *Mediterranean* were originally ſo many lakes, which after
e having broke down, as it were, the dikes that parted them, with the impetuoſity of their waters, opened themſelves a paſſage between the mountains of *Atlas* and *Calpe* into the ocean. It is perhaps more likely, that the ocean, having with the impetuoſity of its waters diſmembered the mountain of *Calpe* from the lands of *Africa*, poured itſelf into that vaſt ſpace now called the *Mediterranean*, and penetrating to the north produced the *Propontis*, the *Pontus* and the *Palus Mæotis*.

After the abovementioned deluge one *Saon* a native of *Samothrace*, the ſon of *Jupiter* and *Nympha*, as ſome ſay, or, as others will have it, of *Mercury* and *Rhena*, gathered the inhabitants, before living ſcattered and diſperſed, into a body, made laws for their better government, and divided them into five tribes, which he called
f after the names of his ſons. Some time after the government was thus ſettled, *Dardanus*, *Jaſion* and *Harmonia* were born in the iſland. They were the children of *Jupiter* and *Electra* one of the daughters of *Atlas*. *Dardanus* paſſed over into *Aſia*, where he founded a new kingdom, which was afterwards called the *Trojan* kingdom from the city of *Troy* built there. *Jupiter*, deſirous likewiſe to advance his other ſons to a high degree of honour and reputation, diſcovered to them the rites of the ſacred myſteries anciently obſerved, but then newly revived, in the iſland, which it was not lawful for any to ſee, but thoſe who were initiated. About this time *Cadmus*, arriving in the iſland to ſeek after his ſiſter *Europa*, was initiated

[2] Diodor. Sicul. l. v. [3] Idem ibid.

into

into the ſacred myſteries, and married *Harmonia* the ſiſter of *Jaſion*. *Jaſion* married *Cybele*, by whom he had *Corybas*, who after his father's death, paſſing over into *Phrygia* with his mother and *Dardanus* taught the *Phrygians* the myſteries of *Cybele*. *Corybas* called thoſe, who celebrated the ſacred myſteries of his mother, after his own name, *Corybantes* [b]. a

THE iſland of *Samothrace* was in ancient times governed by its own kings; for *Coritus*, *Dardanus*, and his brother *Jaſion* are ſaid to have reigned there, as we have related elſewhere [c]. The monarchical form of government gave place to the republican, which continued till the iſland was reduced by the *Perſians*. *Alexander* reſtored this, as moſt of the other *Greek* iſlands, to the enjoyment of their ancient liberties; but his ſucceſſors in the kingdom of *Macedon* brought the *Samothracians* again into ſubjection. The *Romans* after the defeat of *Perſes* declared them a free people; whence *Pliny* [d] ſtyles *Samothrace* a free iſland. They lived according to their own laws from the reduction of the kingdom of *Macedon* to the reign of *Veſpaſian*, who reduced all the ſtates of *Greece* to a *Roman* province [e]. b

Iſlands on the coaſts of Greece

FROM the *Ægean* we ſhall proceed with *Strabo* to the *Ionian* ſea (F), giving a ſuccinct deſcription of the iſlands on the coaſt of *Greece*, of which the moſt northerly is that of *Saſon* lying between *Aulon*, now *La Valona*, a city of *Macedon*, and *Brunduſium* in *Italy* at the entrance of the *Ionian* ſea. *Lucan* counts it among the iſlands of *Italy* [f], and *Ptolemy* [g] among thoſe of *Macedon*. It is mentioned by *Polybius* [h], *Scylax* [i], *Mela* [k], *Pliny* [l], &c. and deſcribed by *Silius Italicus* as a barren, ſandy, and inhoſpitable place [m]. c

Corcyra.

Corcyra, now *Corfu*, was in more ancient times called *Drepane*, *Scheria*, and *Phæacia*. The name of *Corcyra*, which was alſo given to another iſland lying in the *Adriatic* over-againſt *Illyricum*, it took from a nymph ſo called, whom *Neptune* is ſaid to have raviſhed in this iſland. It is about forty-five miles in length, twenty-two in breadth, and two hundred and ten in compaſs. *Corcyra* was once famous for the delightful gardens of king *Alcinous*, who with great courteſy entertained *Ulyſſes* after his ſhipwreck [n]. The ſouthern parts of the iſland are barren, mountainous, and but indifferently provided with water; the northern coaſt is very fruitful, and yields all kinds of delicious fruit, excellent wines, olives, all ſorts of grain, *&c.* whence it is ſtiled by *Homer* the *fruitful Scheria* [o]. It had anciently two cities of no ſmall note, viz. *Corcyra* and *Caſſiope*; the former was the metropolis of the iſland, and once very powerful, as appears from *Thucydides* and others, who have given us an account of their wars; the latter is commended by *Pliny* [p] and *Ptolemy* [q] as a wealthy and well-built city; but *Cicero* calls it only a haven [r]. This iſland is ſaid to have been firſt inhabited by the *Phæaces*, whence it was named *Phæacia*; but afterwards the *Corinthians* ſent thither a numerous colony, which made *Thucydides* [s] reckon *Corcyra* among the countries peopled by the *Corinthians*. The *Corcyræans* were ſkilful mariners, and, as the ſame *Thucydides* informs us, for ſome time maſters of the ſea. Their government was firſt monarchical; but afterwards they formed themſelves into a republic, and made a very conſiderable figure in the flouriſhing times of *Greece*. *Herodotus* tells us [t], that they were very powerful by land, and had more ſhips than any other people of *Greece*, except the *Athenians*. That author greatly blames them on account of their deceitful conduct with reſpect to the aſſiſtance they promiſed the *Greeks* againſt *Xerxes*; for being invited by the *Athenian* and *Lacedæmonian* embaſſadors to join in the common cauſe, they readily promiſed to ſend powerful ſuccours, aſſuring them that they would not neglect the ſafety of *Greece* in ſo imminent a danger, well knowing that if the enemy prevailed, they ſhould ſoon be reduced to the condition of ſlaves. The *Athenians* and *Lacedæ-* d e

[b] Idem, l. v. c. 47. & ſeq. [c] Hiſt. Univer. Vol. II. p. 312. [d] PLIN. l. iv. c. 12. [e] SUETON. in Veſpaſ. [f] LUCAN. l. xi. v. 627. [g] PTOL. l. iii. c. 12. [h] POLYB. l. v. c. 110. [i] SCYLAX, in Illyr. [k] POMP. MELA, l. iv. [l] PLIN. l. iii. cap. ult. [m] SILIUS ITAL. l. v. v. 480. [n] HOMER. Odyſſ. 7. v. 34. [o] Idem ibid. [p] PLIN. l. iv. c. 12. [q] PTOL. l. iii. c. 4. [r] CIC. l. xvi. epiſt. 9. ad Tiron. [s] THUCYD. l. vii. p. 528. [t] HERODOT. l. vii.

(F) The *Ionian* gulf, or the *Ionian* ſea, lies between *Sicily* and *Greece*, extending from the iſland of *Crete* to the *Acroceraunian* hills in *Epirus*, or, as others will have it, to the city of *Apollonia* in *Macedon*. It was ſo called either from *Ionius* the ſon of *Dyrrhachius*, *Hercules* having given it that name to preſerve the memory of his friend whom he had killed by miſtake, and thrown into the ſea; or from *Ionia*, a country, according to *Solinus*, in the extremity of *Calabria*; or from *Io*, the daughter of *Inachus*, as *Lycophron* has it.

monians


North
South
West
East
PART OF THE ADRIATIC SEA
ITALY
Gulf of Tarento
IONIAN SEA
Leucadia
Cephalenia
Zacynthus
Strophades
Corcyra I.
Chaonia
Epirus
Thesprotia
Molossi
Athamanes
Dolopes
Aetolia
Acarnania
Locris
Phocis
Boeotia
Eubœa
Thessalia
Magnesia
Pelion
Ossa
Olympus
Pieria
Oreſtis
Deſaretæ
Lyncestis
Mygdonia
Pelagonia
Pæonia
Taulantii
MACEDONIA
Gulf of Criſsæus
Gulf of Saronicus
Achaia
Argolis
Peloponnesus
Mare Myrtoum
Meſsenia
Laconia
Gulf of Laconicus
Gulf of Thermaicus
Gulf of Singiticus
Gulf of Strymonicus
Gulf of Symonicus
Gulf of Ieronicus
Thasus
Samothrace
Lemnos
Tenedos
Imbrus
Hellespont
CHERSONESUS
Abydus
Troia
Alexandria
Lectum
Canæ prom.
Malia Prom.
Smyrna
Hermus Flu.
Cayster Flu.
Ephesus
Mycale
Miletus
Bargile
Samos
Icaria I.
Chios
Lesbos
Mytilene
Andros
Delos
Mycone
Donusa
Patmus
Myndus
Halicarnassus
Cnidus
Syme
Rhodus
Lindus
Camirus
Chalcia
Carpathus
Casus
Dionysiades
Cythera
Cerigo
Cydonia
Cythæon
Lappa
Gortyna
Ida Mons
Heracleum
Samonium prom.
Erythræa
Claude
Crium et Promon
Aegilia
Sea of Crete
Icarian Sea
Cyclades
Sporades
Rhodes
Phrygia
Lydia
Caria
Aeolis
Troas
Hellespont
Propontis
Thrace
Macedonia
Epirus
Italy
Sicily
Crete
Rhodes
Cyprus
Asia Minor
Aegean Sea
Ionian Sea
Adriatic Sea
Mediterranean Sea
ANCIENT GREECE with the ISLANDS adjoyning to it
B. Bowen sculp.

a *monians* departed well ſatisfied with this anſwer; but the *Corcyræans* having fitted out a ſquadron of ſixty ſhips ſailed to the coaſt of *Peloponneſus*, and having anchored about *Pylus* and *Tænarus*, waited in that ſtation to ſee the event of the war, being reſolved to join the party that ſhould prevail. When news was brought them that the *Perſians* were defeated at *Salamis*, they left their ſtation, and joined the reſt of the *Greeks*, pretending that they had been prevented by the *Eteſian* winds from doubling the cape of *Malea*, and being preſent at the battle [w]. Their war with the *Corinthians* and *Epidamnians*, which brought on the *Peloponneſian* war, and the dreadful ſedition which happened in their iſland, whence all ſeditions, when terrible in their effects, were ſtiled *Corcyræan*, we have related elſewhere [x]. The *Corcyræans* ſub-
b mitted to *Alexander*, and continued ſubject to his ſucceſſors kings of *Macedon* till they were delivered by the *Romans* in the reign of *Perſes*, from which time they enjoyed their liberty till the reign of *Veſpaſian*, when they underwent the common fate of the other iſlands and *Greek* ſtates both in *Europe* and *Aſia*.

Between *Corcyra* and the continent lie two ſmall iſlands called by *Strabo* [y] and *Thucydides* [z], *Sybota*; and at a ſmall diſtance from the eaſtern coaſt of *Corcyra*, the iſland of *Ptychia*, which *Ptolemy* confounds with a city of that name in the iſland of *Corcyra*, but *Thucydides* deſcribes it as a diſtinct iſland [a]. Five miles eaſt of *Corcyra* are the iſlands *Paxi* or *Paxæ*, mentioned by *Pliny* [b] and other ancient writers, but containing nothing remarkable. They are but two in number, and at preſent
c known by the names of *Pachſu* and *Antipachſu*. *Pliny* enumerates ſeveral other iſlands on the coaſt of *Epirus*, viz. *Ericuſa*, *Marathe*, *Elaphuſa*, *Malthace*, *Trachie*, *Pythionia*, and *Tarachia*, of which *Ericuſa* was alſo known to *Ptolemy*, who places it between *Corcyra* and *Cephalenia*.

Leucas, now known by the name of *Santa Maura*, was anciently a peninſula, Leucas.
joined to the main land of *Acarnania* by an iſthmus, which was cut by the *Carthaginians*, or, as others will have it, by the *Corinthians*. We have deſcribed this iſland elſewhere [c], and therefore ſhall only add here, that in the middle of it was a ſtately temple conſecrated to *Venus the mother of Æneas*, who is ſuppoſed to have landed here on his voyage to *Italy*. *Homer* ſpeaks of three cities of no ſmall note in this coun-
d try, viz. *Nericus*, *Crocylea*, and *Agylipe*. *Iſaac Voſſius* is of opinion, that in the time of *Thucydides* it was ſtill a peninſula, ſince that hiſtorian in deſcribing the countries of *Leucas* and *Acarnania*, makes no mention of the iſthmus being cut [d]. In *Homer*'s time it was, without all doubt, joined to the land, ſince he calls it the coaſt of *Epirus* [e]. It is about ſeventy miles in compaſs, and was in ancient times called *Neritis*, as *Pliny* informs us [f].

The iſlands, known to the ancients by the names of *Taphiæ* and *Teleboides*, lay to the eaſt of *Leucas*, near the coaſt of *Achaia*. They were ſo called from *Taphus* and *Telebous* the ſons of *Pterelas*, and grandſons of *Neptune* by *Hippothoe* the daughter of *Neſtor* [g]. *Bochart* [h] derives the name of *Taphiæ* from the *Hebrew*
e word *bataph*, which ſignifies to *rob*, the inhabitants of theſe iſlands being anciently famous pirates. The *Echinades* were five ſmall iſlands on the coaſt of *Acarnania* over-againſt the mouth of the river *Achelous*, from which the fartheſt diſtant is but fifteen furlongs, and the neareſt only five. They were thought to have been formed by the mud, which this river carried into the ſea; whence aroſe the fable of their having been once ſea nymphs, but afterwards by the god *Achelous* changed into iſlands [i]. Some writers tell us, that they were called *Echinades* from the *Greek* word *echinos*, becauſe that part of the *Ionian* abounded with ſea-hogs. They are now known by the name of *Curzolari*. *Dulichium*, which formerly belonged to *Ulyſſes*, is counted by *Strabo* [k] among the *Echinades*.

f *Ithaca* between *Dulichium* and *Cephalenia* was once famous for being the birth-place of *Ulyſſes* the ſon of *Laertes*. It is about five and twenty miles in compaſs, and at preſent known by the name of *Val di Compare*. It had a town in former times bearing the name of the iſland, and ſituated, according to *Homer* [l], at the foot of mount *Neius*, which by moſt geographers is thought to be the ſame with mount *Neritus* mentioned by *Virgil* [m]. *Pomponius Mela* [n] miſtakes mount *Neritus* for another iſland in the *Ionian* ſea.

[w] Herodot. ibid. [x] Hiſt. Univer. Vol. II. p. 495, 496, 506, 509. [y] Strab. l. vii. p. 224. [z] Thucyd. l. i. p. 32. [a] Idem, l. iv. p. 283. [b] Plin. l. iv. c. 12. [c] Hiſt. Univer. Vol. II. p. 745. [d] Vide Voss. in Scylacem. [e] Vide Strabonem, l. x. p. 311. [f] Plin. l. iv. c. 1. [g] Strab. l. x. & Plin. l. iv. c. 12. [h] Bochart. in Canaan. [i] Ovid. Metamorph. l viii. [k] Strab. l. x. p. 315. [l] Homer. Odyſſ. Γ. v. 81. [m] Virgil. Æneid. iii. v. 270. [n] Pomp. Mela, l. ii. c. 7.

Cephalenia or *Cephallenia*, known in *Homer*'s time by the names of *Samus* and *Black Epirus*, or *Epirus Melæna*, is about eighty miles in length, forty in breadth, and a hundred and thirty in compaſs. It had anciently four cities, but *Ptolemy* takes notice of one only, which bore the name of the iſland. *Strabo* tells us, that in his time there were only two cities remaining; but *Pliny* [p] ſpeaks of three, and adds that the ruins of *Same*, which had been deſtroyed by the *Romans*, were ſtill to be ſeen. *Same* was the metropolis of the iſland, and is ſuppoſed to have ſtood in the place, which the *Italians* call *Porto Guiſcardo*. The names of the four cities were, according to *Thucydides*, *Same*, *Prone*, *Cranii*, and *Palæ* [q]. This iſland was ſubdued by the *Thebans* under the conduct of *Amphitryon*, who is ſaid to have killed *Pterelas*, who then reigned here. While *Amphitryo* was carrying on the war in *Cephalenia* then called *Samos*, one *Cephalus*, a man of great diſtinction at *Athens*, having accidentally killed his wife *Procris* in ſhooting at a deer, fled to *Amphitryo*, who pitying his caſe not only received him kindly, but made him governor of the iſland, which thenceforth was called *Cephalenia*. After it had continued long ſubject to the *Thebans*, it fell under the power of the *Macedonians*, and was taken from them by the *Ætolians*, who held it till it was reduced by *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, who having made himſelf maſter of the metropolis after a four months ſiege, and ſold all the citizens for ſlaves, added the whole iſland to the demeſns of his republic [r]. The iſland of *Zacynthus*, which lies twelve miles ſouth of *Cephalenia*, we have deſcribed at length elſewhere [s], and therefore ſhall proceed to the *Strophades*, which are two ſmall iſlands lying over-againſt *Arcadia* in *Peloponneſus*, and now known by the name of *Strivali*. They are about thirty-five miles ſouth of *Zacynthus*, and according to *Strabo* [t] four hundred furlongs from the continent, the largeſt of the two being but five miles in compaſs. They were firſt called *Plotæ*, that is, ſwimming iſlands, as *Pliny* informs us [u], and afterwards *Strophades*, from a *Greek* verb ſignifying to *return*, becauſe *Zethus* and *Calais*, the winged iſſue of *Boreas* and *Orithyia*, are feigned to have purſued the *Harpyes* to theſe iſlands, and thence to have returned, being admoniſhed by *Iris* or *Jupiter* to give over the purſuit. *Virgil* deſcribes them as frequented in the time of *Æneas* only by theſe ravenous monſters [w]. At preſent they are inhabited by *Greek* friers, who to the number of thirty live there and enjoy the iſlands to themſelves. In one of them there is a fine ſpring of freſh water, which is ſaid to have its fountain in *Peloponneſus*, and to paſs under the ſea. The other iſlands mentioned by *Pliny* [x] as lying between *Zacynthus* and the *Aſinæan* gulf, are *Letoia* or *Letoa*, now *Criſtina*, near *Cephalenia*, the three *Sphagiæ* or *Sphacteriæ* oppoſite to *Pylus* of *Meſſenia*, and as many known by the name of *Oriuſæ* lying over-againſt the city of *Meſſene*. The iſlands of *Sphacteriæ* are famous in hiſtory for a victory gained there by the *Athenians* over the *Lacedæmonians*, after which *Cleon* poſſeſſed himſelf of the iſlands, taking the *Lacedæmonians* who gariſoned them priſoners [y]. Theſe iſlands are now called *Le Sapienze*, and the ſea round them the ſea of *Sapienza*. In the *Laconic* gulf are, according to *Pliny*, the following iſlands, *Teganuſa*, *Cothon*, and *Cythera*. *Teganuſa*, or *Theganuſa*, is placed by *Strabo* [z] and *Pauſanias* [a], not in the *Laconic*, but the *Meſſenian* gulf before the promontory *Acritas* between *Metho* and *Caron* two cities of *Meſſenia*. *Pomponius Mela* [b] places *Cothon* in the *Ægean* ſea, and *Salmaſius* on the coaſt of *Africa*, but *Stephanus* agrees with *Pliny*. Over-againſt *Gythium* in *Peloponneſus* lies the ſmall iſland of *Cranae* mentioned by *Pauſanias* [c], and ſaid by *Homer* to have been the firſt place, where *Paris* ſtopt as he was carrying off *Helena* [d].

Cythera, now *Cerigo*, lies over-againſt *Malea* a promontory of *Laconia*, from which it is diſtant, according to *Strabo* [e], forty furlongs. It was named *Cythera*, if *Stephanus* is to be credited, from one *Cytherus* a *Phœnician*, who is ſaid to have ſettled here. Before his arrival it was known by the name of *Porphyris* or *Porphyriſſa*, either becauſe it abounded with porphyry, as *Solinus* is of opinion, or by reaſon the beſt ſcarlet was died here, as *Stephanus* affirms on the authority of *Ariſtotle*. It is about ſixty miles in compaſs, bleſſed with a fruitful ſoil, and has ſeveral havens, one eſpecially very ſafe and capacious, called anciently *Scandea*, about ten furlongs from the city of *Cythera*, a city once famous for the temple of *Venus*, ſurnamed *Ura-*

[p] Plin. l. iv. c. 12. [q] Thucyd. l. ii. p. 120. [r] Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 28, & 29. [s] Vide Hiſt. Univer. Vol. II. p. 71, 489, 504, 677, 745, &c. [t] Strab. l. viii. p. 248. [u] Plin. l. iv. c. 12. [w] Virgil. Æneid. 3. v. 209. [x] Plin. ubi ſupra. [y] Thucyd. l. iv. p. 256. Diodor. Sicul. l. xiii. c. 24. [z] Strab. l. viii. p. 248. [a] Pausan. Meſſen. c. 34. [b] Pomp. Mela, l. ii. c. 7. [c] Pausan. Lacon. c. 22. [d] Homer. Iliad. Γ. v. 445. [e] Strab. l. viii. p. 250.

nia

a *nia* or *Heavenly*. In this temple, which was believed to be the moſt ancient which *Venus* had amongſt the *Greeks*, was a ſtatue of that goddeſs in complete armour, holding, like *Pallas*, a javelin in her hand. She is ſaid upon her firſt ſpringing out of the froth of the ſea (for ſuch was her origin) to have been by gentle zephyrs carried to this iſland, and from hence to *Cyprus*; on which account both iſlands were in a peculiar manner ſacred to her. From *Cythera Venus* had the ſurname of *Cytherea*, often uſed by *Virgil* and other poets. We have already related how this iſland, formerly ſubject to *Lacedæmon*, was reduced by the *Athenians* under the conduct of *Nicias* [f], and therefore ſhall paſs to the other iſlands. In the *Argolic* bay *Pliny* places the following [g], *Pityuſa*, *Irine*, *Ephyre*, *Tiparenus*, *Aperopia*, *Colonis*, *Ariſteria*, and b *Calauria*. This laſt lay, according to *Strabo* [h], in the bay of *Hermione* over-againſt *Trœzen* a maritime city of *Argia*, from which it was diſtant four furlongs, being thirty in compaſs. It was famous for a temple conſecrated to *Neptune*, and an aſylum [i]. Here *Demoſthenes* poiſoned himſelf, and was buried within the incloſure of the temple [k]. The other iſlands contain nothing remarkable.

Ægina. IN the *Saronic* gulf (G) are the iſlands of *Ægina* and *Salamis*, both equally famous in ancient hiſtory. The former was anciently known by the names of *Oenone* or *Oenopia* [l], and *Myrmidonia*; but *Æacus*, who reigned here, called it *Ægina* from his mother, the daughter of *Aſopus* king of *Bœotia* (H). It was called *Myrmidonia* becauſe inhabited by the *Myrmidones*, ſo famous among the poets. It lies between c the territory of *Athens* and that of *Epidaurus*, a city of *Argia*, being diſtant eighteen miles from the coaſt of *Athens*, and fourteen from *Peloponneſus*. It is about twenty-ſix miles in compaſs, and had anciently a city of the ſame name [m], which being deſtroyed by an earthquake, the inhabitants were exempted by *Tiberius* for the ſpace of three years from paying any kind of tribute [n]. *Pauſanias* [o] ſpeaks of two magnificent temples in this iſland, the one conſecrated to *Venus*, the other to *Jupiter*; the ruins of a ſtately edifice, which are ſtill to be ſeen at a ſmall diſtance from the preſent village of *Engia*, are probably the remains of one of theſe temples. The country is ſaid to have been at firſt very ſtony and barren, but being inhabited by a laborious and thriving people, who digging up the earth cleared it of the ſtones, d it became very fruitful. From this their induſtry they were ſurnamed *Myrmidons*, that is emmets, as *Strabo* informs us [p], and not becauſe the emmets, as the poets feign, were at the prayers of *Æacus* changed into men to repeople the iſland after all the ancient inhabitants, king *Æacus* alone excepted, had been ſwept away by a plague. This iſland was firſt peopled by the *Epidaurians*, who were originally *Dorians*, and afterwards by colonies from *Crete* and *Argos* [q]. Theſe were in proceſs of time driven out by the *Athenians*, who making themſelves maſters of the iſland, divided the lands among themſelves, but did not hold them long, being driven out by the *Lacedæmonians*, who reſtored the iſland to the ancient proprietors [r]. The *Myrmidons* were not a diſtinct people from thoſe we have already mentioned, this e being only a ſurname given to the inhabitants on account of their induſtry. The *Æginets* applied themſelves very early to trade and navigation, and ſent colonies into

[f] Hiſt. Univerſ. Vol. II. p. 510. [g] PLIN. l. iv. c. 12. [h] STRAB. l. viii. p. 254. [i] Idem ibid. & PAUSAN. Corinth. c. 33. [k] PLUT. in vita. PAUSAN. ubi ſupra. & POMP. MELA, l. ii. c. 7. [l] PLIN. l. iv. c. 12. [m] STRAB. l. viii. p. 258. [n] TACIT. Annal. l. ii. [o] PAUSAN. in Corinth. c. 12. [p] STRAB. ubi ſupra. [q] STRAB. ibid. HERODOT. l. v. [r] STRAB. ibid.

(G) The *Sinus Saronicus*, or *Saronic* gulf, now called the gulf of *Engia*, lies between *Attica* to the north, and *Peloponneſus* to the ſouth, extending from *Cenchreæ* on the iſthmus of *Corinth* to the promontory of *Sunium* (59). It was named the *Saronic* gulf according to *Pliny* (60) from a grove of oaks called by the ancient *Greeks Saronides*. Some derive this appellation from a city, others from a harbour, and ſome from a river, which fell into this bay (61). It was alſo called the bay of *Salamis* from the iſland of that name, and bay of *Eleuſis* from that city. The entrance into the *Saronic* gulf is formed by two promontories, that of *Sunium* on the ſide of *Attica*, now ſtiled *Capo delle colonne*, from certain columns that are ſtill ſtanding there, and ſuppoſed to be the remains of a temple of *Minerva*; and that of *Scylla*, now *Capo di Scilli*, on the ſide of *Peloponneſus*. The bay, where broadeſt, is three and twenty miles over, its length twenty-five, and its compaſs fourſcore (62). *Strabo* and other geographers call the iſlands in this gulf the *Æacides*, becauſe they were held by the deſcendents of *Æacus* the ſon of *Jupiter* and *Ægina*.

(H) This is related by *Ovid* in the following lines (63).

OEnopiam Minos petit Æacidalia regna.
OEnopiam veteres appellavere, ſed ipſe
Æacus Æginam genetricis nomine dixit.

(59) *Strab. l.* viii. *p.* 254. (60) *Plin. l.* iv. *c.* 5. (61) *Vide Heſych. in hac voce.* (62) *Spon. Voyage, &c.* (63) *Ovid. Metamorph. l.* vii. *v.* 472.

the

the neighbouring islands, namely *Imbros* and *Crete*, the city of *Cydon* in the latter having been built, according to *Strabo* [s], and peopled by them. In the time of *Amasis* king of *Egypt* they erected a magnificent temple in *Naucratis*, a city of that country, to *Jupiter*, following therein, as *Herodotus* informs us [t], the example of the *Samians*, who in the same kingdom had built one in honour of *Juno*. *Ephorus*, as quoted by *Strabo* [u], tells us, that the first money was coined in *Ægina* by one *Pheidon*. *Pliny* commends the brass of this island, preferring it even to that of *Delos*, and adds, that the famous statue of brass, representing an ox, which stood in the *forum boarium* at *Rome*, was carried from hence to adorn that capital [w]. a

The *Æginetes* were first governed by kings, and afterwards formed themselves into a republic, which in process of time became so powerful as to vie with *Athens* herself. The first king that reigned there was *Actor* the son of *Dioneus*, and grandson, as the poets feign, of *Æolus*. He was born in *Phocis*, whither his father *Dioneus*, or as others call him *Deion*, had carried a colony out of *Æolia*; from *Phocis* he led a colony into *Phthia*, where he married *Ægina* the daughter of *Asopus* king of *Bœotia*, and by a second migration went into the island of *Oenone*, where he settled. By his wife *Ægina* he had three sons, *Æacus*, *Mœnetius*, and *Irus*. *Æacus* the eldest succeeded his father *Actor* in the kingdom of *Oenone*, which he called from his mother's name *Ægina*, and peopled with new colonies invited thither from the continent and neighbouring islands. His piety and justice in the administration of public affairs gave rise to the fable of his being appointed by *Pluto* judge of the *Europæans* after their death. He had by his first wife, named *Endeis*, *Telamon*, and *Peleus*, and by *Psamathe* his second *Phocus*. *Telamon* and *Peleus* conspiring against *Phocus* put him to death, on which account they were both banished the island by their father. *Æacus* is said to have assisted the *Athenians* against *Minos* king of *Crete*, and to have been the first who paid divine honours to *Hercules*. His descendants were called *Æacidæ*, and are much spoken of by all the ancients, having reigned in different countries, and most of them attained to a great pitch of power and glory. *Cicero* observes [x], that they were for the most part better warriors than statesmen, and *Justin*, that few of them attained to the thirtieth year of their age. *Æacus* was, according to *Macrobius* [y], about two generations older than the *Trojan* war, and the first who built a temple in *Greece*. As to the successors of *Æacus* in the island of *Ægina* we are quite in the dark. The monarchical form of government being abrogated, the *Æginetes* became subject, on what occasion we know not, to the *Epidaurians*, depending upon them, as *Herodotus* [z] informs us, in all things, and particularly in matters relating to the administration of justice. But afterwards applying themselves to navigation, and the building of ships, they acquired great power by sea, revolted from the *Epidaurians*, ravaged their territory, and carried off, among other things, the two famous statues of *Damias* and *Auxesias* (I). This gave rise to an irrecon- b c d

[s] Strab. ibid. [t] Herodot. l. v. [u] Strab. l. viii. p. 258. [w] Plin. l. iv. c. 12. [x] Cic. l. ii. de Divinat. [y] Macrob. adversus Gent. l. vi. p. 131. [z] Herodot. l. v.

(I) The *Epidaurians*, seeing their country become unfruitful, sent to consult the oracle of *Delphos* about the cause of that calamity. The *Pythian* answered, that if they erected statues in honour of *Lamia*, or, as *Herodotus* calls her, *Damias*, and *Auxesias*, their affairs would prosper. *Lamia* and *Auxesias* were two virgins, who coming from *Crete* to *Trœzen*, a city of *Argia*, in time of a tumult, had fallen a sacrifice to the fury of the people, by whom they were stoned to death. The *Epidaurians* having received the aboveſaid answer, consulted the oracle anew to know whether the statues should be made of stone or brass; the *Pythian* replied, of neither, but of the wood of an olive-tree. Upon this answer the *Epidaurians* desired leave of the *Athenians* to cut down an olive-tree in their territory, either because they believed those of that soil to be the most sacred, or, as others say, by reason olive-trees at that time grew in no other country. The *Athenians* shewed themselves ready to grant their request, provided they promised to come annually to *Athens*, and there to offer sacrifice to *Minerva* and *Erectheus*. This condition the *Epidaurians* accepted, and having obtained their request, they formed out of that wood two statues, which were no sooner erected than their country became fruitful again. In process of time the *Æginetes* having overcome the *Epidaurians* carried off these statues, and having erected them at a place called *Oia* in the middle of their island, to render them propitious, they appointed sacrifices accompanied with dances to be performed by women in their honour, assigning to each statue ten men to preside in the solemnity. On this occasion the women, who danced, were allowed to abuse one another with opprobrious language, but not the men who presided. This they did in conformity to the former practice of the *Epidaurians*, who besides these used other ceremonies on this occasion not fit to be mentioned. After these statues were carried away by the *Æginetes*, the *Epidaurians* would no longer perform their contract with the *Athenians*, which they had religiously observed till that time, alledging that the *Æginetes*, who were in possession of the statues, and not they, who were to their great sorrow deprived of them, lay under that obligation. Hereupon the *Athenians* dispatched a messenger to

Ægina

a irreconcilable enmity between the *Æginetes* and *Athenians*, the effects whereof we have elſewhere related at length [a]. The iſland was at laſt reduced by the *Athenians*, and continued ſubject to them, till it was at the end of the *Macedonian* war declared free by the *Romans*, enjoying its liberty till the reign of *Veſpaſian*, when it underwent the ſame fate as the other ſtates of *Greece*.

Salamis, now *Coluri*, lies in the ſame *Saronic* gulf about three leagues weſt of *Ægina*, over-againſt the city of *Eleuſis*, from which it is ſeparated by a ſtraight about a league over called anciently *Porthmos*, and at preſent *Perama* [b]. It was formerly known by the names of *Cychria* from *Cychereus* the firſt king of the iſland, and of *Pityuſſa*, becauſe abounding with pine-trees called by the *Greeks Pytus* [c]. The name Salamis.
b of *Salamis* it borrowed from *Salamine* the daughter of *Aſopus* king of *Bœotia*, whom *Neptune* is ſaid to have raviſhed and carried into this iſland. By her he had *Cychreus*, or *Cycherus*, the firſt who reigned in the iſland. As *Cychreus* died without children, he was ſucceeded by *Telamon* the father of *Ajax* by *Heſione* the ſiſter of *Priam*, and daughter of *Laomedon* king of *Troy* [d]; whence *Salamis* is ſtiled by *Virgil* the kingdom of *Heſione* [e]. It is according to *Strabo* between ſeventy and eighty furlongs in length, fifty miles in compaſs, and had anciently a city bearing the ſame name, and facing the iſland of *Ægina*. This city was deſtroyed, and another, called alſo *Salamis*, built on the coaſt over-againſt *Attica*, which was well peopled, and governed by its own laws in the time of *Auguſtus* [f]. This iſland will be ever famous
c in hiſtory for the ſignal victory gained here by the *Greeks* over the *Perſians*. It was firſt peopled by the *Ionians*, and afterwards by colonies from different cities of *Greece*. The form of government which firſt prevailed here was monarchical; but monarchy was of no long continuance, *Cychreus*, *Telamon*, *Euryſaces*, and *Philæus* being the only kings who reigned over the *Salaminians*. *Cychreus* is ſaid by *Diodorus* to have killed a dragon, which infeſted the iſland; whence he had the name of *Ophis*; but *Stephanus* tells us, that he was ſo named on account of his crafty and inhuman temper. As *Cychreus* had no male iſſue, he appointed *Telamon*, the father of *Ajax* his ſucceſſor. *Telamon* was ſucceeded by *Euryſaces* the ſon of *Ajax* by *Tecmeſſa* the daughter of *Teuthras* the *Myſian*, *Teucer* the other ſon of *Telamon* being on his return from the ſiege of *Troy* baniſhed by his father, as we have
d related in the hiſtory of *Cyprus*, for not revenging on *Ulyſſes* the death of his brother *Ajax*. After the death of *Telamon*, *Teucer* attempted the recovery of his paternal kingdom; but *Euryſaces* entering into an alliance with the *Athenians* defeated his deſigns, and left the ſovereignty of the iſland to his ſon, or as others will have it, to his brother, *Philæus*, who of his own accord yielded the iſland to the *Athenians*, and

[a] Hiſt. Univer. Vol. II. p. 458, 459, 487, 538. [b] Strab. l. viii. Pausan. Attic. c. 35. [c] Plin. l. iv. c. 12. Strab. ubi ſupra. [d] Scholiast. in Lycoph. [e] Virgil. Æneid. v. 157. [f] Strab. ubi ſupra.

Ægina to demand the ſtatues, which the *Æginetes* refuſing to deliver, they ſent a ſhip with ſome of their citizens to *Ægina*, injoining them in caſe of a refuſal to uſe violence. Theſe attempting to pull down the ſtatues were ſo terrified by a dreadful earthquake, accompanied with thunder and lightening, that they became outrageouſly mad, and fell upon one another with ſuch fury, that one only remained alive, who made his eſcape to *Phaleron* in *Attica*. Thus the *Athenians* relate the ſtory. But the *Æginetes* tell us, that the *Athenians* arrived in their iſland with a numerous fleet, and not, as is pretended, with a ſingle ſhip, which they could have eaſily reſiſted. They add, that having landed their men without oppoſition, they marched directly to the ſtatues, which, as they endeavoured to pull them down with ropes, fell on their knees, and ever after continued in that poſture. Notwithſtanding this miracle, the *Athenians* perſiſted in their reſolution of carrying off the ſtatues; but in the mean time the *Argians*, at the requeſt of the *Æginetes*, having privately entered the iſland, cut off their retreat to the ſhips, and put them all to the ſword, one man only excepted, who, as the *Athenians* affirm, ſoon periſhed in the following manner: Having on his return to *Athens* given an account of this diſaſter, the wives of thoſe who had been killed in the iſland of *Ægina*, highly incenſed that one man alone ſhould be left alive of the whole number, crowded about him, and asking for their husbands killed him with the points of their pins. This action gave the *Athenians* more uneaſineſs than their defeat; and as they could not any other ways puniſh the women, they obliged them to change their dreſs, which was after the *Dorian* faſhion, and to wear the *Ionian* habit, that is, a linen veſt not faſtened with any pins. From this event a cuſtom was introduced among the *Argians* and *Æginetes* of making pins by three fourths larger than before. Of theſe pins conſiſted the chief offerings that were dedicated in the temples by the women of *Argina*, who in deſpite to the *Athenians* uſed, even in our hiſtorian's time, pins of an extraordinary ſize (64). This was the original of the enmity between the *Æginetes* and *Athenians*, which at laſt ended in the ruin of the former, as we have related in the hiſtory of *Athens* (65).

(64) *Herodot. l. v. Pauſan. in Corinth.* (65) *Hiſt. Univerſ. Vol. II. p. 487.*

retiring to *Athens* led there a private life. From him the tribe of the *Philiadæ*, of which was *Piſiſtratus*, borrowed its name [g]; but his deſcendants, among whom were *Miltiades* and *Alcibiades*, were called *Euryſacidæ* from *Euryſaces*. The iſland of *Salamis* was taken from the *Athenians* by the *Megaræans*, and held by them till the time of *Solon*, who being originally a *Salaminian*, prevailed upon the *Athenians* to attempt the recovery of that iſland. Their attempt was attended with ſucceſs, and the *Salaminians* again brought under ſubjection to *Athens*; in which ſtate they continued till the reign of *Caſſander*, whom they joined againſt the *Athenians*, and were on that account driven from their ancient habitations, a new colony being ſent from *Attica* to take poſſeſſion of their lands and eſtates. After the reduction of *Athens* by *Sylla*, *Salamis* was declared free, and enjoyed its freedom till it was with the other ſtates of *Greece* reduced by *Veſpaſian* to a *Roman* province. a b

Eubœa. The iſland of *Eubœa* went anciently by the names of *Chalcis*, *Ellopia*, *Aonia*, *Abantis*, or *Abantia*, *Macris*, *Oche*, *Bomo*, &c. [h] The name of *Chalcis*, which was common to the iſland, with its capital, *Stephanus* derives from *Chalce* the daughter of *Aſopus* king of *Bœotia*, and *Pliny* from a *Greek* word ſignifying braſs, which he ſuppoſes to have been firſt made uſe of here [i]. It was called *Ellopia* from *Ellops* the ſon of *Ion*, who ſettled in this iſland; *Aonia* from the *Aones*; *Abantia* from the *Abantes*, or, as *Strabo* inſinuates, from one *Abas* an ancient hero; *Macris* or *Macra* from its narrowneſs, that being the import of the *Greek* word, or from a nymph of that name, as the poets will have it, by whom they feign *Bacchus* to have been nurſed in a cave of this iſland; *Oche* from a high mountain; *Bomo* from the cattle, with which it was well ſtored, the ancient *Arabian* word *Bomo* or *Bohmo*, ſignifying, according to *Heſychius*, cattle, or herds of cattle. This appellation is perhaps the moſt ancient of all, the iſland having been firſt peopled, as *Strabo* informs us, by the inhabitants of *Arabia* and *Phœnice*. The name of *Eubœa*, according to ſome writers, was borrowed from an ancient heroin, according to others from a famous cave on the eaſtern coaſt of the iſland, called by the *Greek Boos Aule*, or the *Ox-ſtall*; but the common opinion is, that it was ſo named from its excellent paſtures. The name of *Eubœa* was changed in latter ages into that of *Egripos*, which is perhaps a corruption of the word *Euripus*; from *Egripos* was probably formed the modern name of *Negroponte*; for the *Franks* or weſtern *Chriſtians*, who firſt reſorted to this iſland, being unacquainted with the *Greek* tongue, and hearing the inhabitants ſay, *eis ton Egripon*, that is, to *Egripos*, took the name of the country to be *Negripon*, or *Negripont*. In like manner from miſunderſtanding the words *eis ton Delon*, to *Delos*, they formed *Sdelos*, *Sdillos*, and *Lisdelos*, all modern names of the ſaid iſland. Some have fooliſhly imagined that *Eubœa* was called *Negroponte* from its being joined to the continent by a bridge of black ſtone, the word *Negroponte* ſignifying in *Italian* a black bridge. This iſland lies oppoſite to the continent of *Attica*, *Bœotia*, and *Locris*, extending from cape *Sunium*, now *Capo delle colonne*, in *Attica* as far as *Theſſaly* [k]. It was formerly joined to *Bœotia*, as *Pliny* informs us, by an iſthmus, as it is at preſent by a bridge; ſo narrow in ſome places is the *Euripus* (K), which c d e

[g] Pausan. in Attic. Plato in Alcibiad. Calaber. l. iii. Herodot. l. i. Plut. ubi ſupra. [h] Strab. l. x. Plin. l. iv. c. 12. [i] Plin. ibid. [k] Strab. ubi ſupra. [l] Plin. l. iv. c. 12.

(K) That canal, or ſtrait, which divides *Eubœa* from *Attica*, *Bœotia* and *Locris*, was called by the ancients *Euripus*. It is ſo narrow over-againſt the capital, that a galley can ſcarce paſs through it. The agitations of the *Euripus* are, as every one knows, much ſpoke of by the ancients. Some, among whom *Antiphilus* of *Byzantium*, ſay that the whole canal has a flux and reflux only ſix times in four and twenty hours; but *Strabo*, *Pliny*, *Pomponius Mela*, *Seneca* the tragedian, and *Suidas* agree, that it ebbs and flows ſeven times a day. *Livy* does not allow this flux and reflux to be ſo regular. Father *Babin*, a jeſuit of great learning, who made many obſervations on the ſpot during his long abode in the iſland of *Negropont*, tells us, that the *Euripus* is regular in its ebbing and flowing the firſt eight days of the moon; the ſame regularity he obſerved from the fourteenth to the twentieth day inclusively, and in the three laſt days; but in the other days of the lunar month it is not ſo regular, for it ſometimes ebbs and flows eleven, twelve, thirteen, and fourteen times in the ſpace of a natural day. This irregularity, the cauſes of which both ancients and moderns have ſought for in vain, became proverbial among the *Greeks*; whence the expreſſions Ἄνθρωπος Εὔριπος, Εὔριπος διάνοια, Εὐριπίζειν, &c. to ſignify the caprices of an uncertain and fluctuating mind. In this ſenſe *Cicero* compares the *Comitia* or aſſemblies of the *Roman* people to the commotions and agitations of the *Euripus* (65). *Juſtin* the martyr, and *Gregory* of *Nazianzum* ſay, that *Ariſtotle* died of grief, becauſe he could not diſcover the cauſes of the flux and reflux of the *Euripus*; and the teſtimony of theſe fathers, uncertain as

(65) *Cic. in orat. pro Murana.*

a which divides it from the continent. It extends from north eaſt to ſouth-weſt a hundred and fifty miles; but its breadth bears no proportion to its length, being according to *Pliny*, and moſt of the modern geographers, forty miles over where broadeſt, and only twenty where narroweſt. It is three hundred and ſixty-five miles in compaſs, and has ſeveral remarkable promontories ſtretching a great way into the ſea. *Pliny* and *Mela* mention three, *Geraſtus* and *Cephareus* to the ſouth, and *Cenæum* to the north; *Geraſtus* faces *Attica*, *Cephareus* the *Helleſpont*, and *Cenæum* the country of *Locris* and *Thermopylæ* [m]. *Strabo* mentions a fourth, which he calls *Petalia*, and places over-againſt *Sunium* [n]. *Artemiſium*, which faces the *Pegaſæan* gulf, and is famous for the firſt victory gained by the *Greeks* over the fleet of king *Xerxes*, is
b counted by *Cornelius Nepos* [o], and *Plutarch* [p], among the promontories of *Eubœa*. The ſame writers tell us, that on the top of *Artemiſium* ſtood a temple or rather a chapel conſecrated to *Diana*, ſurnamed *Proſœa*, that is eaſtern. *Pliny* ſpeaks of *Artemiſium* as a town, and not a promontory. The doubling of cape *Caphareus* was in former times, when navigation was, we may ſay, in its infancy, reckoned very dangerous on account of the many rocks and whirlpools on that coaſt much ſpoke of by the ancients [q]. Among theſe rocks the *Grecian* fleet returning from *Troy* under the command of *Agamemnon* was ſhipwrecked by the treachery of *Nauplius* king of *Eubœa*, who underſtanding that his ſon *Palamedes* had been unjuſtly condemned by the artifice and intrigues of *Ulyſſes* and *Diomedes*, reſolved to revenge
c his death with the deſtruction of the whole fleet. To this end, as the *Greeks* were in all likelihood to ſail that way on their return from *Troy*, he cauſed fires to be made on the tops of the moſt dangerous rocks, not doubting but they would take them, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times, for tokens of a ſafe harbour, and thither ſteer their courſes. This malicious device had the deſired effect, two hundred ſhips and upwards being daſhed to pieces, and many thouſands of men periſhing in the whirlpools. However *Ulyſſes* and *Diomedes*, whoſe ruin *Nauplius* chiefly deſigned, had the good luck to eſcape the common calamity, which ſo grieved the king of *Eubœa*, that he threw himſelf headlong from one of thoſe very rocks, and periſhed in the ſea. *Caphareus* is at preſent, according to *Sophian* and *Niger*,
d called *Capo d'Oro*, *Capo Chimi*, and *Capo Figera*. Cape *Cenæum*, now *Capo Liter* from a neighbouring town of that name, is ſuppoſed by the poets to have been called *Cenæum* from *Cenæus* an ancient hero, whom *Neptune*, ſay they, rendered invulnerable. On this promontory ſtood a temple conſecrated to *Jupiter*, ſurnamed from the place *Cenæus*. From *Cenæum* to *Geraſtus*, now *Capo Roſſo*, *Strabo* meaſures the length of the iſland, theſe two promontories being according to him twelve hundred furlongs diſtant from each other, which meaſure agrees exactly with the length of the iſland, as ſet down by *Pliny*. In *Eubœa* are ſeveral high mountains covered great part of the year with ſnow; namely, *Oche* the higheſt of the whole iſland, *Telethrus*, *Dyrphis*, *Nedon*, *Cotyleus*, and *Chalcis*, whence the city of that name, which
e ſtood under it, was called *Hypechalcis*. On mount *Dryphis* was a famous temple dedicated to *Diana*, worſhipped there under the name of *Dryphas*. The following rivers are mentioned by *Strabo*, viz. *Callas*, *Budorus*, *Cireæus*, and *Neleus*, or, as others call it, *Melas*. The two latter, if that author is to be credited, had very different or rather oppoſite qualities, the wool of the ſheep that drank their waters turning white by thoſe of the *Cireæus*, and black by thoſe of the *Neleus* [r]. The ſame virtue *Pliny* aſcribes to the *Melas* and *Cephiſſus*, two rivers of *Bœotia*. That writer ſpeaks of another river in *Eubœa* called *Lelas*, which watered the territory of *Lelantum*; and *Strabo* of a fountain in the ſame territory, which he calls *Arethuſa*; but *Stephanus* will have *Arethuſa* to be the name of a city, and not of a foun-
f tain. The champain country of *Eubœa* is exceeding fruitful, yielding great plenty of corn, oil, wine, and all ſorts of delicious fruit; but it was chiefly famous for its rich paſtures, which the *Athenians*, as *Thucydides* informs us [s], made uſe of even before the *Peloponneſian* war to fatten their cattle.

[m] Plin. ibid. [n] Strab. l. x. ſub. init. [o] Corn. Nepos, in Themiſt. c. 3. [p] Plut. in Themiſt. p. 115. [q] Vide Senec. Agamem. v. 558. Virgil. Æneid. l. ix. v. 260 Ovid. Triſt. l. i. Eleg. 1. v. 83. Sil. Ital. l. xiv. v. 144. Tertullian. de Animal. c. 52. [r] Strab. l. x. [s] Thucyd. l. i.

as it is, gave riſe to the fabulous tradition, that this philoſopher leaped into the *Euripus* out of vexation at his not being able to account for its irregular motions, ſaying at the ſame time, *Since I cannot comprehend the ſea, let the ſea comprehend me.*

This

THIS island had in former times many cities of great note mentioned by *Strabo*, *Pliny*, *Ptolemy*, and *Mela*. On the eastern coast between the two promontories of *Geraestus* and *Capharcus* stood the cities of *Geraestus*, *Petalia*, and *Carystus*. *Petalia* is mentioned only by *Strabo* [t]; and *Geraestus* by *Homer* [u] and *Livy* [w], who speak of it not as a city, but a famous haven. In the time of *Stephanus* it was a village. *Carystus*, or, as *Ptolemy* writes it, *Caryste*, now *Castel rosso*, stood according to *Strabo* and *Livy* at the foot of mount *Ocha*, and was so called from *Carystus* the son of *Chiron*. It was also known by the names of *Chironia*, *Chiron*, and *Aegea* from *Aegon*, who reigned here, and is supposed by *Stephanus* to have given his name to the *Aegean* sea. The inhabitants of *Carystus* worshipped the giant *Briareus*, who according to *Homer* was the same with *Aegeon*, adored by the *Chalcidians*, the name of *Aegeon* being given him, as that poet informs us, by men, and that of *Briareus* by the immortal gods. Near *Carystus* were the two small villages of *Styra* and *Marmarium*, and at a small distance from the latter the famous quarries of marble in great request among the *Romans*, to whom it was known by the name of *Carystian* marble [x]. Here also was dug up the wonderful stone called *Amianthos* or *Asbestos*, whereof cloth was made, for it was spun and drawn into thread like hemp or flax, which, however stained, recovered, if *Strabo* is to be credited [y], its first gloss and beauty, if kept some time in the flames. *Styra* was first peopled by the inhabitants of *Marathon*, a city of *Attica*, and was destroyed in the *Lamian* war by *Phaedrus* the *Athenian* commander, who bestowed its territory on the *Eretrians*. About five miles from *Carystus* on the coast facing *Attica* and *Boeotia* stood the village of *Amarynthus*, famous for a temple of *Diana*, surnamed from thence *Amarynthia*. *Stephanus* speaks of *Amarynthus* as a separate island, wherein he was certainly mistaken. On the same coast over-against *Oropus* in *Attica* stood the ancient city of *Eretria*, the next, according to *Strabo*, in greatness, beauty and wealth to *Chalcis*. It borrowed the name of *Eretria* from *Eretreus* the son of *Phaeton*, one of the *Titans*, and was built, according to *Strabo*, by the *Athenians* before the *Trojan* war. *Herodotus* tells us [z], that it was peopled by *Aeolus* and *Clothus*, two *Athenians*, after the destruction of *Troy*. Other writers will have it to be a colony of another city in *Attica* bearing the same name. Be that as it will, *Eretria* was in the earliest ages a place of great renown, and at the height of its glory, as *Strabo* informs us [a], in the reign of *Darius Hystaspis*. The same writer mentions a pillar erected by the *Eretrians* in the temple of *Diana Amarynthia* with an inscription, the purport of which was, that they had triumphed with three thousand soldiers, six hundred horses, and sixty chariots. They were long masters of the islands of *Andros*, *Tenos*, and *Cos*, and carried on a war with the *Chalcidians*, which *Thucydides* stiles the *ancient war*. *Strabo* mentions a school of philosophers founded here by *Menedemus*, and called the *Eretrian* school. The ancient city of *Eretria* was destroyed by the *Persians*, and another, known by the name of *New Eretria*, built near the ruins of the former, which were still to be seen in *Strabo*'s time. The new city was overstocked, as we read in *Livy* [b], in proportion to its bigness and other riches, with pictures, statues, and ornaments of the like nature. The *Eretrians* in their speech used not only to add the letter R to the end, but insert it in the middle of their words; for which uncouth pronunciation they were ridiculed by the other *Greeks* [c]. The city of *Eretria* in *Thessaly*, and those which stood in the neighbourhood of *Pallene* and *Athos* in *Macedonia*, are said by *Strabo* to have been built and peopled by the *Eretrians* of *Euboea*. In the territory of *Eretria* stood *Oechalia*, formerly a city, but in *Pliny*'s time a village. *Strabo* likewise calls it a village, and adds, that the ancient city was destroyed by *Hercules* [d], which is confirmed by *Ovid* [e]. On the same coast over-against *Aulis* in *Boeotia* stood *Chalcis* the metropolis of the whole island, known to the ancients by the names of *Euboea*, *Stymphelos*, *Halicarna*, and *Hypochalcis*. The name of *Chalcis*, which prevailed over all the rest, is supposed to have been borrowed from the daughter of *Asopus* king of *Boeotia*, called *Combe*, and surnamed *Chalcis* from her having first invented brazen armor. *Chalcis* was built by *Aeclus* and *Clothus*, according to some before, according to others after the *Trojan* war, and is celebrated by all the ancients as a most magnificent, populous, and wealthy city. The *Chal-*

[t] STRAB. ubi supra. [u] HOMER. Odyss. Γ. v. 177. [w] LIV. l. xxxi. c. 45. [x] PLIN. l. xxxvi. c. 6. TIBULL. l. iii. Eleg. 3. [y] STRAB. ubi supra. [z] HERODOT. l. v. [a] STRAB. ubi supra. [b] LIV. l. xxxii. c. 16. [c] STRAB. ubi supra. [d] STRAB. ibid. p. 308. [e] OVID. de Ponto, l. iv. Epist. 8. v. 61.

cidians

a *cidians* applied themſelves early to navigation, and ſent numerous colonies into *Thrace*, *Macedon*, *Sicily*, *Corcyra*, *Italy*, *Lemnos*, &c. in all which places were cities, as *Ariſtotle* quoted by *Strabo* informs us, built and peopled by the inhabitants of *Chalcis* [e]. The *Chalcidians* are more commended by the ancients on account of their courage and bravery than for their morals, having been in all times infamous even among the *Greeks* for their unnatural luſt. Their avarice was a ſtanding topic of ridicule, as *Heſychius* informs us, among the ancient comedians [f]. *Chalcis* ſtood on the narroweſt part of the *Euripus*, being joined to *Bœotia* by a bridge; which ſituation agrees with that of the preſent city of *Negripont*. It was one of the three cities, which *Philip* the ſon of *Demetrius* uſed to call *the fetters of Greece* [g]. Between
b *Chalcis* and the promontory *Cenæum* ſtood the cities of *Ædepſum* and *Oreos*. The former was famous for its hot baths mentioned by *Pliny* and *Strabo*, who commend them under the name of the hot baths of *Hercules*. Near theſe iſſued ſuddenly out of the earth, if *Athenæus* is to be credited, in the reign of *Antigonus*, a ſpring of cold water, which, as it performed moſt ſtupendous cures, drew crowds of people to it from the moſt remote nations. But the governors of *Antigonus*, to whom *Eubœa* was then ſubject, obliging thoſe who uſed the waters to pay a certain tax, the ſpring immediately diſappeared. The city of *Oreos* built, according to *Homer*, during the *Trojan* war, was formerly one of the moſt powerful cities of *Eubœa*, the fourth part of the iſland belonging to the *Oreans* in the time of *Philip* the father of *Alexander*.
c In the ſeveral revolutions of *Greece* it became ſubject to different maſters, and after it had undergone many changes, it was by *Pericles* brought under ſubjection to the *Athenians*, who ſent thither a new colony after having driven out the ancient inhabitants, and obliged them to retire into a canton of *Theſſaly* called *Heſtiotides*. The newly tranſplanted *Athenians* changed the name of *Oreos*, which was given it becauſe built on a hill, into that of *Iſtiæa* or *Heſtiæa*, which was the name of their tribe. The territory of *Oreos* was famous for its vineyards, whence it is by *Homer* diſtinguiſhed with the epithet of *Polyſtaphylos*, that is, abounding with vines. *Goltzius* produces a medal of *Iſtiæa* with an ox on one ſide, alluding to the excellent paſtures of *Eubœa*, and bunches of grapes on the other, to ſhew the nature of the ſoil. In
d *Pliny*'s time this city was noways conſiderable, and now it is only a ſmall village called *Oreo*. Theſe are the cities of note on the coaſt facing *Attica* and *Bœotia*. On the north-ſide of the iſland over-againſt *Theſſaly*, and extending from *Cenæum* to *Artemiſium* ſtood *Dia* or *Athenæ Diades*, founded by one *Dias* an *Athenian*, who called it after his own name, and that of his native city *Athens*, *Diades*. This *Dios* was, according to *Stephanus*, the ſon of *Abas*, and brother of *Aleo* and *Arethuſa*. The inhabitants of *Dia* peopled the city of *Canæ* in *Æolis*. *Ptolemy* calls *Dia* or *Dium* only a promontory. On the coaſt, which is waſhed by the *Ægean* ſea, ſtood the city of *Cerinthus*, built, according to *Strabo*, by *Ellops* the ſon of *Ion*, and brother of *Æclus* and *Clothus*. *Pliny* counts this among the ancient cities of note in *Eubœa* [h].
e *Homer* mentions both *Dium* and *Cerinthus*, calling the latter a maritime city, and the other a high town [i]. The inland cities mentioned by *Strabo*, *Pliny*, *Ptolemy*, &c. are *Ellopia*, *Nyſa*, *Eubœa*, *Orabiæ*, *Rhamnus*, *Porthmus*, *Algæ*, and *Tamyne*. *Ellopia*, according to *Strabo*, ſtood at the foot of mount *Telebrium*, and was ſo called, as was alſo the whole iſland, from *Ellops* its founder, who, as the ſame author tells us, was the ſon of *Xuthus*, and grandſon of *Helleus*. The inhabitants of this city after the battle at *Leuctra*, were obliged by the tyrant *Philiſtides* to abandon their native country and ſettle at *Iſtiæa* [k]. *Algæ* ſtood over-againſt *Anthedon*, the laſt maritime city of *Bœotia* on the ſide of *Locris*; *Strabo* calls it the *Euboic Algæ*, and alſo *Æges*, to difference it from two other cities of that name, the one in *Achaia* near
f the river *Cratis*; the other in *Æolis*. The ſame author is of opinion, that from this place once famous for a temple of *Neptune*, the *Ægean* ſea borrowed its name. In the ſixth year of the *Peloponneſian* war the city of *Orobiæ* was in great part overthrown by an earthquake, and laid under water by the ſea, which on that occaſion broke in [l].

THE moſt ancient inhabitants of *Eubœa* were the *Titans*, according to *Solinus* [m], who by the kingdom of the *Titans* underſtands the iſland of *Eubœa*. But this opinion is only founded on the religious worſhip, which the inhabitants paid to *Briareus*

[e] STRAB. ibid. [f] Vide TRIS. Chilind. [g] POLYB. l. xvii. c. 40. [h] PLIN. l. iv. c. 12. [i] HOMER. catalog. v. 45. [k] STRAB. l. x. ſub initium. [l] THUCYD. l. iii. [m] SOLIN. c. 10.

and *Ægeon*, two of that race, or rather one known by two different names. Other writers taking no notice of the *Titans*, ſuppoſe the *Abantes* to have firſt peopled the iſland. Theſe took the name of *Abantes* from *Abas* a city of *Thrace*, whence they paſſed over into *Eubœa*, which from them was named *Abantis* and *Abantia*. This is the opinion of *Ariſtotle*, as quoted by *Strabo*; but others pretend that they were called *Abantes* from *Abas* their leader, who was the firſt that reigned in the iſland. The learned *Reineccius* takes the *Abantes* to be the *Arabians*, who, according to *Strabo*, followed *Cadmus* into *Eubœa*, and ſettled there. *Herodotus* counts the *Abantes* of *Eubœa* among the people of *Ionian* extraction [n]. *Homer* gives them the epithet of brave, and repreſents them with a long lock of hair on the back-part of their head; from which deſcription his interpreter *Euſtathius* concludes the *Curetes* and *Abantes* to be one and the ſame people; which was the opinion of *Archemagus*, an ancient *Eubœan* writer quoted by *Strabo* (L). 'Tis remarkable that *Homer*, who often ſtyles the iſland *Eubœa*, yet never calls the inhabitants *Eubœans*, but conſtantly *Abantes*. The *Pelaſgians* likewiſe abandoning *Peloponneſus* ſettled in this iſland [o], which on that account is called *Pelaſgia* by the ſcholiaſt of *Apollonius*. To theſe *Diodorus Siculus* adds the *Dorians*, *Æolians*, *Eleans*, and *Dryopes*. The latter being driven from *Phocis* by *Hercules*, after the death of their king *Phylas*, ſettled partly in *Eubœa*, where they built *Caryſtus*, and partly in *Cyprus* and *Peloponneſus* [p].

Eubœa muſt have been formerly a very conſiderable ſtate, ſince it is by the ancients ſtiled *the queen of the Ægean*, and by *Herodotus* equalled to the iſland of *Crete* itſelf. The *Chalcidians*, *Eretrians*, and *Caryſtians* were deemed expert mariners, and courted by the contending powers of thoſe days. They ſent forty ſhips, a grand armada in thoſe times, to the war of *Troy* under the conduct of their king *Elephenor*, and are ſaid, at leaſt by the poets, to have given on that occaſion proofs of an uncommon valour.

THE firſt form of government which prevailed in *Eubœa* was monarchical. *Solinus* dates the beginning of the *Eubœan* kingdom from the time of the *Titans*, which it is no eaſy matter to define. Others, taking no notice of the *Titans*, ſuppoſe *Abas* to have been the firſt who reigned in *Eubœa*. He was, according to *Homer* and *Euſtathius* [q] the ſon of *Neptune*, and the nymph *Arethuſa*. By the ſons of *Neptune* the ancients meant expert mariners, or princes powerful by ſea. *Iſaacius Tzetzes* tells us, that he was killed inadvertently by his grandſon *Elephenor*, who being provoked at ſeeing a ſlave, who led him in his old age, perform that duty without the due care, diſcharged a blow at him with a club; but miſſing the ſlave unfortunately killed the prince [r]. *Abas*, according to *Homer*, and the ſcholiaſt of *Apollonius*, had by his wife *Aglaia* two ſons, *Chalcodon* and *Canethus*. *Chalcodon*, who ſucceeded his father, made war upon the *Thebans*, reduced their city, and obliged them to ſubmit to an annual tribute. He was afterwards overcome and killed by *Amphitryon* the father of the *Theban Hercules*. Upon his death the *Thebans* recovered their ancient liberty. *Plutarch*, who mentions this war, calls the place where the battle was fought, and *Chalcodon* killed, *Leuctra* [s]. From this king *Homer* ſtiles the *Eubœans Chalcodontidæ* [t]. *Canethus*, who according to *Apollonius* [u] gave his name to a mountain of *Eubœa*, had a ſon named *Canthus*, who attended *Jaſon* in his expedition into *Colchis*, and loſt his life in that enterprize. *Chalcodon* had by his wife *Imonarete* two ſons, *Elephenor* and *Pyrœchmes*. The latter renewed the war againſt the *Thebans* and *Bœotians*; but being overcome and taken priſoner by *Hercules*, he was tied to two horſes, his arms to one, and his legs to the other, and cruelly torn aſunder [w]. *Elephenor* was baniſhed for killing his grandfather, as we have related above. But as his countrymen were preparing to ſet out for the *Trojan* war, he drew near the *Euripus*, and ſtanding on a rock on the *Bœotian* ſide of the ſtreight, he invited them

[n] HERODOT. l. i. [o] DION. HALICAR. l. i. [p] DIODOR. SICUL. l. x. [q] HOMER. Iliad. β'. [r] ISAAC. TZETZES in Caſſandr. Lycophron. [s] PLUT. in amat. narrat. [t] Vide EUSTATH. in Iliad. β'. [u] APOLLON. Argonaut. l. i. & IV. [w] PLUT. in parall.

(L) *Archemagus* was a native of *Eubœa*, wrote ſeveral books on the animals, and other remarkable things of that iſland, and is often quoted and commended by *Athenæus*. This ancient writer tells us, that the inhabitants of *Chalcis* and *Eretria*, diſagreeing about a certain field called *Campus Lelantus*, came to an engagement, wherein the *Eretrians* cloſing with the *Chalcidians*, and taking hold of them by their long hair, eaſily overcame them. Whereupon the *Chalcidians*, to prevent misfortunes of the like nature for the future, cut off their hair, leaving out of ſuperſtition but one lock on the back part of their heads. From this manner of ſhaving they were called, according to *Archemagus*, *Curetes*; ſo that the *Curetes*, who are ſaid to have once inhabited *Chalcis*, were originally *Abantes*.

to

a to aſſemble, convinced the aſſembly of his innocence, and prevailed upon them not only to reſtore him to his native country, but to entruſt him with the command of the fleet, conſiſting of forty ſhips, which was ready to ſet ſail for *Troy*. In this war *Elephenor*, if we believe *Homer* [x], gave proofs of an extraordinary valour; but was at laſt killed by *Agenor*. After the deſtruction of *Troy* the *Abantes* or *Eubœans* on their return home joined the *Locrians* of *Thronium*, and landing near the *Ceraunian* mountains poſſeſſed themſelves of the adjacent country, and built there a city; the city they called *Thronium*, but the country *Abantis*, and held them both till they were many years after driven out by the inhabitants of *Apollonia* [y]. Some writers tell us, that upon the death of *Elephenor*, *Nauplius* the father of *Palamedes* was placed upon the
b throne of *Eubœa*; but others are of opinion that the *Eubœans* immediately after the *Trojan* war formed themſelves into a republic, or rather into ſeveral ſmall republics, moſt of their cities being governed by their own laws, and quite independent of each other. In the reign of *Darius Hyſtaſpis* the cities of *Chalcis*, *Eretria*, *Caryſtus*, and *Oreos* were ſo many diſtinct republics, governed by the nobles, whom they called *Hippobates*, that is horſemen, none being admitted into the adminiſtration but ſuch as could maintain a certain number of horſes; whence it is manifeſt, that oligarchy prevailed at that time in thoſe cities. But this form of government was frequently diſturbed either by the unruly multitude introducing in its room a democracy, or by domeſtic tyrants, who, taking all the power into their own hands, ruled in their
c reſpective cities without controul. Among theſe we find the following tyrants mentioned by the ancients as reigning in the city of *Chalcis*, *Antileon*, *Phoxus*, *Meneſarchus*, *Callias*, and *Tauroſthenes*. The two firſt are ſpoke of by *Ariſtotle*, who tells us, that *Phoxus* was put to death by the incenſed multitude [z]. *Meneſarchus* committed great devaſtations in the territories of the *Athenians* without any ſort of provocation; but in the mean time the *Thebans* having made a deſcent in the iſland with a deſign to drive out the tyrants, and reſtore the cities to their former ſtate of liberty and independence, *Meneſarchus* had recourſe to the *Athenians*, who, notwithſtanding the injuries he had done them, haſtened to his aſſiſtance, and in the ſpace of thirty days obliged the *Thebans* to abandon the iſland, and leave the tyrants in the
d poſſeſſion of their uſurped power. *Meneſarchus* had two ſons, *Callias* and *Tauroſthenes*, and was ſucceeded by the former, who unmindful of the favours his father had received from the *Athenians*, joined *Philip* of *Macedon*, their declared enemy; but being overcome by *Phocion* the *Athenian* general, and diſgraced by *Philip*, he was obliged to ſue for peace, which the *Athenians* generouſly granted him, and even aſſiſted him to the utmoſt of their power againſt *Philip* and the *Thebans*, who had invaded his territories. When he ſaw himſelf attacked at once by two ſo powerful enemies, he went in perſon to *Athens*, and there in an aſſembly of the people pronounced an oration compoſed by *Demoſthenes*, which had ſo good an effect on their minds, that they not only forgot his ungrateful behaviour, but reſolved to ſend troops
e without delay to his aſſiſtance. By this means he withſtood the efforts of his enemies, and maintained his power to his death [a]. *Tauroſthenes*, according to ſome writers, ſucceeded him, according to others died before him. If he outlived him, he did nothing after he was veſted with the ſupreme power, which authors have thought worth tranſmitting to poſterity.

IN the city of *Eretria* reigned the following tyrants; *Diagoras*, who, as *Ariſtotle* informs us [b], having driven out the *Hippobates*, took the whole power into his own hands: *Themiſon*, who took the city of *Oropus* from the *Athenians*, and ſtirred up the *Thebans* againſt them; but afterwards changing his mind entered into an alliance with *Athens*, and aſſiſted his new allies in the recovery of *Oropus* [c]. *Plutarchus*, who
f being overcome in a pitched battle by the *Macedonians*, notwithſtanding the ſuccours ſent him from *Athens*, was driven out by his own ſubjects, and obliged to abandon the iſland [d]. Upon his flight the *Eretrians* recovered their ancient liberty, which they did not long enjoy; for diviſions and parties ariſing among the citizens, ſome of them favouring *Philip* of *Macedon*, and others the *Athenians*, *Philip* took advantage of theſe diſturbances, and by means of one *Hipponicus* having made himſelf maſter of the city, put the whole power into the hands of *Hipparchus*, *Automedon*

[x] HOMER. Iliad. β'. [y] PAUSAN. in Bœot. [z] ARISTOT. Polit. l. v. c. 4. & 12. [a] ÆSCHIN. in Orat. contra Cteſiph. [b] ARISTOT. Polit. l. v. c. 6. [c] DEMOSTH. pro Cteſiph. DIODOR. SICUL. l. xv. ÆSCHIN. de falſa legat. & contra Cteſiph. [d] PLUT. in Phocione. PAUSAN. in Attic. ULPIAN. in Orat. contra Midiam. ÆSCHIN. ubi ſupra.

and

and *Clitarchus*, who were all at the head of the *Macedonian* faction. But they were a
ſoon driven out by *Phocion* the *Athenian*, who reſtored the *Eretrians* to the enjoyment of their former liberty [e]. The city of *Oreos* was cruelly haraſſed by one *Philiſtides*, who was ſupported in his tyranny by *Philip*. He held alſo the city of *Ellopia*, which he obliged the inhabitants to abandon, and retire to *Oreos* [f]. Beſides the tyrants of particular cities, we find one *Tynnondas* mentioned by *Plutarch* [g] as lord of the whole iſland; but all we know of him is, that he was contemporary with *Solon* the legiſlator, and that he governed with great equity and moderation [h]. The wars of the *Eubœans*, with the *Athenians*, *Perſians*, and *Spartans*, we have deſcribed in the foregoing volume [i]; and therefore ſhall only add here, that they ſubmitted firſt to *Philip*, and then to his ſon *Alexander*, after whoſe death they ſhook off the b
Macedonian yoke, but were by *Antigonus* brought anew under ſubjection. When the *Romans* firſt paſſed over into *Greece*, the iſland of *Eubœa* was ſubject to the kings of *Macedon*, but ſoon after declared free by a decree of the ſenate in order to weaken the power of *Philip* in thoſe parts. *Antiochus*, ſurnamed the great, and *Mithridates* king of *Pontus*, were in their turns maſters of *Eubœa*; but the *Romans* prevailing in the eaſt reſtored the *Eubœans* to their former ſtate of liberty. *Mark Antony* ſubjected them to *Athens*; but *Auguſtus*, incenſed againſt the *Athenians* for ſiding with his rival, declared free firſt the city of *Eretria*, and ſoon after the whole iſland, which was governed by its own laws, and continued in a flouriſhing condition till the reign of *Veſpaſian*, when it underwent the ſame fate as the other ſtates c
of *Greece*.

IN the *Euripus*, now gulf of *Negropont*, *Pliny* places the iſland of *Atalanta*, which is mentioned alſo by *Ptolemy* and *Strabo*, and the *Petaliæ*, ſo called becauſe they lie over-againſt the city of *Petalia* in *Eubœa*. They are four in number, but rocks rather than iſlands. Some writers rank *Anticyra*, famous for its hellebore, among the iſlands of the *Ægean* ſea, and place it in the *Pegaſean* bay between *Eubœa* and *Theſſaly* over-againſt mount *Oeta*; but *Strabo*, a moſt accurate writer, though well acquainted with the other *Greek* iſlands, ſeems to have been quite a ſtranger to this. He mentions indeed two cities of this name, the one on the coaſt of *Phocis* near *Ciſſa* on the ſide of *Bœotia* [k]; the other, which he commends for its hellebore, as *Pau-* d
ſanias does the former [l], on the banks of the *Sperchius*, at an equal diſtance from mount *Oeta*, and the *Maliac* gulf [m]; but he no-where ſpeaks of an iſland bearing the name of *Anticyra*; and his ſilence inclines us, notwithſtanding the authority of *Pliny*, *Gellius*, and ſome modern geographers, to believe that there was no ſuch iſland; the more becauſe neither *Pliny* nor *Gellius* give us any account of its ſituation, but only tell us, that the iſland of *Anticyra* was famous for its hellebore, miſtaking in all likelihood one of the abovementioned cities for an iſland. But it is now time to diſmiſs this ſubject, and take our leave of the *Ægean* or *Archipelago*, having viſited with *Ptolemy*, *Strabo*, and *Pliny*, the beſt guides of antiquity, all the iſlands of note in that ſea, without ſuffering any thing to eſcape our notice, which thoſe eminent anti- e
quaries have thought worthy of obſervation. The preſent account, with that which we have delivered in the foregoing volume of the ſeveral *Greek* ſtates in *Europe* and *Aſia*, completes, we may ſay without preſumption, the moſt diſtinct and extenſive hiſtory of *Greece* that has hitherto appeared in any language.

[e] DIODOR. SICUL. l. xvi. PLUT. in Apoph. DEMOSTHEN. Orat. 3. in Philippum, & in Orat. pro Cteſiph. [f] STRAB. l. x. DEMOSTHEN. Orat. 3. in Philip. & Orat. pro Cteſiph. [g] PLUT. in Solon.
[h] Idem ibid. [i] Hiſt. Univerſ. Vol. II. p. 457. 460. 525. 601, &c. [k] STRAB. l. ix. p. 299.
[l] PAUSAN. in Phoc. c. 26. [m] STRAB. ibid. p. 299.

CHAP.


Vol 3. p. 253
North
South
West
East
PART OF DALMATIA
ADRIATIC SEA
IONIAN SEA
MACEDONIA
BISALTICA ADIECTA
PART OF THRACE
Pelagonia
Mygdonia
PAEONIA
Deuriopus
Axius R.
Strymon R.
Strymonius Sinus
Heraclea Sintica
Scotusa
Edones
Drabescus
Philippi
Topirus
Neapolis
Berga
Eion
Oesyma
Amphipolis
Thasus
Grestonia Sintica
BISALTICA
Chalcidia
Apollonia
Arethusa
Argilus
Stagira
Acanthus
Acrathos prom.
Physcus
Sane
Augea
Stratonice
Nymphaeum prom.
Gulf of Contessa
Morylus
Pidorus
Singus
Torone
Campsa
Chalcis
Anagonia
Olynthus
Gulf of Monte Santo
Ampelus prom.
Canastraeum prom.
Gulf of Armiro
Magnesia
Aphetae
Sepias prom.
Pagasa
Iolcos
Demetrias
Othrys M.
Pharsalus
Pteleum
Thebae
Pthia
Anticyra
Echinus
Thaumaci
Proerna
Phalacra
Lamia
Gulf of Zeiton
Thermopylae
EUBOEA I.
Canaum prom.
Peparethus
Alonesus
Scopelus
Olympus M.
Dium
Pydna
Methone
Pella
Aegae
Edessa
Beroea
Cyrrhus
Gordinia
Emathia
Lyncestae
Lyncus
Sydra
Pelium
Heraclea
Erigon R.
Arnissa
Lete
Sindus
Thessalonica
Aenia
Amphaxitis
Chalcidicus Sinus
Strymonius Sinus
Aestraei
Doberus
Aestraeum
Axius R.
Haliacmon R.
Lynceste
Eordei
Dassaretii
Taulantii
Scampis
Tychroviton
Gerunus R.
Apollonia
Aous R.
Dauka
Aulon
Bullis
Elimiotis
Penestiana
Cyrrhestis
Mieza
Tyrissa
Europus
Gerus
Berroea
Morus
Methone
Pydna
Pierus M.
Olympus M.
Dium
Phila
Aegea
Haliacmon R.
Lycus R.
Stymon R.
Sabon
Elyna
Amantia
Mediterranea
Lissus
Amantia
Calydnus R.
Oricum
Atintanes
Antigonia
Orestis
Tymphaea
Symphaea
Aous R.
Acroceraunii M.
Palaeste
Chimara
Onchesmus
Cestrinus
Epirus
Molossis
Dodona
Horreum
Phylace
Thessaliotis
Larissa
Cranon
Metropolis
Gyrton
Magnesia
Pharsalus
Iolcos
Gulf of Armiro
Azorus
Dotion
Tripolis
Malea
Phthiotis
Corone
Thebae
Pteleum
Anticyra
Echinus
Thaumaci
Proerna
Phalacra
Lamia
Gulf of Zeiton
Thermopylae
Doris
Aenianes
Perrhaebia
Pelasgiotis
Estiaeotis
Histiaeotis
Thessaliotis
Cassiope
Buthrotum
Phoenice
Panormus
Chaonia
Phalacrum prom.
Ambracia
Gulf of Ambracia
Argos Amphilochi
Sperchius R.
Apidanus R.
Enipeus R.
Peneus R.
Titaresius R.
Asopus R.
Ladon R.
Peneus R.
Nestus R.
Strymon R.
Axius R.
Haliacmon R.
Aous R.
Achelous R.
Arachthus R.
Thyamis R.
Acheron R.
Pamisus R.
Inachus R.
Eurotas R.
Alpheus R.
Peneus R.
Nestus R.
Strymon R.
Axius R.
Haliacmon R.
Aous R.
Achelous R.
Arachthus R.
Thyamis R.
Acheron R.
Pamisus R.
Inachus R.
Eurotas R.
Alpheus R.
The Kingdoms of MACEDON, THESSALY, and EPIRUS.
N. Bowen sculp.

CHAP. II.

The Hiſtory of the Macedonians.

SECT. I.

The deſcription of Macedonia.

a AS this country was anciently inhabited by various nations, ſo it was, in a long ſucceſſion of ages, diſtinguiſhed by different appellations, being ſometimes [a] called by the name of one of its diſtricts, and ſometimes by that of another, as the nation inhabiting thoſe regions prevailed. Thus, in the moſt ancient times, it took its name from *Æmathia* [b], which received its appellation from *Æmathius*, a prince of great antiquity; but afterwards the whole country, which the *Greeks* called *Macedonia*, received that denomination from [c] king *Macedo*, a deſcendant from *Deucalion*, as ſome think, or, as others affirm, by an eaſy mutation of *Mygdonia*, the name of one of its provinces, into *Macedonia* (A).

b THE bounds of this country are not very eaſily aſſigned, becauſe, according to the fortune of its princes, they have been ſometimes eſteemed larger, and ſometimes leſs. We ſhall however endeavour to accommodate our deſcription to the ſucceeding hiſtory in ſuch a manner, as that the reader may eaſily perceive what acceſſions it received from time to time from the valour of its ancient kings. And as to the alterations which it ſuſtained after it fell under the dominion of the *Romans*, and was reduced into a province, we ſhall conſider them in another place [d]. Of old then it was bounded on the eaſt by the *Ægean* ſea, on the ſouth by *Theſſaly* and *Epirus*, on the weſt by the *Adriatic* or the *Ionian* ſea, and on the north by the river *Strymon* and the *Scardian* mountains, afterwards by the river *Neſſus* or *Neſtus* (B).

[a] JUSTIN. l. vii. c. 1. LIV. l. xl. c. 3. [b] JUSTIN. ubi ſupra. PLIN. Natur. Hiſt. l. iv. c. 10. [c] CLUVER. Geog. l. iv. c. 9. [d] CLUVER. Geogr. ubi ſupra. CELLAR. Geogr. Antiq. l. ii. c. 13. p. 1030.

(A) The ancient names of countries are, generally ſpeaking, various, and hardly to be traced to their ſources. It is the opinion of many commentators on the holy ſcriptures, that by the כתיים *Chittim*, or the deſcendants of *Cheth*, we are to underſtand the inhabitants of this country (1). The learned *Bochart* is of a different ſentiment, and will have the *Chittim* to be the people of *Italy* (2). The judicious Mr. *Shuckford* ſupports the former notion, and hath offered many probable reaſons in juſtification of his reviving it (3). Some critics have fancied, that the old name might eaſily be reconciled to the new thus, κήτεσοι Μακῆται, Μακεδόνες; but whether in length of time this permutation of names might really happen, the reader's judgment muſt determine. As to *Cluverius* his conjecture, that *Macedonia* was derived from *Mygdonia*, through the different pronounciation of the *Greeks*, we can affirm nothing concerning it (4). The old opinion however ſeems preferable, that it was ſo called from the ancient hero *Macedo*, whom *Diodorus* aſſerts to have been the ſon of *Oſiris* (5); but *Solinus* will have him to be a deſcendent from *Deucalion* (6). They agree however in this, that from him this country received its name, which was before called *Æmathia*. Concerning the ancient king *Æmathius*, from whom this appellation came, we find nothing in hiſtory, except that he lived in the oldeſt times, and was probably the firſt king of that little diſtrict which retained his name, tho' it was a province only of *Macedonia* (7). It is from *Livy* that we learn *Paonia* was once the general name of this country, which afterwards became peculiar to a people thruſt up into the northern part thereof lying under mount *Scopus* (8). Thus much may ſuffice on this ſubject, which, however dry, the intelligent reader will find to have its uſes.

(B) The acceſſions of territory which *Macedonia* received from the wiſdom and virtue of its kings, were made at different times, and on account of different wars. *Caranus* and his immediate ſucceſſors were pent up in the very midſt of *Macedonia*, and the conqueſts they made were either towards the north, at the expence of the *Pelagonians*, *Edonians*, and other nations, or on the ſouth, where they gained ſome very rich and fruitful countries from the *Theſſalians* (9). In proceſs of time, when the *Perſian* king came to have great affairs in this part of the world, the tributary princes of *Macedon* found their account in it, and as the reward of their attachment to that crown, had ſeveral of the weſtern provinces beſtowed on them (10.) This enabled them

(1) *Gen.* x. 4. *Iſaiah* xxiii. 1, 12, 13. 1 *Maccab.* i. 1. viii. 5. (2) *Pol. Synop. Critic. in locis ſupradict. Bochart. Phaleg.* (3) *Connection of ſacred Hiſtory with profane, Vol. I. p.* 155. (4) *Crophii Antiq. Maced. l.* i. c. 4. (5) *Biblioth. Hiſtor. l.* i. *c.* 2. (6) *Polyhiſt. c.* 14. (7) *Hiſt. l.* vii. *c.* 1. (8) *Hiſt. l.* xl. *c.* 3. (9) *Juſtin. Hiſt. l.* vii. *c.* 1. (10) *Herodot. Thucyd. Diodor. Strab. Pauſan. &c.*

Pliny [e] tells us, that no leſs than an hundred and fifty different nations were ſeated within this territory; and [f] *Pomponius Mela* confirms the multitude of different ſtates in this country, by ſaying it had as many nations as cities. Of thoſe the [g] *Taulantii* inhabited the weſtern part, on the coaſts of the *Adriatic* ſea. Within this territory ſtood the city [h] *Epidamnum* or *Epidamnus*; which, for its unlucky name, the *Romans* afterwards thought fit to change into *Dyrrachium*; it is now called *Durazzo* (C) [i].

[e] Hiſt. Natur. l. iv. c. 10. [f] De Situ Orbis, l. ii. c. 3. [g] STRAB. Geograph. l. vii. p. 326. Edit. *Pari.*, 1620. ARRIAN. Exp. Alex. l. i. c. 5. [h] Dio CASS. l. xli. p. 176. CICER. pro Ligar. c. 9. PLIN. Hiſt. Natur. l. iii. c. 23. [i] STRAB. Geograph. l. vii. p. 322. CICER. Philip. II. c. 11. VELL. PATERC. l. ii. c. 59.

them to conteſt the poſſeſſion of the ſea-coaſts with the moſt powerful republics of *Greece*, who, under pretence of ſettling colonies, ſought by all poſſible methods to eſtabliſh large principalities and to draw immenſe riches to themſelves. The jealouſy the *Macedonian* kings had of this, their art in procuring ſupplies from one republic to diſtreſs another, and their dexterity in negotiating treaties, when they were no longer able to carry on war, reſtored them to the poſſeſſion of the eaſtern coaſt, and left them on that ſide no other boundary but the ſea. On the weſt they had ſtill many nations between them and the *Adriatic*, when *Philip* the father of *Alexander* came to the throne; but he, contemning all limits not ſet by nature, forced all thoſe nations to ſubmit to his ſway; and having conquered all the country to the ſea on this ſide, he turned his arms to the ſouth-eaſt, where driving out the *Athenians*, *Thracians*, and other nations, he added all the rich and plentiful regions between the rivers *Strymon* and *Neſſus* or *Neſtus* to *Macedonia*, adorning the old city of *Crenides* with rich and ſtately buildings, and calling it from his own name *Philippi* (11). This account will free the reader from thoſe difficulties, which otherwiſe in the peruſal of this work might frequently give him trouble. He will therein meet with accounts of wars carried on by the *Lynceſtians*, *Almopians*, and other nations, againſt the *Macedonians*, tho' it ſhould ſeem that the countries inhabitated by theſe nations were within the limits of *Macedonia*; he will find the *Athenians*, *Corcyrians* and *Corinthians* holding large diſtricts in this country; and he will hear the river *Strymon* ſometimes, at other the river *Neſſus*, named as the boundaries of *Macedonia* on the eaſt, and the authorities of the ancients quoted for both (12); all of which this ſhort account will render perfectly clear and intelligible.

(C) The city of *Epidamnus* was ſeated on the entrance of the *Ionian* gulf (13). It was a colony of the *Corcyrians*, but ſettled under the command of *Phalius* the ſon of *Heratoclidas*, a *Corinthian* by birth, and as to family, deſcended of *Hercules*. At the time of their ſettlement here, the *Taulantii* looked upon the territory they ſeized as juſtly belonging to them; on which account the riſing city and its inhabitants were frequently diſturbed by them, and other barbarous nations; but by degrees the *Epidamnians* grew powerful, and ſtood in little awe of their neighbours, till their own ſeditions furniſhed both with opportunity and force the *Taulantii* their ancient enemies. This happened about the ſecond year of the eighty-fifth olympiad, when the commons having expelled the nobility, conſtrained them to fly to the barbarians. Theſe excited by the exiles, preſently invaded the territories of the *Greeks*, and ſhortly after beſieged the city, which they reduced to great ſtreights. The *Epidamnians* in great diſtreſs applied themſelves for aſſiſtance to the *Corcyrians*, but were refuſed. They then, at the inſtance of the oracle, made ſuit to the *Corinthians*, who furniſhed them ſpeedily and effectually with all things they deſired. This terribly incenſed the *Corcyrians*, who thought the *Corinthians*, in relieving their colony, had meddled where they had nothing to do, notwithſtanding that they themſelves were a colony from *Corinth*, and that part of the original colony ſettled at *Epidamnus* were *Corinthians* alſo. The next year therefore after the *Corinthians* had relieved this city, the *Corcyrians* fitted out a great fleet, attacked the *Corinthians*, and their allies, and alſo beſieged *Epidamnus*; which proceeding of theirs induced what was called the *Corinthian* war, of which we have given the reader an account elſewhere (14). In ſucceeding times this, like the reſt of the *Macedonian* cities, laid hold of every opportunity of aſſerting its freedom; and tho' we cannot be very particular as to the accidents which befel it in ſo long a ſeries, yet we know that the fact was ſo; for we find *Diodorus Siculus* ſetting down the reduction of this place by *Caſſander*, who left a garriſon therein; however in a ſhort time afterwards the city diſmiſſed the garriſon, and ſided with *Glauſias* king of the *Illyrians* (15). After *Epidamnus* fell under the juriſdiction of the *Romans*, they are ſaid to have changed its name into *Dyrrachium*, on account of the unluckineſs of its former appellation (16), tho' *Appian* ſays, that the *Corcyrians* made this change; holding its ancient name *Dyrrachium* to be ominous, they called it *Epidamnus* (17); however the former ſeems to be the more probable opinion of the two, ſince *Plautus* gives us the reaſon why the laſt mentioned name was thought unlucky, it being expreſſive of the nature of the inhabitants, who were, generally ſpeaking, knaves, ſycophants and proſtitutes; his words are theſe,

Nunc ita eſt hac hominum natio Epidamnia;
Voluptarii atque potatores maximi;
Tum ſycophantæ & palpatores plurimi
In urbe hac habitant; tum meretrices mulieres
Nuſquam perhibentur blandiores gentium.
Propterea huic urbi nomen Epidamno inditum eſt:
Quia nemo ferme huc ſine Damno divortitur (18).

Some have thought, that *Dyrrachium* was rather the name of the port than the city; and others again have ſuggeſted, that the ancient city of *Epidamnus* ſtood on the continent, whereas *Dyrrachium* was ſeated in a peninſula (19). It is now without doubt called *Durazzo*, and is a port of conſiderable note, that is, conſidering the condition of other maritime places on this coaſt, which once made a conſiderable figure in ſtory (20).

(11) *Demoſthen. in Orat. Philip. Plutarch. in Vit. Demoſthen. & Phocion.* (12) *Diodor. Sicul. Biblioth. l.* xxi, xxii, xxiii. *Plin. Hiſt. Nat. l.* iv. *c.* 10. *Solin. Polyhiſt. c.* 14, 15. *Tit. Liv. l.* xlv. c. 29, 30. *Strabon. Geogr. l.* vii. *Pomp. Mel. l.* xliv. (13) *Cluver. Geogr. l.* iv. *c.* 9. (14) *Thucyd. de bello Peloponn. l.* i. (15) *Diodor. Sicul. Biblioth. l.* xix. (16) *Plin. Hiſt. Natur. l.* iii. *c.* 23. (17) *Appian. l.* ii. (18) *Menachm. Act.* ii. *Scen.* i. *ver.* 33. (19) *Scaliger. Animad. in Euſeb. p.* 78. (20) *Bunon. in Cluver. Geog. ubi ſupra.*

Apollonia

a *Apollonia* ſtood alſo within the confines of this people, ſeven *Roman* miles from the ſea-ſhore, a city remarkable for its excellent laws, and in latter times celebrated as a ſeat of learning, tho' now fallen into ſuch decay, that authors are not well agreed about its modern name (D). South of the *Taulantii*, but ſtill on the coaſt of the *Adriatic*, lay the country of the *Elymiotæ*, whoſe chief cities were *Elyma* and *Bullis* [k], both ſea-ports, and both mentioned by *Pliny* [l]. Eaſtward of the *Elymiotians* lay a little inland diſtrict, called the kingdom of *Oreſtes* (E), ſaid to have received its name from the ſettling here of the ſon of *Agamemnon*, after he had ſlain his mother [m]. Its capital was *Gyrtone*, mentioned by *Pliny* [n]. The *Eordians* lay behind the country of the *Taulantii*, and between it and the kingdom of *Oreſtes* [o]. To the north of theſe
b lay the territory of the *Daſſaretæ* [p], whoſe chief cities were *Lychnides* and *Evia*. *Polybius* [q] indeed calls the former *Lychnidia*. It was a place remarkable for its fine

[k] Thucyd. Bel. Pelop. l. xi. p. 169. [l] Hiſt. Nat. l. iv. c. 10. p. 53. l. iii. c. 5. p. 40. [m] Liv. l. xxxiii. c. 34. & l. xlii. c. 38. Steph. in voce Ὀρεστία. [n] Hiſt. Natur. l. iii. c. 5. p. 40. [o] Herod. l. vii. c. 185. Strabo, Geogr. l. vii. p. 223. [p] Liv. l. xliii. c. 9. [q] l. v. p. 353.

(D) *Apollonia* ſtood ſeven miles from the ſea on the river *Laus*. It was a colony of the *Corinthians*, and alſo of the *Corcyrians*, perhaps in the ſame manner as *Epidamnus*. It had ſome time the name of *Gylace* from *Gylaces* a *Corinthian*, who probably was the leader of the firſt colony (21). There is a very remarkable ſtory relating to this city related by *Herodotus*; and inaſmuch as we ſhall have no occaſion to ſpeak of it elſewhere, it is but juſt the reader ſhould meet with it here. "In the territories of *Apollonia*, a flock of ſheep ſacred to the ſea fed by "day on the banks of a river, which deſcending "from the mountain *Laemon*, runs through that "country into the ſea, at the port of *Oricus*; but "by night they are folded in a cave far diſtant from "the city, and guarded by men choſen annually to "that end, out of the moſt eminent among the ci"tizens for birth and riches; becauſe the people of "*Apollonia* ſet a high value upon theſe ſheep, pur"ſuant to the admonition of an oracle. *Euenus* "being choſen keeper of this flock, neglecting his "charge, fell aſleep, and in the mean time wolves "entering the cave, deſtroyed about ſixty of the "ſheep. When he awaked, and ſaw what was done, "he ſaid nothing to any man, thinking to pur"chaſe the like number, and to put them among "the reſt; but the *Apollonians* being ſoon informed "of the thing, cauſed him to appear without delay "before the court of juſtice, and ſentenced him to "loſe his eyes for ſleeping when he ought to have "watched. Nevertheleſs, when they had thus pu"niſhed *Euenus* with blindneſs, the ſheep brought "no more lambs, nor the earth her uſual increaſe, "as the oracles of *Dodona* and *Delphi* had predicted. "And when they applied themſelves to the pro"phets to know the cauſe of the preſent calami"ties, they told them, that they had unjuſtly put "out the eyes of *Euenus* the keeper of the ſacred "ſheep; that they themſelves had ſent in the "wolves, and would not diſcontinue their ven"geance, till the *Apollonians* ſhould make him full "ſatisfaction, and ſuch amends for the injury as he "himſelf ſhould chuſe and judge ſufficient; after "which they would make ſo valuable a preſent to "*Euenus*, that the greater part of men ſhould think "him happy. Theſe predictions the *Apollonians* "kept ſecret, and appointed ſome of their citizens "to act in conformity to their intentions; which "they did in this manner: Having found *Euenus* "ſitting on a chair, they ſat down by him, and, "after other diſcourſe, expreſſed their ſorrow for "his affliction, taking occaſion from thence to ask "him what reparation he would chuſe, if the *Apol*"*lonians* were diſpoſed to give him ſatisfaction. "*Euenus*, who had not heard of the oracle, ſaid, If "they would give him the lands of inheritance be"longing to two citizens he named, and which he "knew to be the beſt of that country, and would "moreover add to that gift the moſt magnificent "houſe of the city, he would be reconciled to "them, and contented with that ſatisfaction. Thoſe "who ſat by him immediately taking hold of his "anſwer, *Euenus*, ſaid they, the *Apollonians* offer "you the reparation you demand for the loſs of "your eyes, in obedience to an oracle they have "received: Which when *Euenus* heard, he was "not a little mortified to find himſelf deceived by "this artifice. However, the *Apollonians* having "firſt ſatisfied the poſſeſſors, made him a preſent "of the lands he demanded, and in a ſhort time "he obtained the ſpirit of divination, and acquired "a conſiderable name (22)." In the days of *Caſſander* king of *Macedon*, it ran the ſame riſque that *Epidamnus* did, that is, of being reduced under his dominion; but by the help of the *Illyrians*, it threw off his yoke (23). Under the *Romans* it flouriſhed and was very famous, particularly on account of its pleaſant ſituation, which invited many perſons to ſettle therein, and form a kind of academy. It is now (as we think) called *Pallina* (24).

(E) The little diſtrict in the kingdom of *Macedonia*, which retained for ages the denomination of *Oreſtes*'s kingdom, is ſaid to have derived that title thus: *Oreſtes* the ſon of *Agamemnon*, after he had been acquitted of his mother's murder, and had ſtolen away *Hermione*, retired with ſuch *Greeks*, as out of regard to his virtue, were content to follow his fortunes, through *Theſſaly* and *Epirus* into this region, which lay on the borders of the latter, and there ſettled himſelf. Here by *Hermione* he had a ſon, whom after his own name he called *Oreſtes*, who ſucceeded him in the kingdom, and by his juſt and gentle ſway, ſo endeared himſelf to his people, that in memory of his and his father's goodneſs towards them, they called their country and themſelves after the name of theſe princes (25). This people, tho' they lived within the bounds of the *Macedonian* kingdom, and were obedient to its kings, at leaſt after the reign of *Philip*, yet they preſerved ſuch privileges, and vindicated their liberty with ſuch firmneſs, that when the *Romans*, after the overthrow of *Perſeus*, poſſeſſed themſelves of *Macedon*, they left this people in freedom, and allowed them to ſet up the form of a dependent commonwealth, acknowledging the *Roman* protection, but not the juriſdiction of the provincial magiſtrates (26).

(21) *Eraſm. Vinding. Hellen.* p. 372. (22) *Herodot.* l. ix. (23) *Diodor. Sicul.* l. xix. *Cluver. ubi ſupra.* (24) *Buno in Not. Cluver. Introd. Geog.* l. iv. c. 9. (25) *Stephanus in voce* Ὀρεσται. (26) *Tit. Liv. Hiſt.* l. xliii.

ſituation

ſituation near a lake of the ſame name, and is at this day called *Ochrida* [r]. East of a
this country lay *Æmathia* [s] properly ſo called, a region from whence, as we have
ſaid, the whole country ſince called *Macedonia* derived its moſt ancient name. It
ſtretched itſelf quite to the *Sinus Tharmaicus*, or, as it is now called, the gulf of
Salonichi, and contained ſeveral famous cities, particularly *Ægæa* or *Edeſſa*, the
ancient capital of the *Macedonian* kingdom, of which we ſhall have hereafter occaſion
to ſpeak at large, it having been the royal ſeat of *Caranus* the firſt king of *Macedon*,
and the burial-place of the kings of his line to the time of *Alexander* the great [t].
Pella, anciently called *Bunomos* or *Bunomia*, ſeated at the mouth of the river *Actius*,
famous for being the birth-place of *Philip* and his ſon *Alexander*, and for having in
its neighbourhood the tomb of *Euripides* the celebrated tragic poet [u]. *Europus*, a b
place ſeated, as *Pliny* tells us, on the river *Actius* [x], and *Beræa*, where a ſedition was
raiſed againſt the apoſtle *Paul* by the *Jews* [y]. South-eaſt from *Æmathia*, and cloſe
on the ſhore of the gulf of *Saloniotis*, lies the little country of *Pieria* [z], famous for its
being the region of the muſes, who were from thence ſtiled *Pierides*. Its chief
cities were *Pydna*, anciently called *Citron*, ſtanding between the mouths of the rivers
Aliacmon and *Lydius*, in which *Olympias* the mother of *Alexander*, *Roxana* his wife,
and *Alexander* his ſon were put to death by *Caſſander* [a]. In its neighbourhood was
fought the deciſive battle between *Paulus Emilius* the *Roman* conſul and *Perſeus* king
of *Macedon*, wherein the latter was utterly defeated [b]. *Phylace* and *Dion* or *Dium*,
a ſtrong town, in which *Alexander* the great is ſaid to have ſeen a viſion, wherein he c
was promiſed the conqueſt of the *Perſian* empire [c]. On the other ſide of *Æmathia*,
that is, to the north, lay the country of *Mygdonia*, in which were the cities of *Antigo-
nia*, *Letæ* and *Terpilus* [d]. East of this we find the region of *Amphaxitis*, in which
ſtood the noble city of *Theſſalonica*, anciently called *Therma*, or rather built near the
place where that old city ſtood. Its founders were *Caſſander* and *Theſſalonica* the
daughter of *Philip*, and ſiſter to *Alexander* the great. It is celebrated in hiſtory on
many accounts, and is at this day the moſt conſiderable place in *Macedonia*, under
the name of *Salonichi* [e]. *Stagira*, a city famous for producing *Hipparchus* the philoſo-
pher, and the celebrated *Ariſtotle* preceptor to *Alexander* the great, whoſe knowledge
was as extenſive as the conqueſts of his pupil [f] (F). South-eaſt of this country lies d
the region of *Chalcidica*, in which were the towns of *Angæa*, *Singus* and *Acanthus*,
now called *Eriſto* [g]. Next lay the country of *Paraxis*, full of gulfs and inlets formed
by the *Ægean* ſea. In it were the cities of *Palena* [h], anciently called *Phlegra*, as
Herodotus tells us, in the neighbourhood of which there dwelt of old certain cruel and

[r] Bunon. in Cluver. Geog. l. iv. c. 9. [s] Justin. l. viii. c. 1. Lucan. l. i. [t] Justin. ubi ſupra. Plin. H. N. l. iv. c. 10. Diodor. Sicul. l. xix. c. 52. [u] Herod. l. vii. c. 123. Liv. l. xliv. prop. fin. P. Mel. de Sit. Orb. l. ii. c. 3. [x] Hiſt. Natur. Strabo, Excerp. l. vii. Philost. l. ix. c. 8. [y] Act. Apoſt. c. xvii. [z] Strabo, ubi ſupra. [a] Strabo, ubi ſupra. Diodor. Sicul. l. xix. Just. l. xiv. c. 6. [b] Tit. Liv. l. xliv. c. 8. [c] Tit. Liv. l. xliv. c. 9. Thucyd. l. iv. p. 305. Polyb. l. iv. c. 42. Arr. l. i. [d] Thucyd. l. ii. p. 170. [e] Herod. l. vii. Thucyd. l. i. p. 40. [f] Diodor. Sicul. l. xvii. Herod. l. vii. c. 115. Thucyd. l. iv. p. 311. [g] Herod. l. vii. c. 22. [h] Thucyd. l. i. p. 41.

(F) *Theſſalonica* had the good luck to remain always conſiderable in the midſt of that almoſt total ruin, which various conqueſts brought on *Macedonia*. *Strabo* tells us, that in his time it was the moſt flouriſhing city in the kingdom (27). *St. Paul* found it no leſs flouriſhing, when he preached the goſpel therein; and how great regard he had for the church there, appears from the epiſtles directed thereto (28). Even at this day it makes a very great figure under the name *Salonichi*, and is not only very remarkable for the great trade carried on there, by which its inhabitants are ſtill rich, at leaſt in proportion to their neighbours, but alſo for the noble ruins which teſtify its ancient magnificence. There are the remains of ſeveral triumphal arches, as well as one which is ſtill almoſt entire, erected in honour of the emperor *Antoninus*. There are alſo churches now turned into moſques of ſurpriſing beauty, particularly that which was conſecrated to St. *Demetrius*, containing two churches, one over the other, both of excellent marble, and adorned with upwards of a thouſand columns of jaſper, porphyry, *&c.* In this, and in other churches, are the tombs of ſeveral illuſtrious perſons, and without the city are numerous fragments of antiquity, with variety of inſcriptions. There are alſo quantities of medals frequently found here; but the *Turks* are ſo incurious, that they ſet no value upon them, and ſo careleſs that they will not preſerve them for thoſe that do; inſomuch that travellers are conſtrained to make uſe of various arts to obtain from this illiterate nation, pieces of which they neither know the uſe, nor account them of any value (29). It is very probable, that the excellent ſituation of *Theſſalonica* hath been the chief cauſe of that reſpect which all conquerors have ſhewn it. It has certainly ſuch advantages therefrom as are ſcarce to be met with elſewhere, and which have been celebrated by the ancients, as well as admired by the moderns.

(27) *Geograph. l.* vii. *p.* 330. (28) *Two epiſtles to the Theſſalonians.* (29) *Voyages du S. P. Lucas, Tom. I. p.* 203.

inhoſpitable

a inhoſpitable giants, who were extirpated by *Hercules* [i]. *Potidæa* a colony of *Corinthians*, but afterwards poſſeſſed by the *Athenians*, from whom it was taken by *Philip* the father of *Alexander*. It was afterwards re-edified by *Caſſander*, who called it from his own name *Caſſandria*, which appellation it ſtill retains [k]. *Torone*, from whence the neighbouring bay received the appellation of *Toronaicus* [l]. *Olinthus*, a city famous for the ſeveral ſieges it ſuſtained, and for being the birth-place of *Calliſthenes* the philoſopher [m]. The *Biſaltæ* held a ſmall country bordering on the *Sinus Strymonicus*, and in the northern part of *Macedonia*. Their chief cities were *Euporia*, *Oſſa* and *Calitera* [n]. North-weſt from them lay the region of *Edonia*, on the confines of which ran the river *Strymon*. In it ſtood the cities of *Amphipolis*, *Scotuſa* and
b *Berga*; the firſt famous for being a colony of the *Athenians* [o]; and ſome think that the ancient city *Crenides* ſtood alſo within its bounds, which *Philip* the father of *Alexander* rebuilt, and called *Philippi* [p]. North-weſt of this territory lies the country of *Pelagonia*, bordering on mount *Hæmus*, the chief city of which was *Stobi*, now called *Starachino* [q]. Weſt of it lies *Orbelia*, in which were ſeated the cities of *Orma* and *Gariſcus* [r]. Next, bending to the ſouth-weſt, lies the country of *Joria*, in which ſtood the city of *Jorum*. Weſt from it is ſituate the territory of the *Almopians*, in which ſtand the cities of *Europus*, *Albanopolis* and *Aſpalus* [s]. Directly ſouth of theſe we find the region of the *Æſtrians*, the chief city in which was anciently called *Æſtrium* [t]. Eaſt of them, and in the very heart of *Macedonia*, lies the country of
c the *Lyncheſti*, the chief city in which was called *Heraclea* [u]; north of which lay the inland country of *Sintica*, the principal towns in which were *Paræcopolis* and *Triſtolus* [x].

The uſe of this deſcription.

THE reader may poſſibly think he might have been ſpared ſo particular a detail of nations and cities now no more; but he will eaſily perceive from the following hiſtory, that an accurate deſcription of the ancient *Macedonia* was abſolutely neceſſary to render it intelligible; and he will be the better ſatisfied, when we aſſure him, that the foregoing deſcription was not collected without great pains taken, not only in comparing ancient hiſtorians, but modern geographers alſo, and the relations of ſuch travellers as have ſeen the ruins of thoſe cities, which make ſuch a figure in an-
d cient hiſtory, and are yet very differently placed in our maps.

The extent of Macedonia.

Macedonia, according to *M. del' Iſle*'s map of *Greece*, lies between the 40th and 42d degrees of north latitude, and between the 37th and 42d degrees of longitude. *Brietius* reckons from mount *Orbelus* to *Pindus*, that is, from north to ſouth, 2000 *ſtadia*, and from *Epidamnus* to mount *Athos* 2500 *ſtadia* [y] from weſt to eaſt. According to the map before-mentioned it is from north to ſouth about 160 miles, and from weſt to eaſt about 220. Its form is very irregular; but its ſituation is excellent, in reſpect that it is waſhed on the eaſt by the *Ægean* ſea, and on the weſt by the *Ionian*; which advantages however were never cultivated as they might have been, nor were the *Macedonians* ever powerful at ſea, notwithſtanding that many noble bays and
e excellent harbours are to be found in their country.

Mountains.

AMONGST the moſt conſiderable mountains in this region, we may reckon that great ridge running acroſs the north part thereof, ſtiled the *Scardian* mountains. In this part alſo of *Macedon* ſtood mount *Pangæus*, lofty and well covered with wood, yet infinitely more valuable from its contents, which were both gold and ſilver, as we ſhall ſhew elſewhere [z]. *Hæmus*, or rather *Aemus*, the weſtern ſpurs of which joining the *Scardinian* hills, divide this country from *Thrace* [a]. *Athos* in the *Chalcidian* region, one of the moſt celebrated mountains in the world [b]. *Mela* reports, that it is ſo high as to reach above the clouds [c]. *Martianus Capellus* affirmed it to be ſix miles high [d]; and it was a received opinion, that it never rained thereon, be-
f cauſe the aſhes left on the altars erected near its ſummit, were always found as they were left, dry and unſcattered; but if on many accounts it was famous among the ancients, it is no leſs ſo among the moderns. The *Greeks*, ſtruck with its ſingular

[i] HEROD. l. vii. c. 123. [k] TIT. LIV. l. xliv. c. 11. STRAB. Excerp. l. vii. [l] DIODOR. SICUL. l. xvi. c. 55. POMP. MELA, l. ii. c. 3. [m] DIODOR. SICUL. l. xvi. c. 54. [n] TIT. LIV. l. xxxv. c. 29. PLIN. H. N. l. iv. [o] THUCYD. l. iv. p. 320. HEROD. l. vii. c. 114. TIT. LIV. l. xliv. c. 45. [p] PLIN. H. N. l. iv. c. 11. [q] STRABON. Geogr. l. vii. p. 225. [r] CLUVER. l. iv. c. 9. [s] PLIN. H. N. l. iv. c. 10. THUCYD. l. ii. p. 170. [t] CLUVER. ubi ſupra. [u] THUCYD. l. iv. p. 333. [x] CLUVER. ubi ſupra. [y] Les Etats & Empires, Tit. Macedonie. [z] PLIN. Hiſt. Nat. l. iv. c. 11. D. CASS. l. xlvii. p. 347. [a] PLIN. Hiſt. Nat. l. iv. c. 11. DIOD. SICUL. l. iv. c. 84. [b] HERODOT. l. vii. c. 22. PLIN. Hiſt. Nat. l. iv. c. 11. [c] De Situ Orbis, l. ii. c. 2. [d] ap. VAREN. Geogr. l. i.

ſituation, and the venerable appearance of its towering aſcent, erected ſo many a churches, monaſteries and hermitages thereon, that it became in a manner inhabited by devotees, and from thence received the name of the *holy mountain*, which it ſtill retains, tho' many of thoſe conſecrated works are now decayed (G). *Olympus*, another

(G) This mount *Athos* is thought to have received its name from a giant, who, the ſcholiaſt on *Theocritus* informs us, was the ſon of *Neptune* and *Rhodope*; but in this there is a concealed meaning, becauſe he is ſaid to have removed this mountain from the neighbourhood of a lake of the laſt-mentioned name: Hence he is called the ſon of *Rhodope*, becauſe from her he came; and the ſon of *Neptune*, becauſe he came to him. There are coins, which on their reverſe have the ſummit of mount *Athos*, with a man of a gigantic ſize lying on the rocks, with his right hand over his head. Whether this be the *Giant*, the *Genius* of the *Mountain*, or *Jupiter Athous*, is not clear (21). As to the cutting of the iſthmus which unites it to the land, *Herodotus* gives us the following account of it, and therein an admirable deſcription of the mountain: "*Athos* is a "mountain of great fame and magnitude, leaning "upon the ſea, and well inhabited. It terminates "to the landward in the form of a peninſula, and "makes an iſthmus of about twelve ſtades in length, "containing a plain with ſome mixture of little "hills from the coaſt of *Acanthus* to that of *Te*"*rone*. On this iſthmus, which lies at the foot of "mount *Athos*, ſtands *Sana* a *Grecian* city; but "*Xerxes* determined to cut off from the continent "all the other cities, which being built upon the "mountain, and beyond this place, were *Dion*, *Olo*"*phyxus*, *Acrothoon*, *Thyſus* and *Cleone*. The opera"tion was carried on in this manner; the barba"rians having drawn a line before the city of *Sana*, "divided the ground among the ſeveral nations. "and when the trench was conſiderably ſunk, thoſe "who were in the bottom continued to dig, and "delivered the earth to men ſtanding upon ladders, "who handed the ſame again to ſuch as were placed "in a higher ſtation, till at laſt others who waited "to receive the burden at the edge of the canal, "carried it away to another place; but by digging "in a perpendicular manner, and making the bot"tom of equal breadth with the top, all the work"men, except the *Phœnicians*, drew a double la"bour upon themſelves, becauſe the earth, as is na"tural, fell down continually in great quantities from "the upper parts. The *Phœnicians* alone ſhewed that "ability on this occaſion, of which they are ſo "much maſters at all times; for they opened the "part which was aſſigned to their care twice as "large as others had done; and ſloping the ground "gradually till they came to the bottom, they then "found the meaſure equal with the reſt. In a mea"dow adjoining to this place they had a court of "juſtice, and a market furniſhed with a great abun"dance of corn brought over from *Aſia*. My con"jectures lead me to think, that *Xerxes* undertook "this enterprize upon a motive of oſtentation, in "order to ſhew the greatneſs of his power, and to "perpetuate the memory of his name; for tho' he "might have cauſed his fleet to be conveyed over "the land without much difficulty, yet he would "rather command the iſthmus to be cut, and a ca"nal to be made to receive the ſea of ſuch a breadth "as might be ſufficient to carry two ſhips ſailing "in front (22)." From *Thucydides* we learn, that the inhabitants of the five cities above-mentioned were barbarians, ſpeaking two tongues, that is, the *Greek*, and a language of their own. *Plutarch* and *Pliny* have both written, that this mountain is ſo high, as to project its ſhade, when the ſun is in the ſummer ſoiſtice, on the market-place of the city *Myrrhina* in the iſland of *Lemnos*. On account of this it is ſaid, that the inhabitants of this city erected a brazen calf at the termination of the ſhadow, on which was inſcribed this *Monoſtic*:

Ἄθως καλύπτει πλευρὰ Λημνίας βοός.
Half Lemnos' *calf doth* Athos *ſhadow hide.*

Pliny aſſerts the diſtance between the foot of mount *Athos* and the iſland of *Lemnos* to be 87,000 paces, He does not tell us at what hour of the day this ſhadow was obſerved, yet this may be ſupplied by ſuppoſing it to have been a little before ſun-ſet, the ſun being then in the vertical circle, which paſſeth over *Athos* and *Myrrhina*; or rather it may be ſuppoſed two degrees higher, becauſe otherwiſe the ſhadow could not be ſo exactly obſerved in *Lemnos* (23). Theſe points ſettled, it will appear from the principles of trigonometry, that the altitude of *Athos* is thirty-two furlongs, which however is not very conſiſtent with truth. The reaſon in all probability is, becauſe *Pliny* hath aſſigned too great a diſtance between the mountain and the iſland. The beſt maps we have make that diſtance but *55 Italian* miles; which being aſſumed, reduces it nearer the true height, *viz.* of eleven furlongs, or a little more (24). As to the modern ſtate of this celebrated mountain, we cannot inform the reader better thereof, than by tranſlating the accurate deſcription of a *French* traveller: "As I ſtaid a good while at *Solo*"*nichi*; and as that city is not far diſtant from "*Monte Santo*, which is mount *Athos*, ſo much ce"brated by the ancient poets for its height, and ſo "famous among the modern *Greeks* for the monks "and hermits reſiding thereon, I could not be ſa"tisfied without going to ſee it. In the ſpace of "a few days I examined this wide and ſo-much "talked of field of wonders, leaving no part of it "unexplored, no not even the chapel on the ſum"mit, which is very little viſited. As I aſcended, "I found a good deal of ſnow; but as it was in the "fineſt ſeaſon of the year, (in the month of *June*) "the ſun began to operate upon it every-where, "and to turn it into water. Its ſummit is a per"fect rock, and abſolutely naked; but the ſnow "did not lie there ſo long as in the vallies. Paſſing "to the ſouth-ſide, we found it ſhady. Arriving at "the chapel, which was ſeated on a high rock, we "were informed, that it was conſecrated in me"mory of the tranſfiguration, and that on the ſixth "of *Auguſt* they ſung a ſolemn maſs in the pre"ſence of a multitude of people, who out of de"votion remained there all night. As to other "things, we found them in pretty good order, con"ſidering that it is a place not to be viſited but in "ſummer weather. The building too was well "enough, eſpecially if we conſider its ſituation, "it being not a little ſurprizing to find a chapel "erected, where one cannot ſtay a quarter of an "hour without a great fire. That which our ge"ographers call *Monte Santo*, comprehends not only "mount *Athos*, but the whole chain of mountains "which unites it to the continent of *Macedonia*. "This chain is ſeven or eight leagues long, and "three or four broad, and it is true, that the *Greeks* "call this ridge *Oros Agion*, or the *Holy Mountain*; "but

(21) *Gronov. Antiquit. Græc. Vol.* I. *Tit. Athos.* (22) *Herodot. l.* viii. (23) *l.* iv. *c.* 12. *p.* 58.
(24) *Varenius's Geography, Vol.* I. *p.* 12.

a ther lofty mountain, ſuppoſed not only to pervade the clouds, but to reach almoſt the confines of heaven; whence the poets took the liberty of making it the ſeat of the gods [c]; yet, with the leave of theſe towering wits, men of cooler imaginations conceived it no impoſſible task to meaſure it. This *Xenagoras* attempted, and performed with ſucceſs, whereby he found, that its height did not much exceed an *Engliſh* mile. Many geographers reckon this mountain to *Theſſaly*, but we think it belongs rather to *Macedonia* (H).

Woods, deſarts, &c.

WE have heretofore obſerved, that the *Scardian* hills and mount *Athos* were well covered with woods; and indeed the whole kingdom of *Macedonia* being everywhere intermixed with mountains, hills and riſing grounds, abounded with all ſorts
b of trees, which are valuable in *Europe*, either on account of timber, fruit or ſhade. As to deſarts or large waſtes, we find not that there were any ſuch in ancient times; on the contrary, it appears, that no part of *Europe* was more thoroughly peopled; but ſince it has been in the hands of the *Turks*, great part of it is become uninhabited, a thing not unfrequent in other parts of the *Ottoman* empire.

Seas, rivers, lakes, &c.

THE peculiar happineſs of *Macedonia*, in having the ſea on each ſide of it, we have already remarked. It is our duty here however to be a little more particular.

[c] STRABON. Geogr. l. ix. VIRGIL. Georg. i. ver. 281.

" but when they ſpeak of mount *Athos* in particular, " they call it ſtill *Athos*. Of the twenty monaſteries " erected in this ſolitude, there is but one, which ſtands " on this mountain, and that is dedicated to St. " *Laura*, which is indeed richer and more conſider- " able than all the reſt; and it is owned, that from " the monks inhabiting therein, the reſt took the " rule under which they live. Theſe convents, ge- " nerally ſpeaking, reſemble fortreſſes rather than " religious houſes. They are ſurrounded with good " walls, flanked with towers, or at leaſt ſurmounted " by a vaſt *donjon*, well furniſhed with artillery, and " all things elſe neceſſary for defence. This is a " very neceſſary precaution, conſidering their ſitua- " tion in the midſt of thieves. As theſe monaſte- " ries are generally five or ſix ſtories high, the " apartments in them are numerous, and very large, " but not over well diſpoſed. They are covered " with lead, which by the reflexion of the ſun- " beams ſhines like ſilver; and all things conſidered, " we may rather wonder at their being in ſo good " ſtate, than at their being in no better. Theſe " monaſteries are independent of each other in " point of government; and tho' in the centre of " theſe monaſteries there is an epiſcopal ſee in a " pretty large town called *Kapiarb*, yet the monks " pay no ſort of obedience to this biſhop. The ca- " thedral however is ſtiled *Acrotaton*, i. e. *the moſt* " *high*, and is ſerved by monks ſent by the ſuperi- " ors of the reſpective convents for that purpoſe. " There is alſo on mount *Athos* a conſiderable church, " dedicated to St. *Anne*, where the *Anchorites* re- " ſort for the performance of their devotions at " certain feſtivals, and other ſettled times. Theſe " poor people are quite ſecluded from the reſt of " human race. They may be about ſixty in number, " and live moſt of them alone; the reſt, two in a " cell; they live by the labour of their hands, as did " the ancient monks, and are under the direction " of a chief, who is called *Dicaios*, i. e. the *Juſt*; " yet he himſelf is dependent on the monaſtery of " St. *Laura*, becauſe their cells are built on the " ground belonging to that religious houſe. All the " monaſteries have little farms belonging to them, " which are managed by certain monks for the be- " nefit of the houſe. All theſe religious, as has been " ſaid before, live under a common rule, which rule " conſiſts chiefly in the ſtrict obſervance of the fol- " lowing points: 1. The keeping certain ſtated faſts, " which they recommend vehemently in their ſer- " mons, and which, to do them juſtice, they re- " commend no leſs by the ſeverity with which they " keep them. 2. The paſſing whole nights in cer- " tain churches conſecrated to the honour of God, " where they either make ſolemn prayers, or elſe " join together in chanting pſalms, conforming " herein to the practice of the ancient church, in " which theſe devotions were ſtiled *Vigils*. 3. They " ſuffer no woman to approach the holy mountain, " which they carry yet farther, by excluding all kind " of animals of the *feminine gender*; and on this prin- " ciple they were wont alſo to cauſe their younger " monks to be inſtructed in ſeparate houſes, as if " youth itſelf had ſomething in it feminine (25)."

(H) As *Athos* aſtoniſhed by its height and bulk, the mountain *Olympus* ſtruck the beholder with reverence by its amazing loftineſs, and at the ſame time invited his aſcent by the beauty and variety of proſpects which it afforded. The river *Peneus*, one of the cleareſt, gentleſt and moſt beautiful ſtreams in the univerſe, ran at its foot, dividing it from *Oſſa*, and making a multitude of ſmall but charming iſles, covered with ſhady trees, and adorned with magnificent temples, grotto's, portico's, and other ſtately buildings (26). Its height is certainly very great; but, as we obſerved above, not near ſo great as it was imagined by the ancients. As to the notion of its being above the ſecond region of the air, it depended intirely upon a fact, *viz.* that letters traced on the aſhes of *Jupiter*'s altar, remained undefaced for a long ſpace of time. This altar ſtood on the very ſummit of *Olympus*, and the god was worſhipped there with peculiar devotion. On the ſouth-eaſt ſide of the hill ran the famous river *Helicon*, and near it ſtood a noble temple of *Jupiter*, in the midſt of a ſhady grove. The mountains *Oſſa* and *Pelion* were in its neighbourhood, much ſpoken of in ancient authors, and very conſiderable for their height, tho' they come far ſhort of *Olympus*. *Deſiarchus Siculus*, at the command of ſome of the neighbouring princes, meaſured mount *Pelion* with great exactneſs, and found it to be in height 1250 paces, or about an *Italian* mile and half. It is now called *Petras*, and has ſome little forts on its ſides (27). There is ſome doubt amongſt geographers, whether this region ought to be reckoned to *Macedonia* or *Theſſaly*; but as we make the river *Peneus* their common boundary, *Olympus* and the territory about it falls under our cognizance here.

(25) *Voyages du Sieur P. Lucas, T.* i. *p.* 206. (26) *Tempe, ſecund. Deſcript. Ortelii.* (27) *Strabon. Geogr. l.* ix. *p.* 807. *Virg. Georg. l.* i. *ver.* 281. *Varen. Geogr. p.* 128. *Plin. Hiſt. Nat. l.* iv.

The

The *Adriatic* waſhes its weſtern coaſt, and, beſides the great haven of *Epidamnus*, a now *Durazzo*, makes ſeveral ſafe ports, which are now moſt of them neglected. On the eaſt the *Ægean* ſea was ſtill more advantageous, opening to *Macedonia* not only the trade of *Greece*, but that of *Aſia* alſo; which commerce was eſpecially forwarded by the ſpacious bays every-where formed on the coaſt. Four of theſe were chiefly remarkable, *viz. Sinus Strymonicus*, having on its north-ſide part of *Thrace*, and on the ſouth the long extending promontory of *Athos*, including in its boſom the iſland of *Thaſus*. It was called the *Strymonic* bay, becauſe the river *Strymon* ran there into the ſea. It is now called *Golpho di Conteſſa*. *Sinus Singiticus*, having on one ſide mount *Athos*, and on the other a long ſlip of land, once full of rich and populous towns, of which there is now no appearance; the bay therefore takes its preſent name from b a neighbouring mountain, and is ſtiled *Golpho di Monte Santo*. *Sinus Toronaicus*, having the ridge of land before-mentioned on the one ſide, and part of the region *Paraxia* on the other. It received its old name from the city *Torone*, but is now called *Golpho d' Aiomama*. *Sinus Thermæus*, having on the one ſide *Macedonia*, on the other, for the moſt part, *Theſſaly*. It is at leaſt ſixty miles in length, and received its name from the ancient city *Therma*, called afterwards *Theſſalonica*, now *Salonichi* f. In ſpeaking of the rivers of *Macedon*, we will begin with thoſe which run into the *Adriatic*, and after ſpeak of ſuch as run into the *Ægean* ſea. *Panyaſus* riſes not far from the city *Pitheum*, and after a winding courſe of upwards of a hundred miles from the ſouthern borders of *Macedon* to *Epidamnus* or *Durazzo*, near which it diſ- c charges itſelf into the *Adriatic* g. The *Apſus* riſing not far from the city of *Eordea*, after a ſhort courſe of thirty miles, diſcharges itſelf about ten miles below the mouth of the *Pancaſus*. The *Laous*, called alſo *Æas* and *Aous*, has its ſource near the city of *Antigonia*, and, after a north-weſt courſe of forty miles, enters the *Adriatic* a little below the city of *Apollonia*. *Celydnus* or *Pepylichus* running from the *Acroceraunian* mountains directly into the *Adriatic*, would not be worthy of mention, if it were not regarded as the boundary between *Macedon* and *Epirus*. The rivers running into the *Ægean* ſea, are, The *Aliacmon*; it riſes in the mountains lying above the city *Elymea*, and running for ſome time parallel to the *Pancaſus*, after a courſe of ſeventy miles almoſt due eaſt, enters the bay of *Theſſalonica*, between the cities of *Pydna* and d *Dium*. The *Erigon* riſes in the country of the *Lynceſtæ*, and running directly north about thirty miles, turns then to the eaſt, and declining by degrees to the ſouth, falls, after a farther courſe of forty miles, into a lake formed by the waters of the river *Axius*, and with them runs into the ſea. The *Axius*, which is by far the greateſt river in *Macedon*, riſes from two fountains in the *Scardian* mountains, and after a courſe of eighty miles it ſpreads itſelf into a large and noble lake below the city of *Edeſſa*, and having received the *Erigon* there, falls into the bay of *Theſſalonica* almoſt over-againſt that city. The river *Strymon* riſes in *Thrace*, and rolling with a rapid ſtream almoſt directly ſouth, after a courſe of ſeventy miles, it enters by two broad and deep mouths that bay, which from it was ſtiled the *Strymonic*. This river was e the ancient boundary of *Macedon* towards *Thrace*; but *Philip* the father of *Alexander* took in all the country between it and the river *Neſtus*, or, as ſome write it, *Meſtus*; which running almoſt parallel to the river *Strymon*, falls into the ſame bay near the city of *Abdera*, about forty miles diſtant from the mouths of the *Strymon*. Smaller rivers there are many, ſuch as the *Chidorus*, *Aſtræus*, *Pontus*, &c. As to lakes, beſides thoſe formed by the overflowing of the river *Strymon*, and the junction of the rivers *Axius* and *Erigon*, there is almoſt in the heart of *Macedon*, not far from the *Candavian* mountains, a large and famous lake called the lake of *Lychnidus*, or the lake of *Preſpa*. There is another famous lake in the province of *Mygdonia*, and an- f other near the ancient city of *Sintia*, called afterwards *Heraclea Sintica*. As for ſprings and fountains, they are innumerable; ſuch as on account of their properties are remarkable, we ſhall mention elſewhere.

The climate, ſoil, produce, riches, &c.

The air of *Macedonia* is, generally ſpeaking, clear, ſharp and wholeſome, inſomuch that people live there commonly to a very great age. This is eaſily accounted for, when we conſider, that it lies in the middle of the north temperate zone, and in the ſixth and ſeventh climates, its longeſt day containing about fifteen hours. The ſoil is every-where tolerable, in moſt places fruitful, on the ſea-coaſt eſpecially

f Cluver. Geog. l. iv. Cellar. Geog. Antiq. l. ii. c. 13.

g See in the map of the courſe of this and other rivers.

abounding

a abounding with corn, wine and oil, and indeed with every thing that could be deſired either for the uſe or convenience of men; but the principal riches of *Macedonia* conſiſted in its mines, of which it had many, and of almoſt all kind of metals, but of gold particularly. In *Pieria* under its ancient kings there were found large quantities of this precious metal in the ſand, in lumps of conſiderable bigneſs [a]. There were alſo gold mines in the country between *Theſſalonica* and *Stagira*, which mines are ſaid to have been wrought by the *Turk*; but by far the moſt conſiderable were in the mountain *Pangæus*, which king *Philip* added to his dominions. The *Thaſians*, inhabitants of a little iſland lying in the *Strymonic* bay, had rendered themſelves very conſiderable by the wealth they drew from them. This made the *Athenians* ſo co-
b vetous of this tract of country, which after many expeditions, and much-ado, they attained and loſt it to the *Thracians* afterwards. *Philip* drove them out, and having rebuilt the ancient city of *Crenides* in a magnificent manner, called it by his own name *Philippi*; and carefully eſtabliſhing perſons skilful in the art of refining there, he made much greater advantage of thoſe mines than any of their former poſſeſſors had done; nay, it is ſaid, that he obtained the empire of *Greece* chiefly by means of the treaſures extracted hence; which muſt appear very probable, if what *Diodorus* tells us be true, that he received annually a thouſand talents of gold [i]. The *Romans*, when they reduced *Macedonia* into a province, reſtrained the inhabitants from digging or refining gold or ſilver, leaving them at liberty however to manufacture any other metal [k].

c As there are not in *Macedonia* any animals peculiar thereto, we are under no ne- *Animals.*
ceſſity of entering into a detail of thoſe common to it and to the reſt of *Greece*; we ſhall content ourſelves therefore with mentioning only one thing which is very remarkable, and that is the abundance of horſes which were in *Macedonia* under its ancient princes. This will be ſet in a clear light by a ſingle fact: There were kept in the royal ſtud near *Pella* three hundred ſtone-horſes, and thirty thouſand mares [l]. It is evident from hence, that it was the military prudence of the *Macedonian* kings which determined them to place their hopes not in horſe but in foot, which might be ſerviceable in all countries, whereas cavalry could act only in plains. Their inordinate love of hunting engaged them however to keep up ſo large a breed
d of horſes, which were excellent in their nature, fleet, high-mettled, ſtrong-hoofed, and able to ſubſiſt on very little and very ordinary provender. We need not wonder therefore, that the *Macedonian* armies were ſo terrible, when their horſe were extraordinary good, and their foot excellent.

As to the rarities of *Macedonia*, which, according to the order obſerved in this *Rarities.*
work, ought to cloſe the deſcription, we will begin with the *Pierian* hills and ſhades, which, on account of their lovely verdure, and pleaſant ſolitude, were ſtiled the habitations of the muſes, who thence alſo were called *Pierides*. Amongſt them roſe the fountain *Pimplia*, from whence they were called *Pimpliades* [m]. *Vitruvius* tells us, that near the ſepulchre of *Euripides* there flowed from a fountain waters of ſo poiſonous a nature, as if ſwallowed brought on immediate and inevitable death [n].
e A modern traveller informs us, that in paſſing mount *Jougous*, which ſeems to be part of that ridge formerly called the *Scardian* mountains, he found a certain flower, which he takes to be a kind of *Lunaria major*, which produced, as he apprehended, a ſtem or button according to the increaſe of the moon, till thoſe buttons equalled the days of the month's age. He brought ſome roots and ſeeds of this flower with him into *France*, that this curioſity might be more leiſurely obſerved and conſidered [o]. We might add to theſe abundance of other curioſities, if we could give credit to all the fragments of natural hiſtory left us by the ancients, or to the ordinary collections on the ſame ſubject, which have been made by the moderns; but as many of theſe relations are apparently abſurd, many more very injudiciouſly recited, and the authorities in moſt caſes but very weak, we ſhall content ourſelves with reporting theſe, and ſo conclude a chapter, wherein the reader hath at leaſt a more complete deſcription of *Macedonia* than he can find elſe-where; for tho' its kings ſubdued ſo great a part of the known world, yet hath no hiſtorian, ancient or modern, written explicitly of this country; but have contented themſelves with brief and general deſcriptions, ſuch as might ſuit well enough with the form of their hiſtories, but were abſolutely incompatible with the nature of this, which is uni-

[a] Aristot. de [i] Diodor. Sicul. l. xvi. [k] Tit. Liv. l. xliv. [l] Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib. vii.
[m] Cluver. l. iv. c. 9. [n] l. viii. [o] Voyages du Sieur P. Lucas, Tom. I. p. 195.

verſal, not in title and ſhew only, but in a particular conſideration of all the king- a
doms, empires, and ſtates treated therein.

SECT. II.

Of the antiquity, government, cuſtoms, laws, manners, and military diſcipline of the Macedonians.

The Macedonians *originally* Argives.

IT has been heretofore obſerved, that *Macedonia* was originally inhabited by many b
nations. In our geographical deſcriptions, we have recorded their names, pointed out their ſeats, and delivered whatever remarkable paſſages we could find about them in ancient authors. Thoſe from whom that race ſprung, which from ſmall beginnings became lords of *Greece*, and afterwards of the world, were *Argives*. Under the leading of *Caranus*, who was deſcended from *Hercules* by his ſon *Temenus*, they came into this country, and with their ſwords carved out themſelves fair poſſeſſions [a]. By degrees they enlarged their dominions, not more by their valour than by their prudence and condeſcenſion; for erecting no trophies after victories, and treating thoſe they ſubdued with the tenderneſs of brethren, they vanquiſhed not only their perſons, but their minds; and thus taking away all diſtinctions, they in time reduced c
various tribes into one nation, which of courſe became too potent for its neighbours, and continually made incroachments upon them, unleſs reſtrained by their united force, or the fear of provoking the *Perſian* monarch, or ſome of the moſt powerful *Greek* republics. As the *Macedonians*, whoſe hiſtory we are now writing, were compoſed of many nations mixed with each other, and as all thoſe nations were remarkable for bravery, hardineſs, and contempt of luxury, it is eaſy to conceive, that the *Macedonians* were not unlike them. If we were to follow the method hitherto uſed, we ſhould be obliged to repeat many things already ſaid of the *Greeks*; to avoid which, and at the ſame time to deliver all that the reader can expect under this ſection for clearing the ſubſequent hiſtory, we ſhall reduce what we have to offer under d
three general heads: The firſt ſhall regard the government of *Macedon*, and the adminiſtration of its princes: The ſecond the cuſtoms of the people religious and civil: The third their military diſcipline.

Their form of government.

THE *Macedonians* had always kings; yet under their adminiſtration they preſerved as great or greater liberty than was enjoyed under moſt of the *Grecian* commonwealths [b]. Their monarchs ruled, but they ruled according to law, or rather according to the maxims of natural equity, and did not commit any flagrant injuſtice merely to gratify their wills. This was the original conſtitution, and it may be ſaid to the glory of this nation, that it was not ſubverted but with the kingdom. On this account *Lucian* introducing *Philip* and *Alexander* in his dialogues, makes the former call the e
Macedonians, *Freemen* [c]. In caſes where the puniſhment was capital, the cauſe was heard by the army, or by the people; and till they condemned the party, the king did not pretend to put him to death. We ſhall meet with many inſtances of this in the reign of *Alexander*, who maintained the cuſtoms of his native ſoil when far from it, and did not think that all his victories could releaſe him from the obligations he was under of acting according to the conſtitution of his country. When in his paſſion he killed *Clitus*, he on recollection would have puniſhed himſelf with death, if the army had not interfered, and taken his guilt upon them [d]. *Polybius* informs us, that when king *Philip*, the laſt but one of the *Macedonian* princes, had cauſed *Leontius*, whom he ſuſpected of conſpiring againſt him, to be ſeized, a body of targeteers, who were f
advanced before the army, ſent deputies to deſire that he might not be proceeded againſt, till they ſhould rejoin it, that the king might not ſeem to have no regard for them or their ſentiments [e]. It is true, the ſame author tells us, that the king, provoked by this meſſage, put *Leontius* ſooner to death than he would have done; but he excuſed himſelf from the neceſſity of the thing, and puniſhed the reſt of the

[a] JUSTIN. Hiſt. lib. vii. c. 1. EUSEB. Chronic. p. 47. [b] ARRIAN. Exp. Alexand. lib. iv. p. 265. CURT. vit. Alexand. lib. vi. [c] ἐλεύθερες ἄνδρες, in Dial. Phil. & Alex. [d] CURT. viii. 11, 12. [e] Hiſt. lib. v. cap. 27.

conſpirators

a conſpirators after the ancient manner, *By verdict of the army.* It is not to be concluded from hence, that the *Macedonians* were always jealous of their liberties, and quarrelling with their princes about them, for that was not the caſe. They did not call themſelves a free people, but acknowledged that they were ſubject to their prince; yet with this hope, that he would govern them as he ought, which when he did, they were moſt loyal; but were not ſo obedient, when he digreſſed from the paths of reaſon: They clamoured loudly at *Alexander* when he began to affect the eaſtern mode of governing, nor would they be reconciled to him by gifts and fair ſpeeches, but ſhewed a viſible diſlike, not of the king, but of ſuch actions as he committed unworthy of his royal dignity [f]. The throne was hereditary, and continued in the race of *Caranus* till the ſlaughter of *Alexander*'s family;
b but it does not appear, that the *Macedonians* were very ſtrict as to the ſucceſſion, ſo it was of the royal houſe, though generally ſpeaking the eldeſt ſon ſucceeded. The ancient kings of *Macedon* were very modeſt in the enſigns of their dignity; for *Alexander the Great* ſeems to have been the firſt who wore a diadem, and rich robes of ſtate; which however he transferred to his ſucceſſors, yet the old kings had what was ſufficient to diſtinguiſh them from their ſubjects, ſplendid armour, and a chair of ſtate [g]. The generality of the people were always wonderfully loyal, and not only chearfully obeyed, but were zealouſly addicted to the ſervice of their prince; nay they ſeem to have carried their affection towards his perſon too far by
c making a law, or elſe adopting it from the *Perſians*, that not only conſpirators, but all who were related to them, ſhould be put to death, with which however *Alexander* diſpenſed [h]. Their love for their princes however did not carry them into any indecent or idolatrous ſubmiſſion, when they approached them; on the contrary they converſed with them freely, and ſaluted them with a kiſs [i]. When therefore *Alexander* would have introduced the *Perſian* cuſtom of adoring him, the *Macedonians* were extremely diſpleaſed, and did not forbear declaring their ſentiments, *that reverence was due to kings, but adoration to the gods* [k]. In point of marriage the *Macedonian* kings ſeem not to have been very ſtrict; for it appears from hiſtory, that they had frequently many wives, and concubines not a few [l]. In the education of their children they were exceedingly ſtrict; their ſons were brought up under the beſt maſters
d in the love and knowledge of all things great and glorious; their daughters in the practice of all things virtuous. What *Alexander* ſaid to *Siſygambis* will better demonſtrate this than any deſcription; *Mother, the robe I have on was not only the gift of my ſiſter, but the work of her hands* [m]. In the conduct of their affairs the kings of *Macedon* were remarkably moderate, and behaved with the greateſt prudence; they did not affect magnificent entertainments, but eat plainly with their friends. They admitted all ſorts of perſons to their preſence, and by a continual habit of buſineſs made themſelves at once neceſſary and agreeable to their ſubjects [n]. Hunting was their chief diverſion, and *Alexander* was ſo addicted to it, that he would follow it for a whole day without taking refreſhment [o]. Theſe princes were generally ſpeaking learned, or at leaſt favourers of learned men. *Archelaus* was the great patron of
e *Euripides*, and not only honoured him living, but mourned for him when dead. *Philip* the father of *Alexander* was one of the beſt ſpeakers of his age; he was generous to ſuch men of learning as ſought his friendſhip, becauſe he thought himſelf honoured thereby; and he pardoned libellers, becauſe he would not puniſh wit even in an enemy [p]. If his ſon *Alexander* had not been the moſt active prince in the world, he would have been celebrated for being the moſt knowing [q]. As in the ordinary occurrences of life, the kings of *Macedon* did not affect that pomp which in thoſe days was frequent enough with princes, ſo in the moſt ſolemn acts of their adminiſtration they preſerved ſuch a modeſt decorum as rather endeared than awed their ſubjects. They heard cauſes in perſon, and ſuffered thoſe who pleaded before
f them to ſpeak with the utmoſt freedom. Thus, when *Philip* after drinking hard had decided contrary to right againſt a poor woman, ſhe cried out, *I appeal. To whom*, ſaid the king? *Why*, replied ſhe, *from* Philip, *with his head diſturbed by the fumes of wine, to* Philip *when he ſhall be ſober, and in his right ſenſes* [r]. Which the king received

[f] Arrian. lib. iv. p. 264. Curt. lib. viii. [g] Justin. Hiſt. lib. xii. c. 3. Curt. lib. vi. cap. 6. [h] Curt. lib. vi. cap. 11. [i] Curt. lib. x. cap. 5. Justin. Hiſt. lib. xii. c. 15. [k] Arrian. lib. iv. p. 264. [l] Plut. in Anton. circa fin. [m] Curt. lib. v. c. 11. [n] Curt. iii. c. 12. Justin. lib. ix. c. 8. [o] Plutarch. in vit. Alex. Curt. lib. viii. cap. 6. [p] Justin. lib. ix. c. 8. Solin. Polyhiſt. cap. 14. Horat. Epiſt. lib. ii. E. i. v. 232. [q] Plin. Natur. Hiſt. lib. viii. cap. 16. Athenæus Deip. lib. ix. c. 13. [r] Plutarch. Apophthegm.

as a juſt rebuke, and without the leaſt reſentment. This cuſtom by a felicity peculiar to this people continued as long as they had kings; for *Livy* tells us of *Perſeus*, the very laſt of them, that after the the manner of his anceſtors, he ſat in an ivory chair, and heard all ſorts of cauſes, even thoſe which were of little conſequence [s]. The kings of *Macedon* ſpoke even to private ſoldiers with great freedom and condeſcenſion; they took as much care of them as if they had been their children, or at leaſt their intimate friends, and ſuch of them as were ſlain in the wars were always carefully interred with all military honours. Such as behaved themſelves with extraordinary valour were honoured with particular marks of diſtinction; and it is eſpecially recorded of *Alexander the Great*, that he ſuffered no one to go without a juſt recompence of his merit [t]. The great men of the kingdom were honoured with the titles of the king's friends and counſellors, nor were they ſo in name only, but in reality; they gave their advice as ſtateſmen, but they gave it with all the freedom the moſt intimate friendſhip ſhould confer [u]. *Hepheſtion* the friend of *Alexander* was not afraid even of the reſentment of the queen mother, anſwering her angry letters with a manly freedom, telling her that, ſecure in his innocence, he was in no pain from her threats, ſince *Alexander* was to judge of all things [x]. And that this was not peculiar to *Hepheſtion* or *Alexander*, we may gueſs from the obſervation in *Juſtin*, *That the friends of the* Macedonian *kings were not only companions in war, but aſſociates in empire* [z]. They were allowed to wear purple, were intruſted with armies without inſtruction, and when the *Macedonian* greatneſs triumphed over kingdoms, they were appointed governors of them with the court and ſtate of kings [a]. The king's life-guard, which conſiſted but of a ſmall number, was a poſt of high honour; *Oxathres* the brother of *Darius* was received into this number: Beſides theſe there were other houſhold troops, the commanders of which were not only honourable perſons, but even the private men, who, as occaſion ſerved, were from thence preferred to great commands [b]. With reſpect to civil officers, we find that the king's ſecretaries were very much conſidered; they not only drew up orders, but ſaw them executed [c]. The king's ſeal or ſignet which was on his ring, remained generally ſpeaking in his own cuſtody; but ſometimes he delivered it for ſpecial purpoſes to one of his friends, becauſe whatever was ſealed therewith was by the *Macedonians* held ſacred and inviolable. *Alexander*, when dying, delivered his ſignet to *Perdiccas*, which was thought to explain an expreſſion he had before made uſe of, that the government ſhould be veſted in the moſt worthy. Not that he meant to diſinherit his own family, but that by this act he conſtituted *Perdiccas* protector of the kingdom; and in this ſenſe *Perdiccas* underſtood it, when in the preſence of the *Macedonians* he deſired to decline that mighty load of buſineſs, which the king in his laſt moments would have laid upon his ſhoulders [d]. The royal phyſicians were highly conſidered in the court of *Macedon*, and were treated by their maſters as if they had been their intimate friends [e]. When the kings were ſick, the whole nation made prayers and vows for their recovery, the meaneſt people ſhewing the ſame ſorrow in their looks, their habits, and their ſpeeches, as if their neareſt relations were on their death-beds [f]. When *Alexander* lay ill at *Babylon*, the grief of the ſoldiers ſome days before his death was ſo tumultuous, that he condeſcended to ſhew himſelf, and notwithſtanding his great weakneſs, extended his hand, and ſuffered every one of them to kiſs it [g]. After their deaths the *Macedonian* kings were interred in the royal ſepulchre built by *Argeus* at the command of his father *Perdiccas* with this aſſurance, that while the kings were buried there, his race ſhould never fail, and after their interment the people mourned for them as for their common parents [h]. Such was the eaſy, ſuch the excellent conſtitution of *Macedon*, ſuch the paternal piety of its princes, and ſuch the filial obedience of their people. Let us now proceed to the ſecond head.

The cuſtoms of the Macedonians *religious and civil.*

THE *Macedonians* in point of religion followed the opinions embraced by the reſt of the *Greeks*, worſhipping many gods, and indulging a vaſt variety of vain and ridiculous rites. *Jupiter*, *Hercules*, and *Diana* were eſpecially reverenced by them. The firſt as their protector: The ſecond as the patron of the brave: The laſt as the

[s] TIT. LIV. xlii. 67. & xli. 20. [t] CURT. ix. 6. ARRIAN. lib. ii. p. 113. DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xvi. [u] JUSTIN. lib. vii. 2. ARRIAN. lib. ii. p. 113. & lib. i. p. 48. VALER. MAX. lib. v. c. 1. [x] CURT. l. iii. & vii. [z] Hiſt. lib. xiii. cap. 4. [a] TIT. LIV. lib. xlv. cap. 32. CURT. lib. vi. cap. 11. JUSTIN. lib. xiii. c. 1. [b] CURT. lib. x. cap. 6. ARRIAN. lib. ii. p. 113. lib. iii. p. 128. & lib. iv. p. 268. [c] ARRIAN. lib. iii. p. 167. [d] CURT. lib. x. c. 6. [e] ARRIAN. lib. ii. p. 89. CURT. III. c. 6. [f] CURT. lib. iii. c. 5. [g] ARRIAN. CURT. PLUTARCH. in vit. Alex. [h] JUSTIN. Hiſt. lib. vii. 2.

goddeſs

a goddeſs of hunting, to which they were univerſally addicted [i]. As they were ſtrict in their morals, ſo according to the mode of thoſe times they were very religious. Their princes diſdained not to act on ſpecial occaſions as prieſts, and to offer ſacrifices for themſelves and their people. All the hiſtorians who have wrote of the life of *Alexander* agree in furniſhing us with many inſtances of his devotion, not only in ſacrifices, but in erecting altars, inſtituting games, dedicating ſtatues, and many other things. Omens were greatly heeded by this people; two eagles fluttering the whole day over the royal palace when *Olympias* was in labour, was conſtrued ro portend, that the two empires of *Europe* and *Aſia* would centre in the child of which ſhe was then delivered [k]. Many other inſtances of a like nature occur in the hiſtory,
b as the reader will obſerve; and therefore we need not anticipate them here.

IN their ordinary manner of living this nation was remarkably temperate; but when they feaſted, they were always magnificent, and loved to eat well, and drink hard. *Caranus* the firſt king of *Macedon* is recorded to have made a marriage feaſt remarkably ſplendid [l], and the ſame taſte appeared in his ſucceſſors, particularly in *Philip*, who was a prince of high ſpirit. At theſe feaſts the young men were admitted to ſit down as ſoon as they had killed a wild boar fairly, that is with their ſpears without toils or nets [m]. From their very infancy they were accuſtomed to ride to hunt, and as ſoon as they were able to go into the field. At their banquets no women were admitted, and it was an inviolable rule with them, that nothing ſaid
c at them ſhould be repeated. At marriage feaſts they had an extraordinary cuſtom, a piece of bread was cut in two with a ſword, one part of which was given to the bridegroom, and the other to the bride, which had no doubt ſome concealed meaning [n]. Their captives they made uſe of as concubines, but it was held diſhonourable to marry them; yet *Alexander* broke through this by his marriage with *Roxana*, and numbers followed his example. It is certain his victories changed the manners of his ſoldiers as well as his own; for whereas before they were content with plain and light arms, they afterwards adorned themſelves with the ſpoils of the vanquiſhed, and became not only well, but richly clad, at the expence of the *Perſians* [o].

IN affairs of government we have ſhewn them to be wiſe and prudent; in one *Little verſed in maritime affairs.*
d thing however they were very defective, *viz.* in their care of maritime affairs, which, notwithſtanding the great advantage they had, they neither practiſed nor underſtood, as is evident from the accounts we have of *Alexander*'s fleets and naval expeditions, and the fright and terror his ſeamen were under at every new ſight they ſaw [p]. We can account for this no otherwiſe than from their being continually engaged in wars with their neighbours upon the continent, and having their ports at the ſame time either in the hands of or blocked up by the maritime powers of *Greece*. *Philip*, who firſt freed his country from theſe inconveniencies, had not time to think of naval affairs before he was cut off by an immature death; his ſucceſſor, amongſt other great deſigns he had formed, had that of ſettling and increaſing
e his fleets in his mind when he died at *Babylon* [q]. Whatever contributed to make them ſtrong and warlike was particularly affected by the *Macedonians*, which was the true reaſon why hunting was their great exerciſe, and prime diverſion; beſides this, they were addicted to all the *Grecian* exerciſes, particularly wreſtling and boxing, for which ſports there was a place ſet apart in all their camps, and their commanders, when the buſineſs of the war allowed them leiſure, diverted themſelves with ſeeing the activity of their ſoldiers on theſe exerciſes [r]. They alſo practiſed a kind of military dancing, which was at once both pleaſant and wonderfully graceful [s].

WE have already ſaid that their laws conſiſted only in the decrees of their princes, *Their laws.*
f which were however founded on the principles of natural equity, or otherwiſe would have expoſed him, whoſe deciſions they were, to the hatred and ill-will of his ſubjects. We have likewiſe obſerved, that in capital caſes judgment was given by the people of the army; here it will be fit for us to obſerve, that the accuſed was always ſuffered to defend himſelf with the utmoſt freedom, though even at his trial he appeared bound in a habit of diſtreſs, and without any enſigns of dignity, let his

[i] ARRIAN. lib. 1. p. 32. JUSTIN. Hiſt. lib. xi. c. 5. CURT. iii. cap. 12. [k] JUSTIN. Hiſt. lib. xii. c. 16. [l] ATHEN. Deipnoſoph. lib. iv. [m] HEGESAND. apud ATHEN. Deipnoſoph. lib. 1. [n] HERODOT. lib. v. c. 17. CURT. lib. viii. c. 4. [o] CURT. lib. ix. cap. 3. [p] ARRIAN. lib. iii. CURT. lib. ix. DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xvii. [q] DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xviii. [r] ÆLIAN. Var. Hiſt. lib. ix. c. 3. PLUTARCH. vit. Alexand. [s] ATHEN. Deipnoſ. lib. xiv.

quality be what it would. In doubtful caſes the torture was permitted without any a
reſpect to birth or former ſervices, of which we ſhall find frequent inſtances in the
hiſtory of *Alexander*, whoſe reign, as it was tinged purple with the blood of his ene-
mies, ſo it was alſo ſtained with the gore of his countrymen. The puniſhments
among them were of different kinds; ſometimes the criminal was thruſt through
with darts, at other times crucified with his head downwards: Sometimes they were
thrown chained into rivers; yet theſe ſeem to have been either foreign cuſtoms or
puniſhments inflicted in extraordinary caſes; that which was moſt frequent and which
conſequently ſeems to have been legal, was ſtoning [t] to death, wherein the army, as
they had been made judges, were executioners, which perhaps was no ill expedient
to prevent raſh judgments. b

The Macedonian *kalendar.* THE *Macedonian* year, or, as it is uſually called, the *Greek* year, to diſtinguiſh it from the *Attic* year, was compoſed of twelve months; but as to the number of days in each of theſe months, and the method of the *Macedonian* kalendar, there are great diſputes, we ſhall ſet down the ſcheme of the judicious archbiſhop *Uſher*, and ſhall inform the learned and inquiſitive reader where he may receive further ſatisfaction in a note [u].

A Table of the Macedonian *Months.*

c

Dius conſiſted of thirty days, the firſt of which anſwered to the 24th of *September*, the laſt to the 23d of *October*.

Apellacus, containing thirty days, the firſt of which anſwered to the 24th of *October*, the laſt to the 22d of *November*.

Audynaeus, conſiſted of thirty-one days, the firſt anſwering to the 23d of *November*, the laſt to the 23d of *December*.

Peritius, containing thirty days, the firſt anſwering to the 24th of *December*, the laſt to the 22d of *January*.

Dyſtrus, conſiſting of thirty days, the firſt anſwering to the 23d of *January*, the laſt to the 21ſt of *February*. d

Xanthicus, containing thirty-one days, the firſt anſwering to the 22d of *February*, the laſt to the 24th of *March*, excepting the intercalated year, when it anſwered to the 23d. In this month there was a luſtration ſolemnly performed, which from the name of the month was called *Xanthica*, in this manner: They divided a bitch in the middle, laying one ſide with the intrails on their right hand, the other on the left; between marched the army in battalia, and after they had paſſed, they ſeparated into two corps, and maintained a mock fight.

Artemiſius, conſiſting of thirty-one days, the firſt anſwering to the 25th of *March*, and the laſt to the 24th of *April*.

Daeſius, containing thirty days, the firſt anſwering to the 25th of *April*, the laſt e
to the 24th of *May*; this month the *Macedonians* held to be extremely unfortunate,
which *Alexander* obſerving, and knowing how dangerous ſuperſtition is, when ſtrongly
ſeated in vulgar minds, he as a remedy in the preſent caſe decreed, that this month
ſhould not be for the future called *Daeſius*, but by a repetition of the name of the
former month called it the ſecond *Artemiſius*.

Panemus, conſiſting of thirty-one days, the firſt anſwering to the 25th of *May*, the laſt to the 24th of *June*.

Loüs, containing thirty days, the firſt anſwering to the 25th of *June*, the laſt to the 24th of *July*.

Gorpiacus, conſiſting of thirty-one days, the firſt anſwering to the 25th of *July*, f
the laſt to the 24th of *Auguſt*.

Hyperberetaes, containing thirty days, the firſt anſwering to the 25th of *Auguſt*, the laſt to the 23d of *September*.

THUS the *Macedonian* year conſiſted of ſeven even months, that is of months of thirty days each, making in all two hundred and ten days, and of five unequal months conſiſting of thirty-one days each, making in all a hundred and fifty-five days, together three hundred and ſixty-five days; but every fourth year the month

[t] CROPHII Antiquitates Macedon. lib. ii. c. 4. [u] USSERII, Diſſertatio, &c.

Hyper-

a *Hyperberetaes* conſiſted of thirty-one days, which anſwered the end of our leap year (A).

Their coin. As there were very rich mines in *Macedonia*, ſo under ſeveral kings there were great variety both of ſilver and gold pieces coined; of the latter ſort were the *Philippics*, ſo called from bearing the buſt of *Philip* the father of *Alexander*, which are ſo often mentioned in ancient authors, and were for a long time the moſt current money in *Greece*; and ſuch were many others, deſcriptions of which are to be found among the writings of antiquaries, as ſome of the pieces are yet extant in the cabinets of the curious. There is a ſingularity in the *Macedonian* coins, which ought not to be paſſed over, and it is this; they not only bear the buſts and inſcriptions of the
b princes under whom they were coined, but alſo the names of the cities in which they were coined, and the figures in their reverſes frequently refer to thoſe cities [x].

Their language. THE *Macedonian* tongue differed very much from the *Greek*, that is, from all the ſeveral dialects of that language, as is evident from *Strabo* [y] and *Athenæus* [z]; but eſpecially from *Curtius* in his account of the proceedings againſt *Philotas*; from whence it is clear, that the natives of *Greece*, who ſerved in *Alexander*'s army, were not able to underſtand a diſcourſe delivered in the *Macedonian* tongue [a].

Their military diſcipline. WE come laſt of all to the military diſcipline of the *Macedonians*, which was their peculiar glory, and which raiſed them from a mean and obſcure people to be lords of *Greece*. They were in their firſt beginning obſtinately brave, as well as
c naturally warlike; by degrees they acquired knowledge in diſcipline, and became at laſt invincible from a happy mixture of ſuperior courage with ſuperior skill. We are indebted for theſe obſervations to *Polybius*, an author of equal character for veracity and penetration, who in his deſcription of the military virtues of the *Macedonians*, does them all the juſtice that the beſt of writers could afford the braveſt men [b]. But it may be objected, if the *Macedonians* were always ſo fierce and ſo unconquerable a nation, how they came to be ſo long under the dominion of the *Perſians*, to be awed by the *Illyrians*, *Thracians*, and other neighbouring nations, and to be tributary to the *Athenians* even to the time of *Philip*? The reader will find an anſwer to all this in the courſe of the ſucceeding hiſtory, whence it will appear
d that theſe were ſo many obſtacles placed in the way of the *Macedonian* greatneſs from the natural ſituation of things, againſt which they continually ſtruggled, and in the end overcame them all. True it is, that the *Macedonians* were often leſs powerful, though never leſs brave than their neighbours, that till the time of *Philip* they were far from being rich, and that till his reign they had not either ſhewn hopes or ambitions of aſſuming the ſovereignty of *Greece*; but when once the genius of their prince had opened a path to empire, they ſeconded his efforts by undertaking chearfully the moſt arduous expeditions, and undergoing in order to their accompliſhment the ſevereſt diſcipline. War from this time forward was the buſineſs of the whole nation, inſomuch that the youth of *Alexander*'s army were not only bred
e but born in the camp; but it is neceſſary for us to be more particular, and therefore we will ſubdivide the remaining part of this head into five conſiderations.

Their ſoldiers, how choſen. THE firſt ſhall relate to the choice of the army, that is, the troops of which it was made up; and theſe after the *Macedonian* kings became conſiderable, were, firſt, their

[x] CROPHII Antiquitat. Macedon. lib. ii. cap. 5. WOLFGANGI LAZII Græc. Antiq. [y] STRAB. Geograph. lib. vii. p. 687. [z] Deipnoſoph. lib. iii. c. 33. [a] CURT. lib. iv. p. 9. [b] Hiſt. lib. iv. c. 11.

(A) *Lalamantius* wrote three diſſertations on the ancient methods of computing time, the ſecond of which relates only to the *Macedonian* year, which he tells us conſiſted of twelve months, making *Xanticus* the firſt, and *Dyſtius* the laſt. One half of theſe months he aſſerts to have conſiſted of twenty-nine days, and the other half of thirty; taken together, the *Macedonian* year according to him conſiſted of 354 days; to reconcile which to the ſolar year, at the end of each third year they intercalated a month of thirty-three days. He does not attempt to ſupport all he ſays by authorities, but contents himſelf with laying them down as matters of fact. The very learned and judicious primate *Uſher* in his excellent work, intitled, *A Diſſertation on the* Macedonian *and* Aſiatic *ſolar year*, has examined this matter to the bottom; and with all the skill of a learned aſtronomer, and all the knowledge of a critic in the *Greek* literature, hath made this matter as plain as can be made, ſupporting every thing which he advances by reaſon and authority; to him therefore we have adhered in this hitherto intricate matter, and to his moſt excellent treatiſe we muſt refer the inquiſitive reader for a perfect account of the conſtruction of the *Macedonian* kalendar (1).

(1) *Ioannis Lalamnatii Diſſertationes tres, de Tempore & ejus Partibus, de Anno Macedonum ſeu Græcorum, & de Anno Attico, apud Gronov. Theſ. Græcar. Antiq. Vol. XI. Jacobi Uſſerii de Macedonum & Aſianorum Anno ſolari Diſſertatio, apud Gronov. T. G. Antiq. Vol. XI.*

natural-

natural-born ſubjects; ſecondly, their allies; and thirdly, mercenaries. The natural *Macedonians* ſerved at their own expence, and contented themſelves with the ſpoil of their enemies [c]. The allies were compoſed of the reſpective quotas of *Theſſaly*, *Pæonia*, and other dependent provinces, as alſo of the auxiliary troops furniſhed by *Greece* after the kings of *Macedonia* were elected captains general [d]. The mercenaries were ſoldiers of fortune, who never inquired the cauſe, if they ſtood in no doubt about their pay [e]. When *Alexander* marched on his grand expedition, his infantry conſiſted of thirteen thouſand *Macedonians*, ſeven thouſand auxiliaries, and five thouſand mercenaries [f]. The *Theſſalians* furniſhed, generally ſpeaking, horſe, and there were alſo many troops of *Macedonian* cavalry; their diſcipline was ſtrict, for in caſe the private men loſt their horſes either by ſickneſs or in action, their officers were obliged to furniſh others out of their own ſtables, if they had any in them, from an old-faſhioned notion, that the good of the public was to be preferred to the pomp of private men [g]. Secondly, let us ſpeak of the order of the *Macedonian* troops; the foot were compoſed of three ſorts, *viz.* the light-armed [h], the *Peltaſtæ* who were better armed [i], and the heavy-armed ſoldiers, of whom the phalanx was compoſed [k]. Theſe troops were ſuited to all ſorts of enterprizes; for if a poſt was to be attacked ſuddenly, the light-armed foot were employed; if ſteadily, and in expectation of an obſtinate reſiſtance, then the *Peltaſtæ* or targeteers were ſent; the heavy-armed foot were generally drawn up in the centre of the army in a ſquare body, which was called the phalanx [l]. *Polybius* tells us, that it conſiſted of ſixteen in flank, and five hundred in front, all pikemen, the ſoldiers ſtanding ſo cloſe, that the pikes of the fifth rank reached their points beyond the front of the battle. It is evident from hence, that the pikes of the laſt ranks were of no uſe according to this diſpoſition; they had however an excellent remedy for this, which was thus; the hindermoſt ranks leaned the pikes on the ſhoulders of thoſe who were before them, and locking them faſt preſſed briskly againſt them when they made the charge, ſo that the firſt five ranks had the impetus of the whole phalanx, which was the reaſon why its ſhock was, generally ſpeaking, irreſiſtible [m]. It is not very clear into what corps the groſs of the *Macedonian* infantry was divided; but that they were divided into many ſmall bodies, is apparent. But as in all wars the king was commander in chief, ſo, generally ſpeaking, he had the greateſt trouble upon his hands; for in camp, in ſieges, and in battles, he went every-where, and directed all things, affecting neither in pomp of habit, in eaſineſs of life, or by a large train, to diſtinguiſh himſelf from other commanders, but on the contrary fared as meanly as any of his ſoldiers, and exceeded them all in his labours; nor is this to be underſtood only of *Philip* and *Alexander*, thoſe great and ſhining lights in the *Macedonian* empire, but of their predeceſſors and ſucceſſors alſo; the laſt *Philip* is recorded by *Livy* to have trod the ſame ſteps, and to have diſdained, that either the luſtre of empire, or the load of upwards of threeſcore years, ſhould excuſe him from any part of that fatigue which he required of the meaneſt *Macedonian* [n]. Happy nation, in which the royal diadem was known and revered, not from the ſplendor of its jewels, but of the virtues of him who wore it!

Their arms. Thirdly, we will conſider the arms of the *Macedonians* offenſive and defenſive. At firſt their targeteers were furniſhed only with wooden bucklers, or ſuch as were made with a kind of wicker; but in proceſs of time they had them of leather and braſs, as we learn from a ſpeech of *Alexander*'s, when his ſoldiers were about to mutiny, wherein he reproaches them with their being in a manner naked, in his father's time being furniſhed only with wooden arms, and bucklers made of hurdlers [o]. It is a difficult thing to write clearly on this ſubject after *Curtius*, becauſe he uſes words as ſynonymous which have very different ſignifications. *Arrian* therefore is a better guide; from him we diſcover, that the *Macedonians* had a large ſtrong ſhield called in *Greek Aſpis*, and a ſmall light buckler called *Pelte*, the former belonging to the heavy-armed troops, the latter to thoſe who were between the heavy and light-armed, who were from thence called *Peltaſtæ* or *Targeteers* [p]. As to the *Macedonian* ſwords, we do not find that they differed from thoſe of the reſt of the *Greeks*;

[c] CURT. iii. c. 10. [d] JUSTIN. Hiſt. xii. 4. CURT. x. cap. 2. [e] CURT. lib. v. cap. 1. [f] DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xvii. [g] ARRIAN. lib. vi. p. 426. CURT. lib. vii. c. 1. [h] ÆLIAN. Tact. c. 6. [i] TIT. LIV. xxxi. c. 36. [k] CURT. lib. vii. c. 9. [l] ARRIAN. & CURT. mult. in locis. [m] See POTTER's Archæol. Vol. II. lib. iii. [n] ARRIAN. lib. v. TIT. LIV. lib. xlii. c. 58. [o] CURT. x. c. 2. [p] ARRIAN. lib. iv.

they

a they were made both for puſhing and cutting, as will appear from various incidents in the ſucceeding hiſtory; their hilts were wrought in various forms, and that pretty early, as appears from the murder of *Philip* the father of *Alexander*, which was performed by *Pauſanias* with a ſword, on the hilt of which was engraven a chariot drawn by four horſes; the *Macedonians* alſo made uſe of daggers; as to their ſpears, they were of different kinds, *viz.* long and ſhort; the former were uſed by the ſoldiers compoſing the phalanx, and were ſometimes ſixteen, at the leaſt fourteen cubits, or one and twenty feet in length; the ſhorter ſpear was uſed by the light-armed troops [q]. The head-piece was made of a raw oxe's hide, that is, untanned, we may ſuppoſe, for the ſake of its toughneſs; *Livy* ſpeaks of horns to it.
b 'Tis very probable that theſe were the wings of a double creſt, one of which, as *Plutarch* tells us, was ſtruck from the head-piece of *Alexander* at the battle of *Granicus*. They had alſo breaſt-plates made of linen quilted to a proper thickneſs, and a particular kind of military ſhoe [r]. The horſemen wore the ſame defenſive arms as the foot, except that their bucklers were lighter and ſmaller, and their ſpears ſhorter. All theſe things were well contrived for the times in which they were uſed; and it is obſervable, that the *Roman* authors all ſpeak of the *Macedonian* diſcipline as very complete, and acknowledge that the phalanx was almoſt an equal match for the *legion*.

Fourthly, let us turn our thoughts on the *Macedonian* armies when in the field. *Their diſcipline in the field.* The phalanx was drawn up generally in the centre; the horſe and light-armed troops
c in two lines on the right and left. In all engagements the phalanx marched ſlowly, but was particularly quick in its motions; that is to ſay, it did not preſs precipitately upon the enemy, but receiving its orders from the king, took what form he directed, ſometimes extending itſelf in front, at others deepning its files till it had the ſhape of a wedge, fighting ſteadily and obſtinately, till the force of the enemy was intirely broken, who were then purſued by the light-armed forces, and the horſe, the phalanx remaining in the field of battle, and carefully preventing the enemy's reaſſembling their troops [s]. It is not evident from any of the ancient hiſtorians, that the phalanx was divided into very ſmall corps; a phalanx of ſixteen thouſand men conſiſted but of ten battalions; and as they were ſeldom intended to march in ſeparate bodies,
d there was no great occaſion for thoſe ſubdiviſions which were in uſe in other armies [t]. When the armies drew near, the charge was ſounded by trumpets; after which the king or general was wont to make an oration, exhorting the people to conſider the glory which their anceſtors had won, and to ſhew themſelves worthy of ſuch anceſtors by their own conduct. *Curtius* tells us, that after the fight was begun, as often as occaſion offered, the king addreſſed himſelf to the army, and endeavoured by all means to excite them to the performance of great things [u]. If the ſoldiers were pleaſed with the king's ſpeech, then they ſignified it by the claſhing of their arms; but if it did not affect them, then they remained ſilent. When they charged, they cried out, *Alala*, *Alala*, a word which has no proper ſignification; but may be properly enough rendered into *Engliſh* by a word uſed to the ſame purpoſe, viz. *Huzza*.
e *Laſtly*, when they deſired quarter, their method was to hold their ſpears aloft in the air [x].

In the fifth place their general diſcipline, or rather the *Macedonian* art of war, falls under our cognizance. With reſpect to the hardineſs, frugality, and good order of the *Macedonian* troops, all authors are agreed; and though, it may be, their diſcipline was in ſome meaſure relaxed, when *Alexander* diſtributed amongſt them the ſpoils of the eaſt, yet by degrees the ancient rules were reſtored, ſo that the very laſt *Macedonian* armies were much admired for the regularity of their diſcipline. When the army was in the field, the king, aſſiſted by his generals, and by ſuch officers of
f the army as were beſt acquainted with thoſe matters, marked out a place for a camp, which was immediately fortified with a good ditch and retrenchment. When the army was to march, part of this retrenchment was levelled, that they might march in order; an excellent maxim, if we conſider the ſtructure of their phalanx, which could not well have borne paſſing through ſeveral openings [y]. The tents were ſmall, as being intended to ſupply only a neceſſary covering againſt the inclemency of the weather. They were made of ſkins, and therefore, when they were bundled up, they ſometimes made uſe of them in paſſing rivers; two ſoldiers lay in a tent. As for the

[q] Polyb. Eclog. xvii. [r] Cropiii Antiquitat. Macedon. lib. iii. c. 4. [s] Potter's Antiquities, Vol. II. lib. iii. [t] Appian. in Syriacis. Tit. Liv. lib. xxxiii. c. 4. Xiphil. in Carac. [u] lib. iv. c. 13. [x] Arrian. lib. i. p. 15. [y] Curt. viii. 5.

king his tent was pitched in the centre, wherein he lay by himſelf; it ſeems to have a
conſiſted but of two apartments, one where the king ſtept, the other where he ſaw
company, before the door of it, his guards did duty [z]. The military ſignals among the
Macedonians were either trumpets or fires. On a march the cavalry and light-armed
troops took poſt in the van, the phalanx in the centre, and the baggage in the rear,
except when there was reaſon to apprehend a ſudden engagement; then they marched
in order of battle; every ſoldier had a kind of knapſack, and there were alſo carts
and waggons which attended on the army, but not in ſuch numbers as were uſed
by other nations, becauſe among the *Macedonians* neither women nor uſeleſs ſervants
were indulged [a]. As to plunder, it was ſometimes diſtributed amongſt the ſoldiers,
at others collected together and ſold for the uſe of the king, or for the army [b]. b
When in quarters, to keep up diſcipline, and to preſerve the army from corruption,
military games were inſtituted, wherein rewards both honorary and lucrative were
beſtowed. After victories obtained, their kings were wont to reward all ſuch as par-
ticularly diſtinguiſhed themſelves; as for ſuch as died in the ſervice, they were
honoured with public monuments, and their children and relations freed from tribute;
in all other reſpects, they were treated with the greateſt humanity and condeſcenſion,
and when the time limited for their ſervice expired, or their wounds rendered them
incapable of ſerving, they were diſmiſſed, not to ſeek a living where they could, but
with ample proviſion for themſelves and families, that they might enjoy the fruits of
their labours, and by living in eaſe and peace excite younger and more robuſt men c
to ſerve chearfully in their ſtead [c]. We have inſiſted the longer upon this head,
becauſe the *Macedonians* were rendered conſiderable by nothing ſo much as their abi-
lities in war; their empire was gained and preſerved by arms, and of conſequence the
Macedonian hiſtory would be unintelligible, if the nature and diſcipline of their armies
were not fully and properly deſcribed; for want of it, the exploits of *Philip* have
been ill underſtood, and thoſe of *Alexander* wear too often the air of romance. We
hope that in the ſubſequent ſheets they will appear in the light of true hiſtory.

[z] CURT. lib. iv. c. 10. [a] Id. lib. vi. c. 4. [b] CURT. lib. iv. ARRIAN. lib. i. p. 6. [c] ARRIAN. lib. ii. p. 113. CURT. lib. ix. cap. 1. DIOD. lib. xvi. VELL. lib. 1. d

SECT. III.

The hiſtory of the Macedonian *kingdom from its foundation to the reign of* Philip *the father of* Alexander.

THE great obſcurity of the *Greek* hiſtory ariſing chiefly from the want of ancient
hiſtorians, and the variations which are viſible in the works of ſuch authors e
as have attempted to give us the ſtory of thoſe ancient times, have already ſufficiently
appeared from the account we have given of the fabulous and heroic times, and of
the ancient ſtates of *Greece*. The hiſtory of the *Macedonian* kingdom wants not
many difficulties of the ſame kind, and flowing from the ſame cauſes; however the
ſeries of its ancient kings is pretty well ſettled, and though we have no regular
account of them in any one ancient hiſtorian, yet from the ſcattered relations in *He-
rodotus*, *Thucydides*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Strabo*, *Juſtin*, *Pliny*, *Solinus*, and other ancient
writers, we have been able to aſſemble ſuch a number of paſſages, as, when ranged
in their juſt order of time, afford us a very paſſable account of the *Macedonian* affairs
during the period aſſigned at the head of this chapter; and thenceforward we ſhall f
meet with fewer doubts and obſtacles, and ſcarce any chaſms in the narration to the
very end of the *Macedonian* monarchy under *Perſeus* the ſon of *Philip*. But in the
firſt place, it will be neceſſary to exhibit a ſcheme of thoſe kings, and the years of
their reigns, as they are ſet down by the learned *Petavius*, who has adjuſted theſe
intricate points with wonderful judgment and perſpicuity.

a *A* TABLE *of the* Macedonian *kings from the foundation of that monarchy to the reign of* Philip *the father of* Alexander the Great.

1. *Caranus*	28	12. *Archelaus*	14
2. *Cænus*	28	13. *Oreſtes*	0
3. *Thurimas*	45	14. *Areopas*	4
4. *Perdiccas*	48	15. *Pauſanias*	1
5. *Argeus*	32	16. *Amyntas* I.	1
6. *Philippus*	35	17. *Argeus*	2
b 7. *Æropas*	42	18. *Amyntas* again	21
8. *Alcetas*	28	19. *Alexander*	2
9. *Amyntas*	49	20. *Ptolemæus Alorites*	3
10. *Alexander*	43	21. *Perdiccas*	5
11. *Perdiccas* II.	23	22. *Philippus*	24

Caranus the founder of this kingdom was an *Argive* by birth, and a deſcendant from *Hercules*, though authors are not well agreed at what diſtance. An ancient *Greek* writer cited in *Euſebius*'s chronicon places him in the eleventh degree [a]; but *Velleius Paterculus* ſays, that he was the ſixteenth from *Hercules* [b]. It is however owned, Caranus.
c that he derived his line from *Temenus* one of the ſons of that hero, and that this *Caranus* was the brother of *Phidon*, the brother of *Argos*, who is reported to have been the inventor of weights and meaſures. On what account *Caranus* quitted his native country, no authors inform us; but all agree that he left it at the head of a conſiderable body of *Greeks*, with whom intending to ſettle, as the cuſtom of thoſe times was, in ſome other country, he conſulted the oracle as to the meaſures which he ought to take; he was anſwered, that he ſhould eſtabliſh his empire according to the direction of the goats. It is very probable, that *Caranus*, when he received this reſponſe, knew not what to make of it; however, in purſuit of his firſt intention, he entered that country, ſince known by the name of *Macedonia*, and particularly the little
d kingdom of *Æmathia*, at that time governed by king *Midas*, and drew near to its capital, which was then called *Edeſſa*. On a ſudden the ſky being overcaſt, and a great ſtorm coming on, *Caranus* obſerved a herd of goats running for ſhelter to the city; immediately recollecting the oracle, he commanded his men to follow them cloſely, and entering the city by ſurprize, he poſſeſſed himſelf firſt of it, and after of the kingdom. In gratitude to his conductors, he changed the name of the place into *Ægea*, and called his people *Ægeates*; he likewiſe made uſe of a goat in his ſtandard in order to perpetuate the memory of this extraordinary event. *Telegonus* the ſon of *Aſtriopæus*, the friend of *Priam*, and one of the heroes in the *Trojan* war, governed *Pæonia*, and other little princes the ſeveral regions of which *Macedonia*
e is compoſed [c]. *Caranus* ſubdued by degrees ſuch of his neighbours as were inferior to him in force, and added their dominions to his own, laying by this means the foundation of that kingdom which his ſucceſſors afterwards raiſed to ſuch ſplendor. *Pauſanias* has recorded an exploit performed by this prince, which deſerves conſideration, inaſmuch as it confirms what we have ſaid before, and ſhews alſo how maxims come to be eſtabliſhed in particular kingdoms. *Caranus* among other princes, againſt whom he turned his arms, attacked *Ciſſæus* the ſovereign of a ſmall territory ſouth of the new kingdom *Egæa*, and conquered his country; whereupon, according to the cuſtom of the *Argives*, *Caranus* erected a trophy; but a lion coming out of a foreſt in the neighbourhood of *Olympus*, deſtroyed it; of which the conqueror being
f informed, underſtood it as a caution from the gods not to irritate his barbarous neighbours by erecting monuments to their ſhame; whence he made it a rule to himſelf, and left it as an inviolable maxim of ſtate to his ſucceſſors, never to treat any vanquiſhed people as enemies, but to receive them immediately into their protection, as if they had been born their ſubjects [d]. Chronologers are by no means agreed as to the beginning of this prince's reign; but after conſidering what has been offered on all hands, and comparing the conjectures of the learned in this ſcience with the facts mentioned by ancient hiſtorians, the moſt probable opinion ſeems to be, that he

[a] p. 47. [b] Hiſt. lib. i. cap. 6. [c] JUSTIN. Hiſt. lib. ii. cap. 6. [d] PAUSAN. l. ix. SCALIGER. ad Euſeb. p. 47. Can. Iſagog. lib. ii. p. 163. lib. iii. p. 33.

founded

Year after the flood, 2205. *Before Chriſt* 795.

founded this kingdom about ſeventeen years before the firſt olympiad, that is to ſay, about the years ſpecified in the margin, according to the tables of the judicious archbiſhop *Uſher* [c]. a

Cœnus.

To *Caranus* ſucceeded his ſon *Cœnus*, of whom we know very little more, than that his mother was the daughter of one *Cnopis* a *Colchian*, who on ſome account or other came into *Macedonia*, and lived with *Caranus*, who married his daughter; this *Cœnus* began his reign in the laſt year of the third olympiad, and having governed twenty-eight years as well as his father, he left his throne to *Thurimus* or *Thirimus* his ſon [c].

Thurymas.

Thurymas, *Thurimas*, or *Thyrmas*, ſucceeded to the *Macedonian* throne about the eleventh olympiad. As to the particulars of his reign, we are totally in the dark, no ancient author having recorded any thing about it. In order however to give the reader ſome idea of the time in which this *Macedonian* prince ſwayed with ſo little noiſe the ſceptre of his fathers, it may not be amiſs to take notice of ſome few remarkable things which fell out in his days in the neighbouring parts of the world. He was cotemporary with *Ahaz* and *Hezekiah* kings of *Judah*; in the eighteenth year of his reign *Salmanazar* carried away captive the ten tribes of *Iſrael*. In his twentieth year *Candaules* king of *Lydia* was ſlain by *Gyges* his ſervant, and thereby the race of *Hercules* diſpoſſeſt of that kingdom. About the ſame time the famous *Sethos* began his reign in *Egypt*. In the twenty-ninth year of *Thurymas*'s adminiſtration, *Dejoces* erected the monarchy of the *Medes*. *Rome*, which had been founded in the days of his father *Cœnus*, had during his life its two firſt kings *Romulus* and *Numa*. After poſſeſſing the crown of *Macedon* forty-five years, he tranſmitted it to his ſon *Perdiccas* [g]. b c

Perdiccas.

Perdiccas the firſt began his reign in the twenty-ſecond olympiad, a monarch of great parts, and happy in his fortune; he extended his dominions at the expence of his neighbours, and did ſo many great things, that, like moſt other heroes, the light of his glory hath received ſome diminution from the ſhade of fiction which hath followed it [h]. When full of years, he is ſaid to have ſhewn his ſon the place where he deſired to be buried, and where he likewiſe exhorted him to order his own body to be laid, and thoſe of his poſterity, ſignifying at the ſame time, that till this cuſtom was aboliſhed, there ſhould not want one of his line to ſit upon the throne; and ſome have been ſuperſtitious enough to imagine, that this prediction was fulfilled on the interring *Alexander the Great*'s body elſewhere [i]. *Herodotus* hath recorded many things which have indeed the air of fable in relation to this prince; but as it is fit the reader ſhould be acquainted with them, they are placed below in a note (A). d

Argæus

[c] Usser. ad A. I. P. 3910. [f] Helvic. Theatr. Chron. p. 51. [g] Usser. ad A. I. P. 3986. [h] Herodot. l. viii. [i] Justin. lib. vii. cap. 2.

(A) The relation of *Herodotus* runs thus: "*Perdiccas* obtained the monarchy of *Macedonia* in the following manner; *Gavanes*, *Æropus*, and *Perdiccas*, three brothers, deſcendants of *Temenus*, fled from *Argos* to *Illyria*, and from thence paſſing into the upper *Macedonia*, arrived in the city of *Leban*, where they entered into the king's ſervice for wages. One of them had the care of his horſes, another of his oxen, and *Perdiccas*, who was the youngeſt, kept the leſſer cattle; for in ancient time, not only the people, but monarchs too had little wealth. And as the wife of this king made their bread, ſhe conſtantly perceived that of *Perdiccas* encreaſed to double the quantity of the reſt; which when ſhe had long obſerved, ſhe acquainted her husband with what ſhe had ſeen. The king having heard, and taking the thing for a prodigy, portending ſome conſiderable event, ſent for the brothers, and commanded them to depart out of his territories. They anſwered, that in juſtice they ought to receive their ſalaries, and then they would readily go. But the king hearing them mention their ſalary, and at the ſame time ſeeing the ſun ſhining through the chimney into the houſe, blaſphemouſly ſaid, *This I give you as a ſufficient reward of your ſervice*, pointing to the ſun as he pronounced theſe words. *Gavanes* and *Æropus* the elder brothers, ſtood amazed at his diſcourſe; but the youngeſt anſwering, *We accept thy offer, O king*, took out a ſword which he happened to have about him; and having drawn a circle upon the floor, round the brightneſs made three ſeveral motions to put up the light of the ſun into his boſom, and then departed with his brothers. After their departure, one of thoſe that were preſent, told the king what the youth had done, and that being the youngeſt, he muſt have had ſome deſign in accepting his offer: Which when the king heard, he fell into a great rage, and ſent away men on horſeback, with orders to purſue and kill the brothers. In this country is a river, to which the deſcendants of theſe *Argians* ſacrifice in commemoration of their deliverance, becauſe they had no ſooner paſſed, than the ſtreams ran ſo high, and with ſuch violence, that the horſemen could not poſſibly get over. The *Temenides* thus eſcaping went to inhabit in another country of *Macedonia*, near the gardens that are ſaid to have belonged to *Midas* the ſon of *Gordias*, where roſes of ſixty leaves each, and of a more fragrant ſcent than any other, grow naturally without any cultivation.

4

a *Argæus* the ſon of *Perdiccas* ſucceeded his father about the thirty-fourth olympiad; Argæus.
he was a prince of great affability and goodneſs, whereby he gained the love of his people, and governed with much tranquillity and applauſe. In his time the *Illyrians*, a fierce and barbarous nation, invaded the *Macedonians*, and did them conſiderable miſchief; but *Argæus*, who was a wiſe and valiant as well as a mild and peaceable prince, put himſelf at the head of his troops in order to oppoſe them; and having by a ſtratagem drawn them into his power, he fell upon them, and put them to the ſword with great effuſion of blood. In the laſt year of his life, he was cotemporary with *Ancus Martius* king of *Rome*, and having then enjoyed the royal ſceptre thirty-two years, he died and left the kingdom to *Philip* [k].

b *Philip* the firſt became king of *Macedon* about the entrance of the forty-ſecond Philip I.
olympiad; he was a very good as well as very valiant monarch; but as to the tranſactions of his reign, there is little or nothing recorded about them, farther than that he fought with great courage in defence of himſelf and his people againſt the *Illyrians*, by whom he was ſlain in battle, and ſo left the crown to his ſon, an infant in his cradle [l].

Æropas became king of *Macedon* about the beginning of the fifty-firſt olympiad, Æropas.
at which time the *Thracians* and *Illyrians* ravaged all his country, and were continually ſucceſsful in their battles againſt his ſubjects, till the *Macedonians*, enraged by the misfortunes they had ſuffered, and ſuperſtitiouſly conceiving that they could
c never fight ſucceſsfully, but under the auſpice of their king, cauſed the young *Æropas* to be carried into the midſt of the battle in his cradle; and either encouraged by the preſence of their infant prince, or diſdaining to leave a child in danger, they fought with ſuch obſtinate reſolution, that they intirely defeated the *Illyrians*, and obliged them to retire. What were the future fortunes of a prince ſo proſperous in his infancy, no ancient hiſtorian has told us; and therefore we can only ſay, that after ruling *Macedon* forty-two years, he yielded to fate, and left his dominions to his ſon [m].

Alcetas began his reign over *Macedon* at a time when the ſeveral ſtates of *Greece* Alcetas.
exerted their increaſing power, and ſought to extend their fame and their dominion
d both by ſea and land, when the affairs of *Aſia* and the whole eaſt were ſtrangely altered by the fall of the *Aſſyrian* empire, and the conjunction of the *Perſian* and *Median* power in the perſon of the great *Cyrus*; and when the petty princes in his neighbourhood began to feel the effects of the *Greek* power on the one ſide, and of his new erected empire on the other, what precautions this king of *Macedon* took either to preſerve his own dominions from inſults, or to extend their boundaries by ſubduing his neighbours, is not to be diſtinguiſhed in the *Greek* hiſtories now extant; but if we may conjecture from what they relate of the tranſactions happening in his ſon's time, it will appear moſt probable, that he contented himſelf with the kingdom left him by his anceſtors, and ſought rather to preſerve that in peace, than to run the
e hazard of war through an ambitious deſire to encreaſe it [n].

Amyntas ſaw the power of the *Perſian* empire increaſe daily; for a while the am- Amyntas.
bitious views of *Cambyſes* and *Darius* were either directed another way, or checked by ſeditions at home; but after the reduction of *Babylon*, *Darius* either envying the power of the *Scythians*, who ſome time before had made themſelves lords of *Aſia*, or being incenſed againſt king *Iancyrus* for refuſing him his daughter in marriage, he determined to march with a prodigious army into that country, and utterly to deſtroy the people; accordingly having drawn together, as ſome authors report, an army of ſeven hundred thouſand men, he cauſed a bridge to be laid over the *Boſphorus*, whereon his army paſſed over from *Aſia* to *Europe*, himſelf however going by ſea;
f then he gave inſtruction to the *Ionians*, and other his ſubjects, to ſail to the mouth of the river *Iſter*, over which they were commanded to lay a bridge; which having paſſed, he gave them leave after waiting for him ſixty days, if he returned not in that time,

[k] Herodot. ubi ſupra. Justin. ubi ſupra. [l] Justin. ubi ſupra. [m] Justin. ubi ſupra. [n] Justin. ubi ſupra.

" tivation. If we may believe the *Macedonians*, *Si-* " in winter. Here they began their firſt enter-
" *lenus* was taken in theſe gardens, which are ſhel- " prizes; and after they had reduced theſe parts,
" tered by a mountain called *Bermion*, inacceſſible " they reduced the reſt of *Macedonia* (1).

(1) *Herodot. Hiſt. lib.* vi.

to retire back again into their own country [o]. While the *Perſian* emperor with all his mighty army were wandering about the deſerts of *Scythia*, ſometimes having an enemy in ſight, and yet ſeeing nothing which might give them to believe the country in which they travelled was inhabited at all; the *Ionians*, with the reſt of the nations who were left to guard the bridge over the *Iſter*, were conſulting among themſelves whether they ſhould ſtill remain there in expectation of the *Perſians*, or whether breaking up the bridge they ſhould leave *Darius* and his army to periſh by want, and by the arms of his enemies. a

THE *Scythians* ſtrongly ſolicited them to return into their own country, and the famous *Miltiades*, at that time prince of the *Cherſoneſe*, conjured them not to loſe ſo fair an opportunity of delivering themſelves from the *Perſian* yoke. But *Hiſtiæus* tyrant of *Miletus*, a city of *Ionia*, conſidering with himſelf, that, the *Perſian* power deſtroyed, he ſhould no longer be able to keep his city in ſubjection; took pains to poſſeſs the other reguli or petty kings, who were preſent, with the ſame notion, and ſo drew them all to concur with him in remaining firm to the intereſt of *Darius*. That the *Scythians* however might be pacified, and give them no diſturbance, he adviſed them to break up ſo much of the bridge as was within bow-ſhot of their coaſt; which when they began to do, the *Scythians* conceiving that they had gained their purpoſe, immediately quitted the ſhore, and went in purſuit of *Darius*. The ſixty days being expired, that prince made all the haſte he could to the banks of the *Iſter*, fearing that the bridge was broken, and that he and his army ſhould find no paſſage; but when they had reached it, and as their cuſtom was, ſet up a great ſhout to give notice of their arrival, *Hiſtæius* inſtantly brought together the veſſels which had been taken away, and ſo the army paſſed over into *Thrace*, from whence *Darius* with the far greater part of it made all the haſte he could into *Aſia* [p]. b c

To conceal however the want of ſucceſs in this expedition as much as the thing would allow, he left behind him *Megabizus* in *Europe* with an army of eighty thouſand men, giving him orders to reduce all the neighbouring nations. In purſuance of theſe inſtructions, he ſent ſeven of the principal commanders of his army into *Macedonia* to require *Amyntas* to acknowledge king *Darius*. *Herodotus* has preſerved to us a very exact account of this negotiation; we are of opinion that the reader will not be diſpleaſed in having it as near as may be in his own words. When the *Perſians* arrived in *Macedon*, they went and demanded earth and water in the name of *Darius*. *Amyntas* not only gave them what they required, but received them for his gueſts: and having prepared a magnificent feaſt, entertained them with great humanity. But as the *Perſians* were beginning to drink after ſupper, "*Macedonian* friend, ſaid they, "when we make a great feaſt in *Perſia*, our manner is to bring in our concubines and "young women to the company; and therefore, ſince you have received us ſo affectionately, treated us with ſuch magnificence, and owned king *Darius* by the delivery of earth and water, we invite you to imitate our cuſtom". *Amyntas* anſwered, "The manner of our country is quite different; for we keep our women "ſeparated from our men: Nevertheleſs, becauſe you are our maſters, and require "their attendance, we will do as you deſire". Having finiſhed theſe words, he ſent for the women, who coming in as they were ordered, placed themſelves on the other ſide of the table oppoſite to the *Perſians*. But when they ſaw the women were very beautiful, the *Perſians* told *Amyntas* that they were not placed with diſcretion; and that he would have done better not to ſend for them at all, than to let them ſit at that diſtance only to offend their eyes. Upon this *Amyntas*, compelled by neceſſity, ordered the women to ſit down among the men: Which when they had done, the *Perſians*, when full of wine, began to handle their breaſts; and ſome would have proceeded to kiſſes. Theſe actions *Amyntas* ſaw with indignation; yet ſeemed unconcerned, becauſe he was afraid of the *Perſian* power. But his ſon *Alexander*, who was preſent, and obſerved the ſame thing, being a young man, and unacquainted with adverſity, was no longer able to endure their inſolence; and therefore ſaid to *Amyntas*, "Father, conſider your age; and leaving the company retire to your reſt. "I will ſtay here, and furniſh theſe ſtrangers with all things neceſſary". *Amyntas* perceiving that *Alexander* had ſome raſh deſign to put in execution, "Son, ſaid he, "I pretty well diſcern by thy words, that thou art angry, and art reſolved to d e f

[o] HERODOT. lib. iv. STRAB. Geogr. lib. vi.

[p] HERODOT. ubi ſupra. JUSTIN. Hiſt. lib. ii. cap. 6.

"attempt

a "attempt ſome imprudent action in my abſence. I charge thee therefore to do "nothing againſt theſe men, that may turn to our diſadvantage: But be contented "to obſerve their actions with patience; and for my own part, I will comply and "retire". When *Amyntas* had given him this counſel, and was gone out, *Alexander* ſpoke to the *Perſians* in theſe terms: "Friends, ſaid he, theſe women are at your "command: You may lie with all, or as many of them as pleaſe you beſt; and "therefore I deſire you to declare your intentions with freedom: For I ſee you "are inclined to ſleep, and abundantly repleniſhed with wine. Only permit them, "if you think fit, to go out to bathe; and in a little time you may expect their "return". The *Perſians* applauded this propoſal, and *Alexander* ſending away the
b women, ordered them to their own apartment: And having dreſſed a like number of ſmooth young men in the habit of women, he furniſhed every one with a poynard, and introducing them to the *Perſians*, ſaid, "We have treated you with all manner "of variety: We have given you not only all we had, but whatever we could pro-"cure: And, which is more than all the reſt, we have not denied you our matrons "and daughters to complete your entertainment, that you may be abundantly "perſuaded we have paid you all the honours you deſerve; and at your return "may acquaint the king, who ſent you, that a *Grecian* prince of *Macedonia* gave "you a good reception both at table and bed". Having thus ſpoken, *Alexander* placed at the ſeat of every *Perſian*, a young *Macedonian* in the diſguiſe of a woman;
c who, when the *Perſians* attempted to careſs them, immediately diſpatched all the ſeven. This was the fate of theſe *Perſians*, and of their attendants, who together with the chariots and all the baggage preſently diſappeared [q].

Megabizus hearing nothing of the meſſengers he had ſent into *Macedonia*, and diſdaining to march againſt ſo poor a kingdom himſelf, ſent thither *Bubaris* one of his principal officers with a conſiderable body of troops, inſtructing him as ſoon as he entered the frontiers of *Macedon* to ſend for *Amyntas*, and make a ſtrict inquiſition after the embaſſadors ſent him before. This had certainly been the ruin of the *Macedonian* kingdom in the houſe of *Caranus*, if *Alexander*, who had been the author of the death of the *Perſians*, had not likewiſe contrived a method how
d to pacify *Bubaris*; in order to this, he went directly to confer with him as ſoon as he entered the country, carrying with him *Gygæa* his ſiſter, a very beautiful woman; with whom *Bubaris* became ſo much in love, that for the ſake of obtaining her for a wife, he adjuſted all things to the ſatisfaction of *Amyntas*. Thenceforward the kings of *Macedon* became dependent on the *Perſian* emperors, but were always regarded as faithful allies, and therefore worthy of good uſage and eſteem [r]. It fell out in the reign of *Amyntas*, that *Athens* recovered her liberty by expelling *Hippias* the ſon of *Piſiſtratus*, who had aſſumed the ſovereignty. This exiled prince the king of *Macedon* (or his ſon) offered a retreat in his dominions, and the revenues of the city *Authymus* for his ſupport; but *Hippias* thought fit to refuſe this favour, as he did alſo an offer
e of the ſame ſort from the *Theſſalians*, who would have given him the city of *Iolchus*, chuſing to retire firſt to *Sigeum*, and afterwards to *Darius* [s].

MANY circumſtances about this time concurred to influence the *Perſian* emperor with a deſire of making war with the *Greeks*; the *Athenians* without ſtaying till any injuries were offered them, ſent a fleet to the aſſiſtance of the *Ionians*, who had revolted from *Darius* merely becauſe he had given a kind reception to *Hippias*; while that tyrant uſed all the eloquence, of which he was maſter, to perſuade *Darius* to reſtore him to the ſovereignty of *Athens*; in which he at laſt prevailed, for the rebellion in *Ionia* being ſuppreſſed, the great king determined to ſend *Mardonius* to chaſtiſe the *Athenians*, and to put *Hippias* again in poſſeſſion of the ſovereignty he had
f uſurped. This general having croſſed the *Helleſpont*, marched with his land-forces into *Macedonia*, which, as *Herodotus* tells us, he added to the *Perſian* dominions: but this muſt be underſtood in a reſtrained ſenſe; for it is univerſally agreed, that the *Perſians* did never deprive *Amyntas* or any of his poſterity of the kingdom, but on the contrary treated them always with kindneſs and reſpect. While *Mardonius* lay here, the *Perſian* fleet, endeavouring to double the cape of mount *Athos*, were ſurprized by a ſtorm, which drove more than half their ſhips aſhore, whereby there periſhed no leſs than twenty thouſand men. Nor did the land-army eſcape all misfortunes in theſe quarters; for the *Bryges*, a bold and barbarous people of

[q] HERODOT. lib. iv. cap. 34. 35. [r] HERODOT. ubi ſupra. JUSTIN. ubi ſupra. [s] PAUSAN. in Lacon.

Thrace,

Thrace, ſuddenly attacked *Mardonius* and his army in the night with ſuch advan- a
tage, that they ſlaughtered a great number of his men, and wounded himſelf, which provoked him ſo much, that he quickly made their country the ſcene of war, and reduced them under the *Perſian* yoke. After which, and ſome other inconſiderable conqueſts on the north and north-weſt of *Macedon*, he marched back into *Aſia*. Spurred on rather than checked by theſe diſappointments, *Darius* ſtill meditated the deſtruction of *Greece*; in order to which, he ſent a new army under the command of *Datis* a *Median*, and *Artaphernes* the ſon of his brother, with whom went *Hippias* who conducted them to the plains of *Marathon*, where they were ſhamefully defeated by *Miltiades* at the head of the *Athenian* army. Even this misfortune could not cure b
Darius of the malice he had conceived againſt the *Greeks*; on the contrary it heightened and inflamed it; he ordered new preparations to be made for war throughout all his wide dominions, and eſpecially directed all the *Greeks* who were tributary to him, to provide ſhips and men, which gave the *Macedonians* an opportunity of exerting themſelves with uncommon diligence, and thereby meriting the favour of their maſters. But while theſe things were doing *Egypt* revolted, againſt which *Darius* finding it neceſſary to march in perſon, he appointed *Xerxes* his ſucceſſor, not long after which he died without ſeeing either the *Egyptian* or *Grecian* war ſo much as begun [t].

Xerxes purſuing the ſchemes of his father notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of the c
wiſeſt men about him, determined on a war with *Greece*; but previous to his grand expedition, he reſolved to cauſe two things to be performed, which might ſtrike his enemies with terror, and thereby induce ſubmiſſion without the expence of blood; theſe were the cutting a canal or paſſage for his ſhips through the iſthmus, joining mount *Athos* to the continent, which was twelve furlongs, or a mile and a half broad; the other erecting a bridge croſs the *Helleſpont*, where the ſea was about a mile broad. The firſt of theſe enterprizes was committed to the care of *Bubaris* and *Artachæus*, and as ſoon as all things were ready, the great king marched with his prodigious hoſt into *Macedonia*, his fleet being alſo ſtationed on this coaſt. The diligence and fidelity of *Amyntas*, his ſon *Alexander*, and their ſubjects, appeared d
in ſo fair a light to the *Perſians*, eſpecially through the repreſentation of *Bubaris*, who had married *Alexander*'s ſiſter, that he thought fit to add to the *Macedonian* kingdom the country lying near the mount *Hæmus* and *Olympus*, at the ſame time *Amyntas* the nephew of *Alexander* obtained the city of *Alabanda* in *Phrygia*. It would be foreign to our purpoſe, ſhould we enter here into a long detail of what happened in the famous war carried on at this time by the *Perſian* emperor againſt the *Greeks*; we ſhall therefore take notice only of ſuch points as immediately concern the princes whoſe hiſtory we are writing. When the *Greeks* firſt heard of *Xerxes*'s invaſion, they had thoughts of ſending a body of forces into *Theſſaly* in order to check him there, and to prevent his eaſy entrance into *Greece*; but the *Alluadæ* princes of *Theſſaly*, and *Alexander* of *Macedon* adhering to the *Perſian* intereſt, the *Greeks* were conſtrained e
to abandon this ſcheme, and content themſelves with diſputing the paſſage at *Thermopylæ*. After the battle of *Salamis*, in which the mighty fleet of *Xerxes* was beaten in his ſight by that of the *Athenians* and their confederates, and the haſty retreat of *Xerxes* on a ſuppoſition that the *Greeks* would attempt the ruin of his bridge over the *Helleſpont*, *Mardonius* was left with an army of four hundred thouſand men, to try if he could conquer the *Greeks* by land, whom his maſter had found invincible by ſea. This *Mardonius* was an accompliſhed courtier, one who ſought to accommodate himſelf to his prince's humour, and to preſerve himſelf in honour and power by giving pleaſing councils; this man had been a principal inſtrument in ſupporting *Xerxes* in this deſtructive ſcheme, and therefore to avoid the odium f
and puniſhment due to that offence, he had promiſed the performance of mighty things, provided the command of the army was given to him. As ſoon as *Xerxes* was gone, he ſent for the principal perſons of the adjacent countries, to whom he repreſented what a mighty confidence the great king repoſed in them, and exhorted them, by their zeal on this occaſion in bringing troops to join his army, to demonſtrate their being worthy of the friendſhip of the great king. This made ſuch an impreſſion on the *Macedonians*, and the reſt, that exerting themſelves to the utmoſt, they in a ſhort time augmented the *Perſian* army with two hundred thouſand men.

[t] Herodot. lib. v.

How-

a However the city of *Potidea* in *Macedonia*, in the midſt of theſe preparations, abſolutely refuſed to ſend any ſuccours to the *Perſians*; but on the contrary declared for their enemies the confederate ſtates of *Greece*: with theſe the *Pallenians* joined, and the *Olynthians* ſhewed ſome inclination to increaſe the defection, which began now to become formidable to the *Perſian* power. *Mardonius*, that he might as ſoon as poſſible put a ſtop to this evil, detached *Artabazus* at the head of ſixty thouſand men to reduce theſe rebels. Againſt the *Olynthians* and *Pallenians* this commander was very ſucceſsful, but the *Potideans* gave him a very great deal of trouble; it is highly likely, that the inhabitants of this place being free, and ſubſiſting chiefly by their traffic with the *Greeks*, were better diſciplined, and conſequently more capable of
b defending themſelves againſt the *Perſians*. At firſt *Artabazus* contented himſelf with blocking up *Potidæa*, becauſe he at the ſame time beſieged the city of *Olynthus*, then inhabited by the *Bottiæanes*, who had been driven out of the coaſt of the bay of *Therma* by the *Macedonians*. But after the taking of this city, and putting moſt of the inhabitants thereof to death, he came with his whole army before *Potidea*, and entered in earneſt on the ſiege. How ſtrong ſoever the place might be, and whatever valour its citizens might exert, it narrowly eſcaped the fate of *Olynthus*; for *Timoxenus* the commander of the *Scyonæans* entered into a conſpiracy to betray the city; the manner in which he carried on his correſpondence with *Artabazus*, was by putting a letter into the head of an arrow, afterwards affixing the feathers, and then ſhooting
c it to a certain place. But *Artabazus* having the misfortune to ſhoot when the people were about the place, it ſo happened, that his arrow ſtruck into the ſhoulder of one of the *Potideans*; upon this ſeveral gathered about him, and drawing out the arrow, the letter was diſcovered, and thereby the conſpiracy defeated. But this was not the only misfortune; after *Artabazus* had continued the ſiege three months, the ſea broke into his camp, upon which he raiſed the ſiege, and marched as expeditiouſly as he could to *Pallene*; but before they had reached half way to that city, the waters overtook them, and, what was no leſs fatal, the *Potideans* in their boats, ſo that ſuch as could not ſwim were drowned, and ſuch as could were ſlain by the enemy; only *Mardonius* lying in *Theſſaly*, *Artabazus* found means to march the ſmall remainder of his army,
d which had taken the higher road to his camp, and thereby finiſhed this unfortunate expedition, which, inaſmuch as *Potidea* is a city of *Macedon*, fell properly within this ſection of our hiſtory [n].

In the beginning of the ſpring, *Mardonius* ſent one *Mus* of *European* extraction to conſult the moſt famous oracles on the preſent ſtate of affairs. At his return, he took a ſudden reſolution of treating with the *Athenians*, whom he juſtly looked on as the moſt dangerous enemy his maſter had. In order to negotiate a ſeparate peace with them, and thereby weaken the force of *Greece*, he made choice of *Alexander* the ſon of *Amyntas*, king of *Macedonia*, to be his embaſſador. What were the motives that determined him, to this are not very exactly recorded; but it is not difficult
e to diſcover them with ſome degree of certainty. *Alexander* was a prince of great genius, ſtrictly allied to the *Perſians*, and at the ſame time not a little eſteemed by the *Greeks*; for he, when a very young man, being preſent at the olympic games, and challenged there as a barbarian who had no right to aſſiſt, had proved himſelf by deſcent an *Argive*, on which being admitted, not only to ſee, but to ſtrive, he carried off the prize, and had the honour to be victor. When he came to *Athens*, that wiſe and then virtuous people, though they received him with great hoſpitality and kindneſs, yet they delayed giving him audience, till the *Lacedæmonian* embaſſadors arrived. Then in a ſolemn aſſembly, he was permitted to ſpeak freely, and to acquaint them with the propoſitions with which he was entruſted by *Mardonius*. *Hero-*
f *dotus* having given us the ſpeech which he made on this occaſion, the reader will probably be well pleaſed to ſee it in the words of that author, whoſe harangues are not the leaſt admired parts of his work. "Men of *Athens*, *Mardonius* has ſent me "to tell you, that he has received a meſſage from the king containing theſe words: "I forgive the *Athenians* all the injuries they have done me; and therefore, *Mar-* "*donius*, obſerve the following orders: Reinſtate them in the poſſeſſion of their "own territories; give them moreover whatever other country they ſhall chuſe; let "them govern by their own laws, and rebuild all their temples which I have burnt, "if they will come to an agreement with me. Having received theſe orders, I am

[n] Herodot. lib. vii.

" obliged to put them in execution, unleſs you prevent me: And now I myſelf a
" would ask you, What madneſs puſhes you on to make war againſt a king you
" will never conquer, nor always be able to reſiſt? You are not ignorant of the
" numerous forces and great actions of *Xerxes*; you have heard of the army I have,
" and if you ſhould happen to be victorious, and to defeat us, which you can never
" hope ſo long as you have the uſe of reaſon, another much more powerful will
" come againſt you. Suffer not yourſelves then to be diſpoſſeſſed of your country,
" and continually alarmed for your own lives by meaſuring your ſtrength with the
" king; but be reconciled to him, ſince you have now ſo favourable an oppor-
" tunity in your hands from the preſent diſpoſition of *Xerxes*. Enter therefore into
" an alliance with us ſincerely, and without fraud, and continue to be a free people. b
" Theſe, O *Athenians*, are the words which *Mardonius* ordered me to ſay to you:
" For my own part, I ſhall not mention my conſtant affection to your ſtate, be-
" cauſe you have had ſufficient proof of that in former time: I beſeech you then,
" hearken to the counſel of *Mardonius*; for I ſee you will not be always able
" to make war againſt *Xerxes*. Had I not known this, I ſhould never have
" undertaken to bring you this meſſage; but the king's power is incomparably
" greater than that of all other mortals, and his reach ſo extenſive, that unleſs
" you immediately accept the favourable conditions he offers, I dread the con-
" ſequences to you, who lying in the way of danger more than any other of the
" confederates, and poſſeſſing a country placed as a prize between the contending c
" parties, muſt be always moſt expoſed to ruin. Let theſe reaſons prevail with you,
" and conſider the important advantages you will receive, if the great king forgives
" you alone among all the *Grecians*, and becomes your friend". The *Lacedæmo-
nians* in anſwer to the arguments offered by *Alexander*, inſiſted, *Firſt*, on the diſhonour
which the *Athenians* would ſuſtain, if they made a ſeparate peace with the common
enemy: *Secondly*, they took notice that the commencement of this war was wholly
owing to the *Athenians*, in whoſe cauſe the other confederate ſtates had armed:
Thirdly, they promiſed that the allies would provide for the ſubſiſtence of the *Athe-
nian* women, and ſuch as were unable to bear arms as long as the war continued:
Laſtly, they let fall ſome bitter expreſſions in regard to the embaſſador himſelf. d
" Be not therefore (ſaid they) ſeduced by the deluſive colours which *Alexander* the
" *Macedonian* has put upon the words of *Mardonius*. He acts in conformity to his
" condition; he helps the tyrant, becauſe he is a tyrant himſelf. But you ought
" to act in another manner, if you judge rightly, becauſe you know the *Barbarians*
" have no regard either to truth or juſtice". The *Athenians* acted as became them
on this occaſion, they told *Alexander*, " They were ſenſible that the power of the
" *Medes* was far ſuperior to theirs; but that liberty was to be defended againſt any
" force, bidding him therefore tell *Mardonius*, that they would never make peace
" with his maſter as long as the ſun continued his courſe, adding by way of cau-
" tion to the embaſſador himſelf; Appear no more in the preſence of the *Athenians* e
" with ſuch meſſages, nor exhort us to deteſtable actions under colour of doing
" us good offices; for we are unwilling to uſe methods that may be uneaſy to you
" who are our friend, and engaged with us in a reciprocal hoſpitality". *Alexander*,
having received his anſwer, returned to *Mardonius*, who when he found that the *Athe-
nians* would not hear of a treaty, he immediately determined to march his mighty
army into their country, and deſtroy *Athens* a ſecond time [x]. Having performed
this, and gratified his revenge, he quitted *Attica* and marched into *Bœotia*, becauſe
being a champain country, it was more proper for his horſe. Here he encamped
on the banks of the river *Æſopus*. The confederate ſtates of *Greece*, having drawn
together their army, marched towards the enemy, and encamped over-againſt them f
in the neighbourhood of mount *Citheron*. For ſome time the armies looked upon
each other, neither of them caring to act offenſively, it having been declared by
ſuch as inſpected the ſacrifices, that the victory would be on that ſide that ſhould be
attacked. *Mardonius* at length growing weary of this lingering kind of war, whereby
they were reduced to the want both of proviſions and of forage, reſolved againſt the
opinions of *Artabazus* and the *Thebans* to fight the *Greeks*. Having one day diſco-
vered his opinion, and ordered all things to be diſpoſed for the attack early in the
morning, *Alexander* of *Macedonia*, when the night was far ſpent, mounting on horſe-

[x] Herodot. lib. viii. Justin. lib. ii. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xi.

back,

a back, advanced to the *Athenian* guard, deſiring to ſpeak with their leaders, whom he named diſtinctly: Notice being given them, they came immediately to the barrier; then *Alexander* addreſſed himſelf to them in theſe terms: "I come to depoſit "a ſecret with you, O *Athenians*, on condition you will conceal it from all men, "except only *Pauſanias*, leſt you ſhould ruin me. I would not make this diſco- "very to you, if I were not extremely concerned for the ſafety of *Greece*; and "being myſelf of *Grecian* original, were not very unwilling to ſee the liberty of "*Greece* oppreſſed. Know then, that *Mardonius* would have fought long before this "time, if the ſacrifices offered for him and his army had been found favourable; "but now he has taken a reſolution to have no regard to the ſacrifices, and to
b "attack you at the break of day; fearing, as I conjecture, that more forces may "come in to your ſuccour. Be therefore in a readineſs to receive him. But if *Mar-* "*donius* ſhould defer the execution of his purpoſe, and not come to a battle, continue "in your camp; for his proviſions are not ſufficient to laſt many days. And if "this war terminates happily on your ſide, ſome of you ought to remember me; "who for the ſake of the *Grecians*, and out of a deſire to preſerve their liberty, "have voluntarily undertaken ſo dangerous an enterprize, and acquainted you with "the intentions of *Mardonius*; to the end that the *Barbarians* may not ſurprize "you, and fall upon your forces before you are prepared to receive them". Of this advice the *Greeks* made great uſe, and no doubt retained a grateful ſenſe of
c *Alexander*'s favour. Not long after a deciſive battle was fought, in which *Mardonius* was ſlain, and his prodigious army cut to pieces, excepting only a body of forty thouſand men commanded by *Artabazus*, who retired as ſoon as he ſaw that victory declared againſt him. With theſe he paſſed ſafely, though with great haſte, thro' *Theſſaly* and *Macedon*, diſſembling the defeat which the *Perſians* had received, and affirming that *Mardonius* with the groſs of the army was marching after him [y]. The ſubſequent actions of *Alexander*'s life are moſt of them covered with oblivion, becauſe we have no ancient writer left, who treats expreſsly of the *Macedonian* affairs before the time of *Philip*, and therefore we are forced to join ſuch circumſtances from general hiſtorians as regard that people, in order to fill up, as well as we may, that obſcure
d period between the acceſſion of *Caranus*, and that of the famous monarch we have before mentioned. An ancient hiſtorian informs us, that in the beginning of the LXXVIIIth olympiad, the *Argives*, moved by ambition, and a thirſt of revenge, made war againſt the *Mycenians*, a brave and free people, whom by degrees they mightily diſtreſt; and at laſt taking their capital city, drove them out of their native country, and obliged them to ſeek habitations among ſtrangers. Drawn by the fame of his generoſity and virtue, numbers of theſe diſtreſſed people fled into *Macedonia* to king *Alexander*, who received them with much kindneſs and hoſpitality, aſſigned them a region to dwell in, and thereby gained immortal honour to himſelf. As he was extremely uſeful to the *Perſians*, ſo we need not queſtion that he took the neceſſary
e meaſures in order to make them uſeful to him, by procuring from time to time as their circumſtances would allow, ſuch additions to his dominions, as made him before his death a great and formidable prince. But, however extended his territories might be, his ſoul was yet ſuperior to his fortunes; he lived with ſuch magnificence, made ſuch noble preſents to the oracles, and gave on all occaſions ſuch teſtimonies of generoſity and munificence, that he was by the *Greeks* ſurnamed the rich, and is always very reſpectfully ſpoken of by their authors. He had three ſons, *Perdiccas*, *Alcetas*, and *Philip*; the firſt ſucceeded to his throne, but the latter kept up for a long time a claim thereto, and thereby created great diſturbances in their native country [z].

f *Perdiccas* the ſon of *Alexander*, in the very beginning of his reign, diſcovered ſuch prudence and forecaſt as ſeemed to demonſtrate, that he ſucceeded to his father's abilities as well as to his dominions; he found himſelf environed on all hands either by open enemies or ſuſpicious friends. The inhabitants of *Thrace*, and other barbarous nations, looked on his increaſing kingdom with an envious eye; the *Perſians* treated him as their vaſſal, and on the other hand, the *Athenians* became ſo powerful by their colonies and allies on the ſea-coaſt, that he was in no ſmall danger from them. Awhile he amuſed them with a ſhew of friendſhip; but when he found that they

Perdiccas I.

[y] Herodot. lib. ix. Plutarch. in vit. Ariſtid. Sicul. lib. xi. Pausan. in

[z] Herodot. lib. ix. Thucyd. lib. ii. Diodor.

treated him with an air of ſuperiority and haughtineſs, he reſolved to check their progreſs in this part of the world, nor did he long want an occaſion. The city of *Epidamnus* or *Epidamnum*, being alike diſtracted by ſeditions at home, and terrified with the approach of foreign enemies, were in the utmoſt diſtreſs; the weaker party had called in the *Illyrians* to their aſſiſtance, by which the government was brought ſo low, that they ſent firſt to the *Corcyrians*, after to the *Corinthians*, for aid; they being a colony immediately from the former, who were themſelves a colony of the latter. The *Corinthians* ſent relief to *Epidamnum*, which the *Corcyrians* reſented, and ſent a fleet on the coaſt of *Macedonia*, in order to compel the *Epidamnians* to ſubmit to ſuch terms as they were pleaſed to preſcribe them. Thus a war was began between the two ſtates, in which the *Corcyrians* had the better in the beginning; for they beat the *Corinthian* by ſea, and took the city of *Epidamnum* by ſtorm. The *Athenians* alſo took part in this buſineſs, and aſſiſted the *Corcyrians*; whereupon the *Corinthians* tampered with the city of *Potidea*, to revolt from *Athens* at the ſame time that king *Perdiccas* declared himſelf againſt that ſtate, and perſuaded the *Chalcidians* to abandon their ſea ports, and to inhabit and fortify the city of *Olynthus*. The *Athenians*, highly provoked at theſe proceedings, determined to revenge themſelves on thoſe who had deſerted them, and eſpecially on king *Perdiccas*, whom they looked upon as the principal author; to which end, they ſent *Agnon* with a fleet, and a conſiderable army on board it, to beſiege *Potidea*, and to reduce the *Chalcidians*; but the plague infecting his army, he was able to effect little, and therefore ſailed quickly back to *Athens*, leaving *Potidea* as he found it, blocked up by a ſmall army the *Athenians* had there before. By the end of the winter the *Potideans* finding themſelves reduced to the utmoſt extremity, inſomuch that they had been obliged to eat one another, treated with *Xenophon*, *Heſtiodorus*, and *Callimachus*, the *Athenian* generals, to render the place on honourable terms, which were granted them, ſo that they had leave to depart with their wives and children, every man having one ſuit of cloaths, and every woman two, with a ſmall ſum of money to bear their charges into *Chalcidia*, and other places whither they thought fit to retire[a]. The next year the *Athenians*, under the command of *Xenophon*, made war againſt the *Chalcidians*, but with ill ſucceſs. *Perdiccas* in the mean time foreſeeing that in the end the *Athenians* would be too powerful for him, endeavoured to reconcile himſelf to that ſtate, or rather with a ſhew of reconciliation, in which he was aſſiſted by *Sytacles* king of *Thrace*, a very potent prince, and one who ſought to augment his dominions at the expence of his neighbours. But how artfully ſoever the *Macedonian* managed his affairs, the *Athenians* ſuſpected him anew, and *Sytacles* took umbrage at his behaviour. The *Athenian* embaſſadors, then at the *Thracian* court, ſolicited this king to make war upon *Perdiccas*, and exalt *Amyntas* the ſon of *Philip* his brother to the throne of *Macedon*, into which project *Sytacles* was eaſily drawn. That the invaſion might be attended with all imaginable ſucceſs, the ſeveral nations of *Thrace*, and all its allies, were invited to contribute their quotas to the war, which in hopes of plunder, they readily did; the *Athenians* alſo promiſing to ſend a ſtrong fleet with a conſiderable number of land-forces on board. *Sytacles* taking with him the embaſſadors, and young *Amyntas*, entered *Macedon* at the head of 150,000 men, two-thirds foot, and one cavalry. *Perdiccas*, knowing it was impoſſible for him to make any reſiſtance in the field againſt ſo great an army, withdrew his forces into ſtrong towns, that he might ſpin out the war into the greater length. At firſt *Sytacles* went on as proſperouſly as he could wiſh; for the principal cities in that territory, which formerly belonged to *Philip*, readily yielded to his ſon; *Mygdonia*, *Greſtonia*, and *Anthemus* he waſted without oppoſition; *Europus* however he attacked in vain, and the *Macedonian* horſe, falling on him in defiles, and other advantageous places, where his numbers could be of no uſe, did him conſiderable miſchief; in the end however, it appeared, that though the *Macedonian* horſe were excellent, yet numbers would overpower them, and therefore *Perdiccas* would not hazard any longer his forces in theſe skirmiſhes. He found indeed an eaſier and ſafer way of getting clear of this formidable enemy; for having engaged one *Seuthes* the king's near relation in correſpondence with him, he offered him his ſiſter *Stratonica* with a vaſt fortune, in caſe he could bring about a peace. He immediately applied himſelf to the work with an eagerneſs ſuitable to the reward which was promiſed him, nor did he

[a] THUCYD. lib. ii. DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xii.

want

a want very plauſible topics to induce *Sytacles* to enter into the meaſures which were to be profitable to him. In the firſt place, he inſiſted, that the *Athenians* inſtead of a fleet had ſent embaſſadors only with inconſiderable preſents, notwithſtanding the war was entered into at their requeſt, and was carried on chiefly for their advantage: He obſerved next, that though this war had not profited the king much, yet it had ſtirred up a multitude of enemies; for the *Theſſalians* not knowing what turn this war might take, were all in arms in the ſouth, and in the north all the *Thracians* inhabiting the plain country, with the *Panæans*, *Odomantians*, *Droans*, and *Derſæans*, were likewiſe in arms, fearing this humour of conqueſt might lead him their way; but above all, he argued from the ſituation he was in, unſupported by his allies, ha-
b raſſed by his enemies, and already ſtraitened for victuals, as well as pinched with cold. After eight days conſideration, *Sytacles* yielded to his kinſman's arguments, and quitting the *Macedonian* territories, marched with all imaginable ſpeed into his own. Within a ſhort ſpace after this, *Seuthes* had his wife given him with a large ſum of ready money, and *Amyntas*, in ſupport of whoſe title the war was undertaken, was left in the ſame melancholy ſtate in which he was before [b]. *Perdiccas* being rid of this formidable enemy, retained however a moſt implacable enmity againſt the *Athenians*, who had ſtirred him up to this invaſion; he therefore privately negotiated with the *Lacedæmonians* to ſend an army into theſe parts, promiſing to do all in his power to drive the *Athenians* out of all their colonies and conqueſts in *Thrace* and
c *Macedon*. This was in the beginning of the eighth year of the *Peloponneſian* war, and the *Lacedæmonians* having had lately many and great misfortunes therein, gladly accepted this offer, in hopes of retrieving the honour of their arms; in order to which, they diſpatched *Braſidas*, one of their beſt and braveſt captains, with a well-provided army to march through *Theſſaly* into *Macedonia*. The *Theſſalians*, when he firſt entered their country, were in great confuſion; they were well inclined to the *Athenians*, but had never done any thing to provoke the *Lacedæmonians*, and therefore looked upon *Braſidas*'s coming amongſt them as an invaſion. But this general, being a perſon of a very moderate temper, as well as invincible courage, entertained them with ſoft words, and general aſſurances of friendſhip and kindneſs,
d till he reached *Dion*, a ſmall city in the neighbourhood of mount *Olympus*, and the firſt in the *Macedonian* dominions; of which when he had given *Perdiccas* notice, that prince declared openly againſt the *Athenians*, and owned that he had called *Braſidas* to expel them out of his own country and *Thrace*. But there was ſtill more at the bottom, *Perdiccas* had framed a deſign of ſubduing the *Lynceſtheans*, a bold and warlike people, very troubleſome to himſelf, as well as his anceſtors; and though he had given out, he ſought only to protect his own dominions, and the *Chalcidians*, who at his perſuaſion had revolted from the *Athenians*; yet when *Braſidas* arrived, he would have immediately employed him in his forces againſt *Arrhibæus* king of the *Lynceſtheans*; but *Braſidas* deſired to be excuſed, till he had ſent a herald to that
e prince, to acquaint him of his arrival, and to demand whether he would be a friend or foe to *Sparta*. *Perdiccas* took this very ill, and could not forbear ſaying, that he did not ſend for him thither to be an arbitrator, but to fight againſt ſuch enemies as he ſhould ſhew him. The *Chalcidians* however, hoping to attach *Braſidas* more ſtrongly to themſelves, commended his conduct much; and *Arrhibæus*, laying hold of this favourable opportunity, declared himſelf the friend of *Sparta*, upon which *Braſidas* removed from his frontiers; which ſo offended the king of *Macedon*, that whereas before he had furniſhed half the expences of the army, henceforward he would furniſh but a third. This moderate behaviour of *Braſidas* wrought greater effects than an army twice as numerous as his could poſſibly have done, and many
f cities opened their gates to him, for where-ever he had an opportunity of treating, his words rendered his ſword unneceſſary. About this time died *Sytacles* king of the *Odryians*, and was ſucceeded in all his dominions by *Seuthes* the brother-in-law of *Perdiccas*. In the winter, *Braſidas* with the confederate army blocked up *Amphipolis*, a famous city; for the poſſeſſion of which the *Athenians* and *Thracians* had ſtruggled long, but was at preſent in the hands of the former, who had alſo an army not far from it under the command of *Thucydides*. *Braſidas* after ſome time determined to attempt ſurprizing the place, having very good intelligence therein; and he marched with ſuch expedition towards it, that he had well-nigh effected what he

[b] Thucyd. ubi ſupra.

propoſed; as it was, he put the inhabitants into ſuch a confuſion, that they ſent to a
Thucydides the hiſtorian, who, as we ſaid before, then commanded in *Thrace*, to intreat him to come to their relief. *Braſidas* having intelligence of this, offered the townſmen their liberty, either to reſide in the city under their own government, or to remove in five days, if they thought fit; which propoſition they accepted, notwithſtanding all that *Eucles* the *Athenian* general, who commanded in the place, could ſay to prevent them. After this ſucceſs, *Perdiccas* joined him, and they together made many other conqueſts; after which they marched to reduce the country about mount *Athos*, which in a great meaſure they effected, and then turned their arms againſt *Torone*, a ſtrong city in *Chalcidia*, which was ſtill held by the *Athenians*, and which *Braſidas* ſurprized in the night, but without fighting [c]. After this the
campaign ended, and the *Athenians* procured a truce, deſigning to make uſe of the b
time afforded them thereby, to put their affairs in *Thrace* into better order, and to contrive the utter deſtruction of *Perdiccas*, whom they now held for their moſt bitter and moſt formidable enemy. On the other hand, *Perdiccas*, having a juſt idea of the ſituation in which his affairs ſtood, neglected nothing which might reſtore them, or tend towards eſtabliſhing the *Macedonian* power ſo effectually, as to leave him for the future without apprehenſions either of *Greeks* or barbarians [d].

WITH this view he ſtrongly ſolicited *Braſidas* to undertake now that expedition which he had ſo much preſſed on his firſt coming into *Macedonia*, *viz.* againſt king *Arrhibæus*, which, on account of that prince's not performing his promiſes, the *Lacedæmonian* general readily yielded to. The expedition once reſolved, was im- c
mediately put into execution, *Braſidas* leading his own army, and *Perdiccas* his, but with promiſe to act for each other's benefit, and to unite their forces, if there ſhould be any occaſion. When they came into the country of the *Lynceſteans*, they found *Arrhibæus* very ſtrongly encamped on the brow of a hill, with a plain before him; whereupon *Perdiccas* and *Braſidas* encamped on the deſcent of an oppoſite hill, having the ſame plain before them. In this ſituation the armies did not continue long before an engagement enſued. At firſt only the horſe fought; but *Arrhibæus* ſending ſome of his men at arms to ſupport his cavalry, *Perdiccas* and *Braſidas* did the ſame; upon which the battle became general, in which the *Lyncе-* d
ſteans were defeated with very great ſlaughter, and conſtrained to betake themſelves to their fortreſſes. Thither the king of *Macedonia* would have purſued them; but *Braſidas* would not conſent, becauſe his heart was ſet on a ſpeedy return to the ſea-coaſts, from an apprehenſion that the *Athenians* would attempt ſomewhat during his abſence. During ſome days the army was in ſuſpenſe, *Braſidas* conſenting to march on, in caſe a body of *Illyrians*, whom *Perdiccas* had taken into his pay, joined them; but it was not long before they were conſtrained to think of a retreat, by reaſon that the *Illyrians* fearing to aggrandize *Perdiccas*, deſerted to the *Lynceſteans*, and thereby enabled them to take the field the ſecond time, which they did with ſuch vigour, that on the firſt news thereof the *Macedonian* forces, being not well
diſciplined, and having with them as auxiliaries ſeveral thouſands much worſe diſci- e
plined than themſelves, were ſtruck with ſuch a panic, that they fled in the night, carrying their king with them by force, without ſo much as ſuffering him to confer with *Braſidas*. The *Lacedæmonian* however made a retreat with ſome difficulty, and much loſs; and from this time forward there was a right underſtanding between the king and that general, each conceiving himſelf to be ill treated; *Perdiccas* reſenting his refuſal to proſecute the war after their victory, when he conceived it to have been intirely in their power to have ſubdued *Arrhibæus*; and *Braſidas* having been much offended with the *Macedonian* army's quick retreat, which left him and his troops expoſed to ſo much danger. The ſtate things were now in, gave the ad- f
vantage to *Perdiccas*, becauſe it inclined the *Athenians* to court him, notwithſtanding all the injuries he had done them; and he, on the other hand, beginning now to diſlike the *Greeks* in general, from an apprehenſion that they all ſought their own intereſt, and to aggrandize themſelves at the expence of others, determined to lay hold of this opportunity of cloſing with *Athens*, in hopes that it would enable him to rid himſelf both of it and of the other party [e]. He accordingly began to treat with *Nicias*, and at laſt concluded peace; but the *Athenian* general ſuggeſting, that it would be proper for him to give ſome open proof of his ſincerity, the king reſolved

[c] THUCYD. l. iii. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. [d] See TOURREIL's Preface to DEMOST. Orations. THUCYD. ubi ſupra. [e] THUCYD. l. iv. DIODOR. SICUL. l. xii.

to

a to gratify him, and at the ſame time do himſelf a kindneſs; he therefore undertook to ſtop a body of *Spartan* troops under the command of *Iſchagoras*, which was ordered to march through *Theſſaly* to join *Braſidas*. This he effected by his great intereſt in *Theſſaly*, and thereby prevented ſuch an acceſſion of ſtrength to the *Lacedæmonian* army, as would in all probability have rendered them far ſuperior to their enemies; whereas a ſhort time afterwards the *Athenians* ſending over freſh troops, under the command of *Cleon*, *Braſidas* was forced to fight in defence of *Amphipolis*; and tho' he gained the victory, yet he was ſlain in fight, which determined the *Lacedæmonians* to make peace, and ridded *Perdiccas* of his apprehenſions on that ſubject. Some time after the *Athenians* began to have new jealouſies as to the intentions of *Perdiccas*. They charged him with treachery, or at leaſt with coldneſs in their affairs, and
b eſpecially with his not aſſiſting *Nicias* ſo much as they thought he might have done; for which reaſon they poſted troops in ſuch a manner, that *Perdiccas* had no communication with the ſea, which was exceedingly detrimental to his affairs. The next year they carried matters farther; for they ordered a body of horſe to be tranſported to *Methone*, from whence they made inroads into *Macedonia*, and did much miſchief. The *Lacedæmonians* had it not now in their power to aſſiſt *Perdiccas* much; however they did all they could, which was to ſend orders to the *Chalcideans* their allies to aſſiſt him; but the *Chalcideans* being not a little afraid of the power of *Perdiccas*, did not think fit to act as they were directed [c]. From this time we meet with very little concerning him in *Greek* hiſtorians; becauſe, as we have more than once ob-
c ſerved, there is not one of them who treats profeſſedly of the affairs of *Macedon*; all therefore that we can add of this *Perdiccas* the ſecond, is, that he died after a long reign full of years and glory [f]. He ruled at a time when all *Greece* was in commotion, when the *Athenians* were moſt ambitious and moſt powerful, and when the *Lacedæmonians*, who had never attempted it before, began to think of eſtabliſhing gariſons in *Thrace*. He had alſo long and ſharp conteſts with his barbarous neighbours, equally fierce and perfidious, ever ready to make war when occaſion offered, and ſeldom to be depended upon when they thought fit to make peace; yet, in ſpight of all theſe difficulties, and, which added not a little to them, the imbecillity of the *Perſian* government, which had been the chief ſupport of his predeceſſors,
d *Perdiccas* maintained himſelf in a ſtate of independency, was formidable to all parties, and left his kingdom both in a better condition, and larger in extent, than he found it. It is true, that thoſe authors from whom we have collected our hiſtory, ſeem to charge him with art and falſhood; but if we conſider who theſe hiſtorians were, and what king *Perdiccas* was, we ſhall not think their authority of any great weight. The *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* ſought to aggrandize themſelves, by making conqueſts in or upon the borders of his dominions; and in their turns they endeavoured to make uſe of him for that purpoſe. *Perdiccas*, as far as in him lay, eluded their deſigns, and under colour of fulfilling them, uſed their forces to ſtrengthen himſelf. Here was art and falſhood on both ſides; but the king was true to the intereſt of *Macedon*; and therefore, as all authors acknowledge him to
e have been a great king, ſo, with reſpect to his own ſubjects, we muſt allow him to have been a good one *.

Archelaus.

It is certain that *Perdiccas* was ſucceeded by his ſon *Archelaus*, a prince of great parts and wonderful induſtry; but with reſpect to his title to the crown, his perſonal character, and the number of years that he reigned, authors ſpeak ſo differently, and ſo obſcurely, that it is next to an impoſſibility to deliver with tolerable clearneſs the ſtory of his reign. Some ſay, that he was not the legitimate ſon of king *Perdiccas*, but that he obtained the kingdom by throwing his brother, who was its lawful heir, into a well, and paſſing it upon his mother that he tumbled in by chance, as he was following a gooſe. They alledge likewiſe, that he invited *Alcetas* the ſon of *Alexan-*
f *der* the rich, with his young ſon *Alexander*, to return into *Macedonia*; and that when he got them into his power, he put them to death, for fear leſt at ſome time or other they might ſet up a claim to the crown, and give him ſome diſturbance [g]. All dread of rivals being now removed, he bethought himſelf of fortifying ſome of his principal cities, that his neighbours, who were powerful in horſe, and who could eaſily draw aſſiſtance from *Athens*, might not over-run *Macedonia* with the ſame facility they did in the days of his father, when *Sytacles* king of *Thrace*

[c] Thucyd. l. v. [f] Diodor. Sicul. l. xii. * Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Cropii Antiq. Macedon. l. i. [g] Diodor. Sicul. l. xii.

ravaged

ravaged the richeſt provinces, without riſquing a battle, or running any great hazard in his retreat. He likewiſe took other meaſures for raiſing the courage and reputation of the *Macedonian* monarchy, which did not a little diſturb his neighbours. The city of *Pydna*, more apprehenſive than the reſt, after ſoliciting the aid of the *Athenians*, declared againſt him, upon which he raiſed a very puiſſant army, and laid ſiege thereto. The *Athenians*, according to their promiſe, ſent a fleet and army, under the command of *Theramenes*, to relieve *Pydna*; but that general found king *Archelaus*'s army in ſo good condition, and ſo advantageouſly encamped, that he was forced to retire without ſuccouring the place, which, after a long ſiege, and a very brave defence, fell into the hands of the king, who obliged its inhabitants to remove twenty furlongs farther from the ſea, that their friends the *Athenians* might not ſo eaſily viſit them. *Archelaus* was for nothing more diſtinguiſhed than for his love of learning and learned men. He had always many about his court, whom he not only maintained with a magnificence worthy of a prince, but converſed with them as familiarly as if they had been his equals; inſomuch that many of his ſayings at table are recorded; for it was the peculiar wiſdom of the *Greeks* to preſerve from oblivion ſuch ſentences as were either remarkable for their ſprightly wit, or for the ſolid ſenſe contained in them [h]. Amongſt others *Socrates* was of the number of the learned, whoſe friendſhip was ſtrongly ſolicited by *Archelaus*; but on account of the violences he had committed in the beginning of his reign, it is ſaid that great philoſopher declined correſponding with him [i]. *Euripides* the tragic poet was his gueſt, and lived with the greateſt intimacy with this king, who is thought to have honoured his memory with a tomb, deſervedly commended by ancient authors [k]. It is clear from theſe paſſages, that *Archelaus* ſpent his days in peace and honour. It ſeems to us moſt probable, that he reigned fourteen years, and that he was ſucceeded in the throne by his ſon *Oreſtes*. As for the manner of his death, it was by treaſon, *Craterus* his favourite conſpiring againſt him; but he alſo was murdered in four days, and ſo reaped little benefit from his treachery [l]. Others again affirm, that he reigned but ſeven years, and that he was ſucceeded by another *Archelaus*, who was the elder brother of *Oreſtes*; which *Archelaus* the ſecond they will have to be the perſon murdered by *Craterus*. *Diodorus Siculus* indeed ſays, that *Archelaus* reigned but ſeven years, and that he was killed by *Craterus*; yet he does not mention two princes of that name; and he places the death of *Archelaus* where it ought to be placed, according to our table [m].

Oreſtes. *Oreſtes* being but a child, *Æropus*, one of the royal blood, governed as protector, and by degrees he increaſed this power of his ſo much, that he acted as abſolutely as if he had been king. It was in his time that *Ageſilaus* king of *Sparta* returned by land out of *Aſia* into *Greece*. He ſent to *Æropus*, as he had done to the reſt of the princes whoſe dominions lay in his way, to deſire the liberty of paſſing. *Æropus* anſwered his meſſengers, That he would conſider of it; which anſwer being reported to *Ageſilaus*, *Let him conſider*, ſaid he, *but let us march* [n]; which accordingly he did through the heart of *Macedonia*, without waiting for any farther permiſſion; which ſo ſtruck *Æropus*, that he gave orders for the treating him and his army with the utmoſt civility, by which he preſerved his country from being pillaged; for in *Theſſaly*, where the people were not ſo tractable, *Ageſilaus* ſuffered his troops to live at diſcretion. The only reaſon aſſigned for transferring the regal authority from the family of *Perdiccas* to this *Æropus*, was, that the kingdom could not bear the want of a prince, or, which to the *Macedonians* ſeemed all one, that the ſceptre ſhould remain in the hands of an infant; however it is very likely, that the family of *Perdiccas* had many friends; and that after the death of *Oreſtes*, *Æropus* ſtood ſo much in fear of them as to act very cautiouſly; for we hear of nothing he did againſt any of his neighbours; but that, after a troubleſome reign of ſix years, he was ſucceeded by his ſon.

Pauſanias. *Pauſanias* held the ſceptre of *Macedon* by no better title than his father had done; and therefore *Amyntas* the ſon of *Philip Tharaleus* conceiving, that neither poſſeſſion nor ſucceſſion could ſanctify an uſurpation, cut off *Pauſanias* before he had reigned a year, and placed the crown on his own head [o].

[h] PLUTARCH. in Apophthegm. [i] Idem ibid. [k] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. [l] ÆLIAN. Var. Hiſt. l. [m] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. PETAV. in Catal. Reg. Macedon. [n] PLUT. in Vit. Ageſil. in Apophthegm. Lacon. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. [o] DIODOR. SICUL. l. xiv.

Æropus

a *Æropus* had ſeveral ſons beſides *Pauſanias*, and of theſe one named *Argæus*, who was the moſt capable. He, on the murder of his brother, immediately began to intrigue, both with the *Macedonian* nobles, and with the neighbouring princes, by whoſe aſſiſtance he quickly raiſed a numerous army; and having put himſelf at the head thereof, entered *Macedonia*, and aſſerted his right to the crown, which *Amyntas* not being able to conteſt, he was forced to abandon it almoſt as ſoon as he had aſſumed it [p]. Amyntas.

Argæus remained in poſſeſſion of *Macedon* about two years. We are not informed either how he governed, or what it was that induced his people to wiſh for *Amyntas* again; but, at the expiration of that term, the *Theſſalians* furniſhing that exiled prince with an army, he entered *Macedon* therewith, and forced his competitor to b retire. Argæus.

Amyntas being reſtored to his kingdom, found himſelf quickly engaged in a quarrel with the *Olynthians*, on this account: At the time he quitted his kingdom, he made over to them part of his territories which lay next to their city, being in doubt whether he ſhould ever come into *Macedon* again; but now, when he was thoroughly re-eſtabliſhed on his throne, he demanded the reſtoration of theſe lands, which the *Olynthians* peremptorily refuſed, and prepared to defend their title by force. *Amyntas* ſaw clearly, that, as things ſtood, he ſhould not be able alone to contend with ſo powerful a people; he therefore determined with himſelf to call in the *Lacedæmonians* to his aſſiſtance, which accordingly he did; and that republic, having long c had a jealous eye on the power of the *Olynthians*, readily yielded to his requeſt, and ſent *Phœbidas* with ten thouſand men to ſupport the king in this war. Soon after they appointed his brother *Eudamidas* general, and diſpatched him with three thouſand men into *Macedonia*. The *Olynthians*, not at all frighted at theſe formidable armies, prepared to defend themſelves; and having aſſembled a very great body of troops, an engagement enſued, wherein *Amyntas* and his allies were beaten. The *Spartans*, as ſoon as they received the news, raiſed forces afreſh, and raiſed a new army, under the command of *Tallutius* the brother of king *Ageſilaus*, to join *Amyntas*. This general, being a man of great courage, immediately entered upon action; and before the *Olynthians* were ready to take the field, waſted their country, and d enriched the ſoldiers with the diſtribution of the booty; but when the *Olynthians* had received the ſuccours they expected, immediately they quitted their city, and offered *Amyntas* and *Tallutius* battle. The battle was very long, and very obſtinate; but in the end the *Olynthians* were victors, *Tallutius*, with 1200 *Spartants*, being killed upon the ſpot. This ſlaughter ſerved only to exaſperate the *Lacedæmonians*, by whom a third army was raiſed, and *Ageſipolis* their king intruſted with the command thereof. The *Olynthians*, perceiving plainly that they ſhould be at laſt beſieged, raiſed ſtrong fortifications, and laid up vaſt quantities of corn and other proviſions in their magazines. They found means however to protract the war for a year, without coming to an engagement. About the end of this ſpace king *Age-* e *ſipolis* died, and *Polyudas* was ſent from *Sparta* to command in his ſtead. This new general gained ſeveral victories, and at laſt ſhut up the *Olynthians* in their city, preſſing them with ſo cloſe a ſiege, that they were at length conſtrained to ſubmit themſelves to the *Macedonians*, and accept of ſuch a peace as they were pleaſed to give them [q]. *Amyntas* was not only happy enough to engage *Lacedæmon* ſo heartily in his cauſe, but he was alſo ſucceſsful in his negotiations with the *Athenians*, who had not hitherto ſhewed any great kindneſs to the kings of *Macedon*. He artfully declared, that, in his opinion, *Amphipolis* belonged to them, and promiſed to do all in his power to put it into their hands, whereby he procured their friendſhip without any expence to himſelf [r]. In all other reſpects he behaved like a great po- f litician, ſtrengthening the intereſt of his family, raiſing the credit of the *Macedonian* monarchy, and binding moſt of his neighbours, particularly the *Theſſalians*, to his intereſt, by good turns, till after a reign of twenty-four years, he died, much reſpected by all the *Grecian* ſtates, and greatly beloved by his own ſubjects. He left behind him three legitimate ſons, *Alexander*, *Perdiccas* and *Philip*, under the tuition of *Eurydice* their mother, as alſo an illegitimate ſon, called *Ptolemy*, ſurnamed *Alorites*, and ſeveral others. Amyntas reſtored.

Alexander being the eldeſt, ſucceeded his father, and proved a prince of great parts, tho' of little probity. The *Theſſalians* were at that time oppreſſed by *Alex-* Alexander.

[p] Petav. ubi ſupra. [q] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. [r] Æschin. de falſ. legat. p. 400.

ander of *Phærea*, who ſought to make himſelf abſolute lord of the whole country; a
the nobility applied themſelves to *Alexander* king of *Macedon*, who was not back-
ward in promiſing them aſſiſtance. *Alexander* the *Phærean* having intelligence of
theſe negotiations, immediately raiſed an army, and therewith entered *Macedon*.
The king met him with another army, and a briſk engagement enſued, wherein
the *Macedonian* gaining the victory, he marched ſtraight on to *Lariſſa* the capital of
Theſſaly, the inhabitants of which opened their gates to him, and their example
was followed by the moſt conſiderable places in that country, the king promiſing
to reſtore them all to their liberty; which however he was ſo far from performing,
that he put gariſons into every one of them, ſo that the *Theſſalians* quickly found
they had only exchanged one tyrant for another [s]. Upon this they applied to the b
Thebans, to deliver them from both. *Pelopidas* was choſen to command a body of
troops ſent for this purpoſe; and the reputation of ſo great a captain effected almoſt
as much as could have been expected, if the whole power of *Thebes* had been em-
ployed in this enterprize; for *Alexander* immediately began to execute the treaty he
had formerly made with the *Theſſalians*, and to quit *Lariſſa*, and other cities which
had been put into his hands. *Alexander* of *Phærea* alſo began to act with greater mo-
deration, and the preſence of *Pelopidas* diffuſed a quiet hitherto unfelt in theſe parts [t].
In this time *Ptolemy Alorites*, the baſe ſon of *Amyntas*, began to plot againſt king
Alexander, and drew ſuch a number of the *Macedonian* lords to his intereſt, as made
the king's authority very precarious; he therefore applied to *Pelopidas*, intreating c
him, ſince he had quitted *Theſſalia*, to act as umpire in the diſputes between him
and *Ptolemy* in *Macedonia*. *Pelopidas* conſenting to what he deſired, marched im-
mediately into *Macedonia*; and having there ſettled all things to the ſatisfaction of
both parties, it was agreed, that *Philip* the king's youngeſt brother ſhould be put
into his hands as a hoſtage, and with ſome other young noblemen of *Macedon* be
carried to *Thebes*, whither *Pelopidas* at preſent departed, and immediately after king
Alexander was ſlain, and the kingdom transferred to his brother [u]. What were the
original ſources of theſe diſputes in *Macedon*, hiſtorians do not inform us; but it is
moſt likely, that the factions formerly ſubſiſting in this kingdom, and which *Amyn-
tas* ſo hardly kept under, began to revive. However it was, of this we are certain, d
that on the death of *Alexander*, all things fell into great confuſion, inſomuch that
the queen-mother thought neither herſelf nor her children ſafe, even as to their lives,
and private fortunes.

Perdiccas II. *Perdiccas* ſhould have mounted the throne on the demiſe of *Alexander*, and he did
accordingly claim it; but was far from obtaining a peaceable poſſeſſion. *Pauſanias*,
a prince of the royal houſe, ſet up for the kingdom as well as he, and was at firſt ſo
grateful to the people, that the whole family of *Amyntas* were in the utmoſt danger.
It happened fortunately for them, that the *Athenians* about this time ſent *Iphicrates*
with a ſmall fleet to prepare things for the ſiege of *Amphipolis*; to him therefore on
his arrival *Eurydice* applied herſelf; and on her intimation to him of the difficulties e
ſhe was under, *Iphicrates* with great allacrity repaired to the place of her reſidence.
After the firſt civilities were over, *Eurydice* placing her two ſons upon her knees,
ſhewed them to *Iphicrates*, and then putting the eldeſt into his hands, and placing
the other upon his knee, ſhe ſpoke to him thus: "Generous *Athenian*, you know
"perfectly well how tenderly *Amyntas* the father of theſe orphans loved your coun-
"try, and how ſincere an affection he had for yourſelf, whom he adopted for a ſon;
"by this double tie therefore you are bound to ſuccour my diſtreſſed family. The
"friendſhip my husband had for the *Athenians* his dear allies, and his peculiar ten-
"derneſs for you, muſt conſpire to fill your breaſt with the ſentiments of a brother
"in reſpect to theſe orphans." *Iphicrates*, moved by the queen's tears and intreaties, f
eſpouſed her cauſe, turned his arms againſt *Pauſanias*, and compelled him to retire out
of *Macedon* [x]. *Perdiccas* had little more quiet from this friendly interpoſition of the
Athenians; for ſcarce was *Pauſanias* retired, before *Ptolemy Alorites* pretended to the
throne, and by degrees wrought himſelf into favour ſo with the people, that he
outed his brothers, aſſumed the enſigns, and diſcharged the functions of a king.
Perdiccas did not however quit his title, tho' only a ſmall part of the country owned
it. He had always hopes, that either the *Athenians* or *Thebans* would ſupport him;

[s] DIODOR SICUL. l. xiv. JUSTIN. l. vii. c. 4. [t] PLUT. in Vit. Pelopid. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra.
[u] PLUT. ubi ſupra. [x] ÆSCHIN. de falſ. legat. p. 400.

a but they, being much embaraſſed at home, neglected all his ſolicitations; till at laſt *Pelopidas*, moved with compaſſion towards the brother of a king with whom he had treated, drew together a few mercenaries, and with no other authority than what he derived from the reputation of his virtue, marched towards *Macedonia*, in order to reſtore this deprived prince. *Ptolemy* raiſed an army to oppoſe him, and when their forces drew near to each other, he made privately ſuch offers to *Pelopidas*'s mercenaries, that they immediately deſerted him, and went over to *Alorites*; yet this deſertion did not quiet *Ptolemy*'s fears, who looked upon this as an eſcape only for the preſent; and fearing the reſentment of *Pelopidas* much more than many armies, he, of his own motive laid down his arms, and referred the difference be-
b tween himſelf and his brother to that general's deciſion. He having declared, that the crown belonged to *Perdiccas*, the *Macedonians* ſo readily came into his ſentiments, that *Ptolemy* was forced to ſubmit [y]. *Pelopidas* fearing that as ſoon as he was withdrawn, all things might fall again into confuſion, he took hoſtages on both ſides; from *Perdiccas* his brother *Philip*, who was to have been ſent to *Thebes* before; from *Ptolemy* his ſon *Philoxenus*, with ſeveral young men his companions; and thus an end was put to all diſturbances here for the preſent. *Eurydice* doubtleſs was not a little fearful of giving up her darling *Philip* into the hands of ſtrangers; her concern however was ſomewhat abated, from the conſideration of the worth of *Pelopidas*, whom ſhe earneſtly beſought to take care of his education, which he not only pro-
c miſed, but very exactly fulfilled. On his return to *Thebes*, he placed the young prince in the hands of *Epaminondas* his friend, who had in his houſe a *Pythagorean* philoſopher of great reputation. Under his care *Philip* learned the principles of philoſophy, and under *Epaminondas* himſelf he acquired the art of war. Thus his exile became beneficial, not only to himſelf but his country; and he acquired amongſt foreigners thoſe abilities which enabled him afterwards to triumph over them. This was eſpecially owing to his making *Epaminondas* his model; for by ſtudying that great man's temper and diſpoſition, he joined qualities which are ſeldom met with together, that is, indefatigable activity, and a ſteady compoſure. As for his temperance, juſtice, diſintereſtedneſs and candor, thoſe *Philip* meddled not with, as
d ſuiting little with his temper and circumſtances [z]. *Perdiccas* in the mean time governed *Macedon* with a mediocrity of fortune, till he came to be engaged in a war with the *Illyrians*, a very martial nation, the ancient hereditary enemies of his ſubjects. Againſt theſe *Perdiccas*, at the head of a very conſiderable army, marched as ſoon as poſſible, that he might hinder them from plundering the country. A general engagement quickly enſued, wherein the *Macedonians* were routed with great ſlaughter, and, which was ſtill worſe, with the loſs of their king, who left behind him a ſon named *Amyntas*, then in his infancy; who, tho' the lawful heir of the kingdom, was unable to govern it; ſo that now a field was opened to civil diſſenſions, while at the ſame time the kingdom groaned under the weight of a
e foreign war [a].

SECT. IV.

The reign of PHILIP.

IT was the peculiar felicity of this prince, of whom we are now to record the actions, that his fame ſuffers no diminution, which ever end of his reign we
f conſider, and whether we enquire from what condition he raiſed his kingdom, or to what height under his auſpice it arrived. When he went ſuddenly and ſecretly from *Thebes* to *Macedon*, on the news of his brother's death, he found the people dejected, and the ſtate in the utmoſt confuſion, a king juſt ſlain, the whole ſtrength of the kingdom routed, the *Illyrians* preparing for a new invaſion, and the *Peonians* on the point of making one; a child on the throne, and two powerful competitors contriving to diſpoſſeſs him; *Pauſanias* ſupported by the *Thracians* and *Argæus*, to whoſe aſſiſtance the *Athenians* had ſent their general *Mantias* with an army: Yet was *Philip*, tho' but twenty-two years old, ſo far from ſinking under this mighty

The miſerable ſtate of Macedon at Philip's acceſſion. Year after the flood 2039. *Year before Chriſt* 360.

[y] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. [z] Plut. ubi ſupra. Justin. l. vii. c. 5. [a] Diodor. Sicul. l. xvi.

load,

load, that he not only kept up his own ſpirits, but invigorated and re-encouraged his deſpairing countrymen. He applied eſpecially to the army, whom he careſſed with the tendereſt expreſſions, and the nobility, whom he bound to his intereſt by the ſtrongeſt teſtimonies of confidence, and vaſt promiſes. Things a little quiet at home, he began immediately to provide for what was requiſite to put foreign affairs in a better ſituation. In order to abate the vigour of the *Athenian* army, king *Philip* cauſed *Amphipolis* to be declared a free city, and left it to its inhabitants to govern it how they would. By this ſtep, tho' it ſeemed a leſſening to his kingdom, on account of the importance of the place, yet he was a great gainer; for chiefly for the ſake of this city the *Athenians* undertook the war, and ſupported his competitor, and by leaving it free, he took away all ground of quarrel with reſpect to himſelf; and yet added nothing to the power of the *Athenians* in theſe parts. To the chief men in *Peonia* he made conſiderable preſents, and thereby avoided a diſpute in the field, for which as yet he was unprovided. By the ſame arts he took off *Pauſanias*, his friends knowing well, that, to a feeble ſtate, gaining time is gaining all [a] (A).

His prudence in ſettling affairs civil and military.

THAT the beſt uſe might be made of this interval of quiet, *Philip*, who at firſt acted as guardian only to his nephew *Amyntas* the ſon of *Perdiccas*, laying the youth aſide, ſtept into the throne, with the unanimous conſent of the *Macedonians*, who declared, that neceſſity ought to ſuperſede loyalty; and that, ſince the public ſafety required a man, they ought not to pay allegiance to a child. He then proceeded to introduce a new and ſtricter diſcipline among the troops, which probably he had learned from the *Thebans*, at leaſt in part. He particularly inſtituted, or rather modelled the phalanx, and taught the ſoldiers how to become more formidable from order, and a juſt conception of the rules of war, than from force; and by the help of frequent inſtructions, kind language, and, when it was neceſſary, ſome bold ſtrokes of ſeverity, he attained his end. Moſt authors attribute all things in the

[a] DIODOR. SICUL. l. xvi. JUSTIN. l. vii. c. 5.

(A) The diſcerning reader will eaſily perceive, that we have taken the liberty to diſcourſe at large on the policy of *Philip*, which is indeed a liberty we ought to account for, this work being intended for an univerſal regiſter of facts, not of lectures upon them. Firſt then, let it be obſerved, that this was the moſt glorious reign which was ever ſeen in *Macedon*; for *Alexander* cannot be ſaid to have reigned in *Macedon* after his conqueſts; on the contrary, he rather deſpiſed it; and of his ſucceſſors none in point of prudence, fortune or true greatneſs, can be compared with *Philip*. It is requiſite therefore, that this reign, which laid the foundation of the *Greek* empire, ſhould be copiouſly treated of. Secondly, the reign of *Philip*, tho' crowded with wars, and adorned with many remarkable victories, was however a *reign* of *policy*, in which the judgment of the prince wrought more than the force of the people. The *Macedonians* were a brave and generous nation before his time; but it was he who fixed fortune to their arms, and by making a right uſe of their valour, procured them thoſe advantages they had deſerved, but had ſcarce taſted before. He found them a nation inured to war; yet he taught them a new diſcipline, incomparably better than any at that time in uſe, by which they were enabled to bear away the victory, not only from more numerous armies, but from the beſt troops in *Greece*, having alſo numbers on their ſide; ſuch as the *Phocians*, who made war a trade; and the *Athenians*, in pitched battles, held, till then, the experteſt among the *Greeks*. He found his ſubjects low, beaten, and alike without ſpirits and without allies. He left them feared by their neighbours, dreaded by the great king, and ſovereigns of *Greece*, and all this by dint of genius. Thirdly, they who oppoſed *Philip*, conſidered him rather as a *politician* than as a *hero* (unleſs we take that in the oriental ſenſe, and conceive it to ſignify a perſon diſtinguiſhable alike for the excellence of his wiſdom, and for his extraordinary valour). His enemies, I ſay, conſidered him in this light, and ſo ought we, otherwiſe we ſhall have but an imperfect idea of his character, as is ingeniouſly hinted by a great *French* writer, who ſays, Philip *is in eſteem only with ſuch as underſtand hiſtory* (1). Our political reflections are inſerted for that very purpoſe. We have collected them from the beſt authors, not invented them ourſelves; and we have inſerted them in ſuch places only, as with great difficulty would be intelligible without them. Thus much on this ſubject may ſuffice; let us cloſe this note with a few words on the ſchool wherein *Philip* learned this extraordinary wiſdom: It was the houſe of *Polymnas* the father of *Epaminondas*, the greateſt man among the *Greeks*, if we will ſubſcribe to the opinion of the moſt judicious of the *Romans* (2), frequented by the moſt learned and the moſt virtuous citizens of *Thebes*, wherein *Liſidas* of *Tarentum* read his lectures (3). In all probability *Philip* rather ſtudied *Epaminondas*, than any ſyſtem of philoſophy. That great man raiſed *Thebes* to be miſtreſs of *Greece*; *Philip* did the ſame by *Macedon*. *Epaminondas* looked on diſcipline as the main skill of a general, as well as the main ſtrength of an army; *Philip* taught it his *Macedonians*, and took care they ſhould not forget his leſſons. *Epaminondas* was ſecret and ſudden in all his enterprizes; ſo was *Philip*. We might eaſily carry the parallel farther; but this is enough to ſhew, that what *Plutarch* (4) and others of the ancients have advanced on this head, is well founded, and that we ought to regard this *Macedonian* ſtateſman as a copy of the *Theban*.

(1) *Mr. Tourreil in his preface to Demoſthenes.* (2) *Cicer. Tuſcul. l.* i. (3) *Diodor. Sicul. l.* xv. *&* xvi. *Ælian. Hiſt. Var. l.* iii. *Pauſan. in Bœotic. D. Chryſoſt. Orat. inſcript. Recuſatio magiſtratus.* (4) *In vit. Pelopid.*

Macedonian

a *Macedonian* diſcipline to *Philip*, which in one ſenſe is certainly true, but in another falſe. *Philip* fixed the rules of diſcipline amongſt his troops; but it is not likely he invented them, which, tho' a new opinion, is yet probable, as we ſhall ſhew in a note [b] (B). *Argæus* with a body of mercenaries advancing as far as *Ægæ*, and being conſtrained by the citizens to retire, *Philip* determined to try the mettle of his troops by purſuing them; which accordingly he did, and coming up with them, engaged and defeated them with great ſlaughter; an action which mightily revived and encouraged the *Macedonian* army, taught them to confide in their prince, and to diſcern the ſingular advantages they received from regular diſcipline. The king however ſhewed on this occaſion the moderation which diſtinguiſhed his character from moſt of the chieftains of his age, by admitting a great body of troops, which
b had retired to an eminence, to a compoſition. By this method he ſecured a preſent victory, and eſtabliſhed a reputation of clemency, which proved of infinite ſervice.

He makes peace with the Athenians, *ſubdues the* Peonians, *and vanquiſhes the* Illyrians.

IMMEDIATELY after this victory, he diſpatched embaſſadors to *Athens*, and having inſtructed them to give up all his right to *Amphipolis*, he eaſily procured a peace; for tho' the *Athenians* drew great benefit from their colonies and conqueſts in *Thrace* and *Macedon*, yet the vaſt expence of ſending and of maintaining armies there, diſcouraged them much, and inclined them to make peace whenever it was offered them, eſpecially on honourable terms, which, as they conſiſted chiefly in words, *Philip* failed not in gratifying them [d]. Another thing which contributed
c to the ſpeedy concluſion of this peace, was the mean opinion the *Athenians* had of *Philip*'s power, which inclined them to believe all his embaſſadors told them, and made them little apprehenſive of his breaking the peace. Thus delivered from one potent enemy by his own addreſs, nature quickly freed him from another, by taking off *Agis* king of *Peonia*. This news no ſooner reached the ears of *Philip*, than he determined to lay hold of this opportunity of revenging himſelf of the *Peonians*,

[b] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. ÆLIAN. l. xiv. OSOR. l. iii. [c] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. [d] POLYÆN. Stratag. l. iv.

(B) It is certain, that in a ſtrict ſenſe *Philip* could not be the inventor of the *phalanx*, ſince we find the *Purgos* or *Tower*, which was a kind of phallanx, and the very reverſe of the *plinthion* or *tile* mentioned by *Homer* (5). To ſay the truth, the phalanx was in uſe among the *Greeks* in general, as our preſent learned and venerable primate has fully demonſtrated (6), tho' it is probable, that the *Macedonian* phalanx was better diſpoſed, and thoſe who compoſed it better diſciplined than any of the *Greek* armies had been before. Officers uſually improve one on the other. The *Spartans* were famed in the earlieſt times of *Greece* for exact order; then the *Athenians* came into high reputation from the improvements made by *Iphicrates*; after theſe came *Epaminondas*, or rather *Pelopidas*, who taught war as an art to the *Thebans*, from whom *Philip* learned it, and quickly ſurpaſſed his maſters. That he was not however the firſt who introduced the phalanx into *Macedon*, ſeems evident from the teſtimony of *Diodorus*, who tells us, the *Illyrians*, when firſt attacked by *Philip*, had their *plinthion* (7); and inaſmuch as they lay farther from *Greece* than the *Macedonians*, it would be unreaſonable to ſuppoſe them better ſkilled in the *Greek* diſcipline; we muſt therefore conceive, that the phalanx was known to his countrymen before the reign of *Philip*, tho' it was new-modelled, and received a freſh ſet of rules from him; which diſcipline became peculiar to them, rendering the *Macedonian* infantry invincible then, and admirable yet. Whoever reads *Ælian* (8), will diſcern, that the whole doctrine of drawing up armies conformable to the ground aſſigned for the line of battle, the methods of changing theſe forms, marching, countermarching, charging, retreating and encamping, was thoroughly ſtudied by the *Grecians*, and practiſed by the *Spartans*, *Athenians*, *Thebans*, *Theſſalians*, &c. with great facility and ſucceſs. As this art of diſcipline was of great conſequence, and public utility, it was taught by public profeſſors, ſtiled *Tactici*, or maſters in military exerciſe, from a verb ſignifying to *exerciſe*. That what we have advanced may be juſtified, as well by authority as from probable conjecture, it will be neceſſary to remark, that *Ælian* before-mentioned expreſly mentions the alterations introduced by *Philip* in the evolutions of the *Macedonian* phalanx; whence it is evident he did not either invent or introduce the phalanx itſelf. The great change he made was in the mode of their altering their wings at the beginning of an engagement. According to the old method, the motion contrived to effect this purpoſe, had the air of a retreat; *Philip* had penetration enough to perceive, that this motion reverſed would effect the ſame thing, and yet ſhew rather as an onſet. As all things are of the utmoſt conſequence which have a tendency to encourage the ſoldiery, *Philip* laid aſide the old method, and brought in this which had been practiſed by the *Lacedæmonians* (9). To theſe remarks we may add one general one, that diſcipline, under the eye of an able general, renders troops invincible; but under officers of ſmall abilities, it is far from being of ſuch high advantage. Men of inferior *genii* have no ideas of thoſe changes which the alterations induced by time require, and therefore, by adhering too ſcrupulouſly to old rules, ruin themſelves, and thoſe under their command, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſhew, when we come to ſpeak of the conqueſt of *Macedonia* by the *Romans*.

(5) *Iliad.* μ'. ν'. 43. *cum Binghamii notis.* (6) *Potter's Archeol. l.* iii. *c.* 6. (7) *Diodor. Sicul.* l. xvi. (8) *Tacticis* (9) *c.* xii.

and accordingly invaded their country, took their cities, and reduced them to ſuch a extremities, that they were conſtrained to ſubmit to him, and become his ſubjects. This war thus happily concluded, he without delay marched againſt the *Illyrians*, with an army of ten thouſand foot, and ſix hundred horſe. This was one of the boldeſt and moſt martial nations in thoſe parts, and had within a few years often beaten the *Macedonians*. *Bradylis* however, who was their king, offered to treat with *Philip* of a peace, on this condition, that each ſhould keep what he poſſeſſed. *Philip* anſwered, That he always preferred peace to war; but could not think of obtaining it, by quitting his claim to thoſe places in *Macedonia* at preſent in the hands of the *Illyrians*. *Bradylis* upon this encouraged his troops, from the conſideration b of their victories, to behave gallantly; and with ten thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe, offered *Philip* battle. The engagement was both bloody and obſtinate, and, as *Diodorus Siculus* intimates, the *Illyrians* had their phalanx as well as the *Macedonians*. In the end however, chiefly thro' the conduct of *Philip*, who brought a body of horſe to charge the *Illyrians* in flank, whilſt himſelf with the phalanx charged in front, the enemy was routed, and the *Macedonians* purſued, and ſlew in the whole no leſs than ſeven thouſand men, which exceedingly broke and diſordered the *Illyrians*, and conſtrained them to buy a peace at the expence of all their conqueſts [e].

Takes Amphipolis, Pydna, Potidæa, *&c. Year after the flood* 2641. *Year before Chriſt* 358.

BY this time the affairs of *Macedon* were in a tolerable poſture, and *Philip*, from the ſucceſs which he already had experienced, animated to greater things. It is not c probable, that he already meditated the ſubjection of *Greece*, becauſe as yet he was maſter of no force adequate to ſuch an undertaking, but it is moſt likely he propoſed even now the rendering his kingdom not only independent, but raiſing it to a ſtate of pre-eminence over its neighbours. Whatever his views were, he did not continue long at reſt, but ſuddenly, and when it was leaſt expected, attacked *Amphipolis*. This city, as we have already ſeen, was always a mighty curſe to *Macedonian* princes, and therefore, from the beginning of his reign, *Philip* had kept his eye continually thereupon, watching for a fit time to reduce it. The *Amphipolitans*, ſenſible of the danger to which they were expoſed, ſent *Hierax* and *Stratocles* to *Athens*, to offer themſelves and their city to that commonwealth. *Demoſthenes*, and d thoſe who, with him, foreſaw how formidable *Philip* would one day become, ſeconded the deputies of *Amphipolis*; but the agents of *Philip* giving out, that the king intended to deliver it up to the *Athenians* when taken, they ſuffered themſelves to be amuſed, and denied the *Amphipolitans* relief. *Philip* proſecuted the ſiege briskly, both by force without, and by negotiation within. At laſt he took it by ſtorm, and treated it as he did other places, that is, he put to death or baniſhed ſuch as were not in his intereſt, and treated the reſt of the inhabitants kindly. This blow once ſtruck, he proceeded to reduce *Pydna* and *Potidæa*, in the laſt of which was an *Athenian* garriſon, which he drew out, and diſmiſſed with all the marks of honour. After this he delivered the city to the *Olynthians*, according to his maxim, *That thoſe are to be obliged whom we cannot overcome.* Theſe conqueſts made a great noiſe, and e *Philip* now began to grow terrible to all his neighbours [f]. If this terror had engaged them in a league, in all probability they had ſet very narrow bounds to the *Macedonian* king; but as it produced a deſire of obliging the conqueror, and turning his arms from themſelves, the bordering nations concurred to ruin each other; and this they did the more effectually, becauſe *Philip* was ſo perfect a maſter in diſſimulation, that he ſeemed to give implicit credit to whatever was told him, tho' at the ſame time he communicated his real ſentiments to nobody, his ſucceſs being known as ſoon as his deſign.

Subdues the country between the rivers Strymon *and* Neſſus. *Year after the flood* 2642. *Year before Chriſt* 357.

WE have heretofore ſhewn, in our deſcription of *Macedonia*, that the tract of country between the river *Strymon* and *Neſſus*, was extremely rich in gold. Indeed f the fame of its mines had made it often change its maſters. When the *Athenians* were firſt powerful at ſea, it belonged to the *Thaſians*, from whom they conquered it. This republic declining, it fell into other hands; and a few years before this time the *Thracians* poſſeſſed themſelves of it, and fortified *Crenides* its capital city [g]. *Philip*, who looked upon gold as the beſt weapon, and the beſt ſervant in the world, reſolved to ſeize upon this country, and to extract out of its bowels a treaſure ſufficient to buy that empire for which he ſo paſſionately longed. He executed this ſcheme before it was known that he had formed it, and having taken *Crenides*, he

[e] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra.
[f] DEMOSTH. Olynth. i. DIODOR. SICUL. l. xvi. ISOCRAT. ad Phil.
[g] UNIVERS. HIST. Vol. III. p. 290.

not

a not only altered the city, but in a manner rebuilt it, changing alſo its name into *Philippi* [h]. He likewiſe gave directions for working the gold mines to greater advantage than had been made of them before, and having by this means eſtabliſhed a certain revenue of a thouſand talents *per annum*, which was in itſelf a large ſum, and ſo much the larger in that it was extracted out of the earth, and not from his ſubjects, he began to turn his eyes towards other conqueſts.

The birth of Alexander the Great. *Year after the flood* 2643. *Year before Chriſt* 356.

In the firſt year of the one hundred and ſixth olympiad, *Philip* being then in the field, received advice, that his wife *Olympias*, the daughter of *Neoptolemus* king of *Epirus*, was brought to bed of a ſon at *Pella*. This ſon was the famous *Alexander*, juſtly ſurnamed *the Great*. At the ſame time *Philip* received advice, that his cha-
b riot had gained the prize at the olympic games; and upon the heels of this a third courier came, with an account that *Parmenio* had beaten the *Illyrians*. This ſurprizing run of good fortune is ſaid to have affected *Philip* ſo much, that he wiſhed it might be tempered by ſome ſlight miſhap, not that he was inſenſible of felicity, but becauſe he was afraid that his fortune might decline as ſwiftly as it had riſen [i] (C).

King Philip *proceeds, and extends his conqueſts towards* Thrace *and the ſea-coaſt.*

AT this time all *Greece* was in confuſion; the *Phocian*, or, as it was otherwiſe called, the *ſacred war*, of the cauſe and conſequences of whichwe have ſpoken elſe-where [k], then raged with prodigious fury, which gave *Philip* an opportunity of ſecuring and extending his frontiers without interruption. It alſo produced various
c applications from the contending parties, in order to incline his aſſiſtance, the effects of which we ſhall hereafter ſee. In the mean time let us follow the track of his conqueſts. The little city of *Methone* had given him ſome umbrage; he conceived that his conqueſts in *Thrace* might be in ſome danger, if it fell into the hands of his enemies; to prevent which he immediately inveſted it. The inhabitants made a very ſtout defence, and ſubmitted at laſt, on condition that they might have free leave to quit the place, which was agreed to and executed; after which *Philip* cauſed the city to be razed, and divided its territories among his ſoldiers [l]. At this ſiege he had the misfortune to loſe an eye, by a very extraordinary accident, if the circumſtances tranſmitted to us may be believed (D). This evil was however in ſome meaſure

[h] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Dion. Caſs. l. xlvii. [i] Plut. in vit. Alex. Justin. l. xii. Plut. Apophthegm. Usser. Annal. A. I. P. 4358. [k] Univers. Hist. Vol. II. p. 543. [l] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Demosth. Phil. i.

(C) The birth of *Alexander* we have fixed to the firſt year of the one hundred and ſixth olympiad. Ancient authors are much divided on this head, and therefore it is but reaſonable to ſhew on what grounds we have adhered to ſome, and rejected the authority of others (10). *Arrian* from *Ariſtobulus* informs us, that *Alexander* died in the month of *Thargelion*, the laſt but one of the *Attic* year, in the cloſe of the firſt year of the one hundred and fourteenth olympiad, being then thirty-two years and eight months old (11). This plainly refers his birth to the year wherein we have fixed it. *Ælian* indeed ſays expreſly, that he was born and died on the ſixth day of the month *Thargelion* (12). *Plutarch* places his birth in the month *Hecatombeon*, which, he ſays, anſwered to the *Macedonian* month *Lous* (13); but in this he was miſtaken, for it appears clearly from a letter of *Philip*'s ſtill preſerved in the orations of *Demoſthenes*, that at this time the *Macedonian* month *Lous* did not anſwer to the *Attic* month *Hecatombeon*, but to the month *Boedromion* (14). In after-times indeed the month *Lous* anſwered to *Hecatombeon*, which, without doubt, was the ſource of *Plutarch*'s miſtake in this point. *Plutarch* hath fallen alſo into another miſtake on this ſubject; he ſays, that *Philip* received this news immediately after he had taken *Potidæa*; yet, without doubt, *Potidæa* was taken two years before, *viz.* in the third year of the one hundred and third olympiad, where we have placed it, on the authority of *Demoſthenes*, who was *Philip*'s cotemporary (15), and of *Diodorus Siculus*, a more accurate writer in point of chronology than *Plutarch* (16). There is one thing which may be urged againſt thus ſettling the birth of *Alexander* as we have done, and that is, his father's receiving the news of his victory in the olympic games on that very day (17). But admitting that this is improbable, had we not better allow that *Philip* received this news a little before, than depart from a fact ſo clearly and ſo exactly ſettled by *Ariſtobulus*, who is acknowledged to have been the moſt authentic hiſtorian in whoſe works the actions of *Alexander* were found?

(D) There is ſomething ſo fabulous in the ſtory we are told of *Philip*'s loſing his eye before this place, that we could not judge it fit to appear with thoſe circumſtances in the body of our hiſtory. The reader, when he has peruſed the relation as it is commonly told, will judge of the propriety of our conduct. It is ſaid, that when *Philip* inveſted *Methone*, one *Aſter*, a moſt excellent archer, was recommended to him with this commendation, that he could ſtrike the ſwifteſt bird in its flight. *Very well*, replied *Philip*, *we will call for him, when we make war with ſtarlings.* This ſo ſtung the archer, that he immediately threw himſelf into the city beſieged, from the walls of which, when *Philip* was one day viewing the place, he diſcharged an arrow with

(10) *Euſeb. Chronicon.* (11) *Arrian. Expedit. Alex. l.* ix. (12) *Var. Hiſt. l.* ii. *c.* 25. (13) *In vit. Alex.* (14) *In Oratione de Corona.* (15) *In Oratione contra Leptinem.* (16) *Diodor. Sicul. l.* xvi. (17) *Plut. ubi ſupra. Juſtin. l.* xii.

meaſure alleviated by the ſkill of his ſurgeon, who, tho' he could not ſave its ſight, a
preſerved the form of the king's eye from ſuffering any diſfigurement [m]; yet the
king was ſo much chagrined thereat, as never afterwards to hear the word *Cyclop*,
or even an *Eye*, mentioned with patience [n]; a ſtrange weakneſs in ſo great a man!

Marches into Theſſaly. Year after the flood 2646. *Year before Chriſt* 353.

As ſoon as *Philip* was recovered, he began to think of marching into *Theſſaly*, where the petty princes of the country earneſtly deſired his preſence to redreſs thoſe miſchiefs which the ambition of a ſingle family had brought upon all *Theſſaly*. *Alexander* of *Pharea*, the original tyrant, had been murdered for his inſupportable arrogance, by his wife and his brethren, who thereupon grew into great reputation with the *Theſſalians*; but *Lycophron* the elder brother aſſuming the government, and acting no better than *Alexander* had done, the *Aleuadæ*, ſo the *Theſſalian* chiefs are b
called, addreſſed themſelves to *Philip*, and beſought his protection. He having ſettled his affairs in *Thrace*, and on the ſea-coaſts, marched into *Theſſaly*, and made war on *Lycophron*; who finding himſelf too weak to conteſt with the *Macedonian* foot joined with the *Theſſalian* cavalry, demanded aid of the *Phocians*, or rather of *Onomarchus* their general, who ſent his brother *Phayllus* with ſeven thouſand men, to preſerve *Lycophron* in his dominions. The tyrant, after the junction of theſe troops, no longer declined battle; yet his ſucceſs no way anſwered his expectation, for he was defeated by *Philip*, and the *Phocians* driven out of *Theſſaly*. *Onomarchus* hearing this, marched with all his forces to ſupport *Lycophron*, and in two general engagements vanquiſhed *Philip*, and compelled him to retire out of *Theſſaly* in great c
diſtreſs. But tho' his army was beaten, his ſpirit remained unconquered ſtill; ſo that perceiving the reduction of *Theſſaly* was abſolutely neceſſary to his propoſed empire, he applied himſelf with all diligence to the recruiting his army; and as ſoon as it was in a tolerable condition, marched immediately againſt *Lycophron*. The tyrant did not wait his coming; but withdrawing his troops to a ſecure camp, ſent again to invite the *Phocians* to his aſſiſtance. *Onomarchus* being determined to put an end to the war, marched with twenty thouſand foot and five hundred horſe, to oppoſe the *Macedonian*. *Philip* in the mean time had prevailed on the *Theſſalians* to make their utmoſt efforts in his favour; ſo that at length his forces conſiſted of twenty thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe, and then he no longer delayed a d
general battle. This action proved deciſive, chiefly through the valour of the *Theſſalian* horſe; for the princes who commanded them, knowing that they were to expect nothing but deſtruction from *Lycophron*, if he prevailed, fought with deſperate reſolution; inſomuch that ſix thouſand of the *Phocians* were ſlain upon the ſpot, and amongſt them their general, and three thouſand were taken priſoners. There had been ſtill a greater ſlaughter, if the engagement had not happened on the ſea-ſhore, when the *Athenian* fleet commanded by *Chares* paſſed by, and thereby afforded ſuch of the *Phocians* as could ſwim a refuge. *Philip* cauſed the body of *Onomarchus* to be ſearched for, and when it was found, he directed it to be hung up with ignominy, denying alſo funeral rites to all that were ſlain, looking on them as e
ſacrilegious perſons for having violated the temple at *Delphi*. *Lycophron* and his brother *Pitholaus* ſeeing now no hopes of retaining their principality, were content to reſign it; and being diſmiſſed on giving their oaths to be quiet, they delivered

[m] PLIN. Hiſt. Nat. l. vii. c. 37.

[n] DEMET. PHALER. de Elocut. c. 3.

with this inſcription, *For the right eye of* Philip; which it accordingly ſtruck, and put out. The king ſhot back the ſame arrow, with this anſwer on the oppoſite ſide, Philip, *when the town is taken, will cauſe* After *to be hanged*; which he alſo performed (18). It was not here only that *Philip* felt the effects of war; his courage puſhed him into all places of danger, and darts, ſtones and javelins make no diſtinction of perſons. *Demoſthenes* therefore, who cannot be ſuſpected of flattering *Philip*, could not forbear, when the ſubject afforded him a proper occaſion, painting his perſonal bravery in ſuch a light, as might have rouſed the *Athenians* to emulation. "I will ſhew you, ſaid "that glorious orator, this ſame *Philip*, with whom "we diſpute for ſovereignty and empire; I will "ſhew him to you as he is covered with wounds, "blind of an eye, his ſkull cracked, lame of a hand "and of a leg, ready to throw himſelf into the "midſt of new dangers, and to put it into the "power of fortune to deprive him of ſome other "limb, in hopes with the remainder of his body "to live with glory and honour; ſuch, *Athenians*, "is *Philip* (19)!" It muſt be owned, that if in the reſt of his orations *Demoſthenes* hath ſhewn this monarch to be a very bad man, he has here acknowledged him to be the greateſt prince of his time; which it is certain was a character ſo much his due, that how much ſoever they might ſeek to leſſen, even his enemies could not deny him.

(18) *Suidas in voce* καρᾶν.

(19) *Orat. pro Cteſiphon.*

up

4

a up the city of *Phærea* into the hands of *Philip*, who, as he had promiſed the *Theſſalians*, reſtored all the cities to liberty, and having thereby ſecured the friendſhip of ſo powerful a nation, he attempted to paſs through the *Pylæ*, in order to make war upon the *Phocians* [o]. This was a very bold attempt; for ſince the defeat of the *Perſians* at *Platæa*, no *Macedonian* prince had ever ſet foot in *Greece*. The *Athenians* therefore having notice of his deſign, marched with the utmoſt expedition, ſeized the paſſes, and obliged him for this time to abandon his purpoſe, and return into *Macedon* [p].

Meditates the ruin of the Athenian *power.*

We may reaſonably look on this retreat as the æra of *Philip*'s hatred to the *Athenians*. He ſaw that they were the only people in *Greece* capable of defeating his b projects, or of giving him uneaſineſs in his own kingdom; he therefore provided with much diligence a fleet compoſed of light ſhips, which continually diſturbed their trade, and at the ſame time enriched his ſubjects by bringing in wealthy prizes. He alſo increaſed his army by new levies, and projected the deſtruction of the *Athenian* colonies in *Thrace*. Beſides theſe preparations at home, he practiſed very ſucceſsfully in *Athens* itſelf; and by large appointments, ſecured ſome eminent orators to charm the people with deluſive hopes of peace, or to frighten them with very expenſive eſtimates, while they pretended a zeal for carrying on the war. *Demoſthenes* was the only man in *Athens*, who had a juſt idea of the danger his country was in from the growing power of *Philip*, and who had likewiſe capacity enough to c point out the proper methods for reducing his exorbitant greatneſs [q]. He ſhewed the *Athenians*, that the meaſures they had hitherto purſued were unworthy of them, and would never anſwer their ends. He told them, that running hither and thither according as they heard that *Philip* marched this way or that, looked more like following him as their general, than making war upon him as their enemy; he therefore adviſed tranſporting two thouſand foot, and two hundred horſe into *Macedonia*, aſſuring them, that if they had once an army, how ſmall ſoever, there, the enemies of *Philip* would ſoon advance it to a formidable greatneſs [r]. The *Athenians* approved, but they did not follow his advice; all the effect it had was this, that *Philip* being informed of it, provided with greater vigour, and determined at all events d to have neither ſtate nor prince independent of himſelf within the limits of *Macedon*, that the *Athenians* might be deprived of all hopes of treating him as they had done his anceſtors, *viz.* compelling them, by the aſſiſtance given to their neighbours, either to put all to the hazard of an unequal war, or to become abſolute dependents on their republic [s].

Makes war on Olynthus. *Year after the flood* 2649. *Year before Chriſt* 350.

Olynthus had now in a great meaſure recovered that power and authority, which it had when *Amyntas* the father of *Philip* called in the *Lacedæmonians* to aſſiſt him in making war againſt it. *Philip* himſelf had contributed to this recovery, by giving up thereto certain cities and territories, when he firſt began his conqueſts; but this was only to lull the *Olynthians* aſleep, and to ſave himſelf the expence of gariſons, e when it ſuited not his circumſtances to maintain them [t]; but now, when his affairs were altered, he began to think not only of reſuming what he had beſtowed, but of making himſelf maſter of *Olynthus*, and thereby ſubverting a republic, which had been heretofore an over-match for *Macedon*. The *Olynthians* were too diſcerning not to ſuſpect *Philip*'s deſign, before he actually put it in execution; as ſoon therefore as they obſerved that he was advancing towards the *Chalcidian* region, they put themſelves on their guard, and ſent embaſſadors to *Athens* to intreat a conſiderable and ſpeedy aſſiſtance. *Demoſthenes* failed not to eſpouſe the cauſe of the *Olynthians*. He began with putting the *Athenians* in mind, that till now they had held the balance between the kings of *Macedon* and this ſtate; and that, if they held f it not ſtill, they were as ſure to be ruined as the *Olynthians* themſelves. Hence he inferred, that a prompt and conſiderable ſuccour ſhould be ſent according to the requeſt of the embaſſadors, and that commiſſioners ſhould be appointed for abrogating ſuch laws as hindered the ſettling the neceſſary funds for carrying on a war of ſuch importance with vigour [u]. *Demades*, and the reſt of the orators who were corrupted by *Philip*, oppoſed this propoſition with all their eloquence; but as they had not either truth on their ſide, or a power of ſpeaking equal to *Demoſthenes*, the

[o] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. [p] Demosth. Philip. i. Just. l. viii. [q] Plut. in vit. Demoſth. & Phocion. [r] Demosth. Philip. i. [s] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. [t] Demosth. Philip. ii. [u] Demosth. Olynth. ii.

people inclined to follow his advice [w], and accordingly decreed, that relief ſhould a
be ſent to the *Olynthians*. *Philip* in the mean time took *Zeira*, a town in the *Chalcidian* region, and razed it to the ground. He ſoon after marched againſt *Mycaberna* and *Torone*, both of which he ſubdued. After this he openly attacked the *Olynthians*, defeated them twice in the field, and at laſt ſhut them up in their city [x]. The *Athenian* ſuccours conſiſted of mercenaries, which therefore did the *Olynthians* but little ſervice, and were beſides ſo much ſuſpected, that they were little leſs dreaded than the *Macedonians* themſelves; the citizens therefore ſent embaſſadors a ſecond time to *Athens*, to intreat freſh aſſiſtance, and that it might be of *Athenian* troops. *Demoſthenes* ſeconded this propoſition with his uſual vehemence, and on his motion *Chares* was ſent a ſecond time with ſeventeen gallies, and a land army b
of two thouſand foot, and three hundred horſe, all citizens of *Athens*; but, alas! the cordial came too late. It did indeed revive the fainting ſpirits of the *Olynthians* for a time; and the *Athenians* hearing of ſome ſlight ſucceſſes of theirs, grew ſo elate, that they took no farther care of the war, as appears from an oration of *Demoſthenes* yet remaining [y]; but in the end *Olynthus* was taken, not ſo much by the bravery of the *Macedonian* troops, as by *Philip*'s corrupting its principal magiſtrates, *Euthycrates* and *Laſthenes*, who baſely betraying their country, after the city had made a glorious defence, ſecretly opened its gates, and let in *Philip* and his army. The king on this occaſion proceeded with great ſeverity; he gave up the houſes of the citizens to be plundered, and expoſed their perſons to ſale, acquiring thereby an immenſe c
treaſure, at the ſame time as he ridded himſelf of ſuch as were his implacable enemies. After this he celebrated olympic games in honour of this victory, which happened in the firſt year of the one hundred and eighth olympiad, cauſing ſplendid ſhews to be exhibited for the diverſion of his army, making magnificent feaſts, at which they might be merry, and giving great rewards to ſuch as had ſignalized themſelves during the ſiege, that his ſoldiers might be encouraged to ſerve him both gallantly and faithfully [z].

Year after the flood 2651. *Year before Chriſt* 348.

Remarkable accidents at the olympics inſtituted by Philip.

Two incidents happened amidſt theſe ſolemnities, which deſerve to be recorded, becauſe they ſhew the temper of *Philip* on both ſides, and conſequently muſt enable us to form a better idea of the motives on which he acted, than we could poſſibly d
have done without them; for without doubt the reaſons of actions are better found by knowing the mind of the actor, than by the moſt circumſtantial accounts of the things acted. The firſt of theſe accidents was a complaint brought by *Euthycrates* and *Laſthenes* againſt the *Macedonian* ſoldiers for calling them traitors. To which *Philip* gave this anſwer, *You muſt never mind what ſuch fellows ſay; they are a ſort of clownish people, who will call a ſpade a ſpade* [a]. As to the other remarkable incident, *Satyrus* a player, whom *Philip* had admitted to a great familiarity with him, was the only perſon who wore a grave countenance, and reached not out his hand to receive any of the gifts which *Philip* beſtowed upon his friends. The king obſerved it, and with his uſual complacency asked him, How he came to look ſo dull? and e
why he would not ſuffer himſelf to be obliged as well as other people? To which *Satyrus* anſwered, *I don't either affect gravity, Sir, or put any ſlight on your preſents; on the contrary, I ſhould be extremely glad if you would give me yonder girls*, pointing to two young women who were among the ſlaves; *they are the daughters of a man in whoſe houſe I lodged. I ask them not out of greedineſs, but with an intent to give them ſuch portions as may procure them honeſt husbands.* *Philip* commended his generoſity, granted his requeſt, and loaded him with preſents of great value [b]. This affability, and particular care in rewarding every man who ſerved him, gained *Philip* friends in every city, and made them eager to run any riſque to obtain his favour. He was ſenſible of this, and was ſo far from being aſhamed of it, that he was wont to ſay f
publicly, that he was no leſs indebted to his purſe than to his ſword.

He overreaches the Athenians.

THE *Phocian* war was ſtill unextinguiſhed, and *Philip*, tho' he affected a neutrality, placed all his hopes in putting an end to this war, and thereby making himſelf the arbiter of *Greece*. His hopes were well founded. The *Thebans*, who were at the head of the league formed for reducing the *Phocians*, ſolicited him on one ſide; the ſtates confederate with the *Phocians* ſought his friendſhip on the other. He anſwered

[w] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. SUIDAS in voce Δημάδης. [x] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. [y] DEMOSTH. Olynth. iii. PLUT. in vit. Demoſth. [z] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. [a] PLUT. in Apophthegm. [b] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra.

neither,

a neither, yet held in dependence both. In his heart he favoured the *Thebans*, or rather placed his hopes of favouring his own cauſe on that ſtate; for he knew well enough, that the *Athenians*, *Spartans*, and other ſtates allied with *Phocis*, would never ſuffer him to paſs *Thermopylæ*, and lead an army into their territories [c]; yet he ſhewed ſo much reſpect to the embaſſadors from theſe ſtates, particularly to *Cteſiphon* and *Phrynon*, who were ſent from *Athens*, that they believed the king was in their intereſt, and reported as much to their maſters. The *Athenians*, who were now diſſolved in eaſe and luxury, and conſequently were afraid of being diſturbed with wars, received this news with great ſatisfaction, and named immediately ten plenipotentiaries to go and treat of a full and laſting peace with *Philip*. Of the number
b of theſe plenipotentiaries were *Demoſthenes* and *Æſchines*, the moſt eminent orators in *Athens*. The king of *Macedon* gave directions, that theſe embaſſadors ſhould be treated with the utmoſt civility, naming at the ſame time three of his miniſters to confer with them, *viz.* *Antipater*, *Parmenio*, and *Eurylochus*. *Demoſthenes* being obliged to return to *Athens*, recommended it to his collegues not to carry on their negotiations with *Philip*'s deputies, but to proceed with all diligence to court, there to confer with the king himſelf. On this, he told them, all things would depend, as on what they did depended the ſafety of their country. The embaſſadors however were ſo far from following the inſtructions of *Demoſthenes*, that they ſuffered themſelves to be put off for three months by the arts of *Philip* and his miniſters. In
c the mean time the king took from the *Athenians* ſuch places in *Thrace* as might beſt cover his frontiers, giving their plenipotentiaries in their ſtead abundance of fair promiſes, and the ſtrongeſt aſſurances that his good-will ſhould be as beneficial to them as ever their colonies had been. At laſt a peace was concluded; but then the ratification of it was deferred till *Philip* had poſſeſſed himſelf of *Phærea* in *Theſſaly*, and ſaw himſelf at the head of a numerous army; then he ratified the treaty, and diſmiſſed the plenipotentiaries with aſſurances, that he would be ready at all times to give the *Athenians* proofs of his friendſhip. On their return to *Athens*, when this matter came to be debated before the people, *Demoſthenes* plainly told them, That, in his opinion, the promiſes of *Philip* ought not to be relied on, becauſe they appeared
d to be of little ſignificance in themſelves, and came from a prince of ſo much art, and ſo little fidelity, that they could derive no authority from their maker [d]. *Æſchines* on the other hand gave it as his ſentiment, that the king of *Macedon*'s aſſurances ought to give them full ſatisfaction. He ſaid, That, for his part, he was not politician enough to ſee any thing of diſguiſe or diſſimulation in the king's conduct; that there was great danger in diſtruſting princes, and that the ſureſt method of putting men upon deceit, was to ſhew that we ſuſpected them of it. The reſt of the plenipotentiaries concurred with *Æſchines*; and the people, deſirous of quiet, and prone to pleaſure, eaſily gave credit to all that was ſaid, and decreed that the peace ſhould be kept. All this was the eaſier brought about, becauſe that *Phocion*, the worthieſt
e man in the republic, did not oppoſe *Philip*; which was owing to his having a juſt ſenſe of the ſtate his country was in. He conceived, that the *Athenians* of thoſe times were nothing like their anceſtors, and therefore, as he expreſſed himſelf on another occaſion, he was deſirous, ſince they would not be at the head of *Greece* themſelves, they would at leaſt be upon good terms with that power which would be ſo [e].

He enters Phocis, and puts an end to the ſacred war.

Philip, who knew how to uſe as well as to procure opportunity, while the *Athenians* were in this good humour, paſſed *Thermopylæ*, without their knowing whether he would fall on *Phocis* or *Thebes*; but he quickly undeceived them, by commanding his ſoldiers to put on crowns of laurel, declaring them thereby the troops of
f *Apollo*, and himſelf the lieutenant-general of that god. He then immediately entered *Phocis*, with an air of triumph, as if thunder and lightning had been at his command; which ſo terrified the *Phocians*, whom he had cauſed to be proclaimed ſacrilegious perſons, that they immediately diſmiſſed all thoughts of defence, and without more ado ſubmitted to his mercy. Thus the *Phocian* war, which had ſo long employed all *Greece*, was ended without a ſtroke, *Phalæcus*, with eight thouſand mercenaries, being permitted to march off into *Peloponneſus*, and the judgment on the *Phocians* remitted to the *Amphictyons*, or grand council of *Greece*. By their decree the walls of three *Phocian* cities were demoliſhed, the people were forbid to in-

[c] Demosth. Philip. ii. [d] Demosth. Orat. de falſa legat. [e] Plut. in vit. Demoſth. & Phocion.

habit

habit in any but villages, to pay a yearly tribute of ſixty talents, and never to make a uſe either of horſes or arms, till they had repaid to the temple of *Apollo* the money they had taken ſacrilegiouſly from thence. Their arms were taken from them, broken to pieces, and burnt; their double voice in the council was taken from them, and given to the *Macedonians*. Other orders were made for reſettling the affairs both of religion and ſtate throughout *Greece*, all of which were executed by *Philip* with great exactneſs and moderation, paying the moſt profound reſpect to the council; and when he had performed its commands, retiring peaceable with his army back to *Macedon*, which gained him great reputation [f]. This ſeems to have been one of the greateſt atchievements of his life, and that which laid the foundation of his empire. Hence one hiſtorian remarks, that the *Grecians* paid the next honours b

Year after the flood 2653. *Before Chriſt* 346. to divinity, to a prince who had vindicated the honour of the gods [g]; and another tells us, that from this time forward *Philip* proſpered in all things, which was thought to be the juſt reward of his piety, and the care he had taken in reſtoring the worſhip of *Apollo*, and a general quiet to *Greece* [h].

Athenians ready to declare againſt him. At *Athens* alone the juſtice and piety of *Philip* was not underſtood. The people began to ſee, tho' a little of the lateſt, that they had been abuſed and deceived by thoſe who had negotiated the late peace; they ſaw, that, through their acceptance of it, the *Phocians* were deſtroyed, that *Philip* was become maſter of *Thermopylæ*, and might enter *Greece* when he pleaſed; that in abandoning their allies they had abandoned themſelves; and that in all probability they might ſoon feel the c weight of his power, whom they had ſo fooliſhly truſted: They therefore began to take new and violent meaſures; they ordered, that the women ſhould retire out of the villages into the city, their walls ſhould be repaired, and their forts new ſtrengthened. They ſeemed inclined to queſtion *Philip*'s election into the council of the *Amphictyons*, becauſe it had been done without their conſent, and even to proceed to an open war. In all likelihood they had carried things to extravagancy, if *Demoſthenes* had not interpoſed. He told them, that tho' he was not for making the peace, he was however for keeping it; and that he ſaw no manner of occaſion for their

Diopithes with an Athenian army enters Macedon, while Philip invades Thrace. entering into ſo unequal a conteſt as would needs enſue, if they took up arms, not only againſt *Philip*, but againſt all the ſtates concurring with him in the late tranſac- d tions. This ſeems to have cooled the rage of the *Athenians*, and to have brought them to think of *ruining Philip* by degrees, as by degrees they had *raiſed* him [i] (E).

Year after the flood 2665. *Before Chriſt* 334. The fame of his atchievements without the bounds of *Macedon* having diſpoſed the ſubjects of *Philip* to hope every thing from his conduct, and the ſeveral ſtates of *Greece* to deſire above all things his friendſhip; that prudent monarch laid hold of this favourable ſituation to fix his dominion on ſuch a ſtable foundation as that a

[f] Diod. Sicul. ubi ſupra. [g] Justin. lib. viii. c. 2. [h] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. [i] Demosthen. Orat. de Pac.

(E) *Libanius* and *Photius* have taken pains to prove, that the oration to which we refer above, ought not to be aſcribed to *Demoſthenes*. We might well enough defend ourſelves by alledging, that it has been generally eſteemed his, and, as ſuch, as conſtantly maintained its place in his works. This would be ſufficient for our purpoſe; but in truth, the arguments on which the oppoſite ſentiment is built, are ſo eaſily overturned, that we might be juſtly blamed for neglecting ſo favourable an occaſion of ſetting this point in its true light. *Demoſthenes*, ſay thoſe who will not allow this oration to be his, charged *Æſchines* with betraying his country on account of his recommending warmly a peace with *Philip*; they cannot therefore think, that *Demoſthenes* would run openly into thoſe meaſures, which he had ſo lately and ſo warmly decried, or that he, who on every other occaſion ſingly oppoſed *Philip*, and run all hazards to bring him into odium with the people, ſhould now be ſingle on the other ſide, and attempt to croſs the diſpoſition of the *Athenians* in favour of peace and *Philip* (20). Theſe objectors forget, that *Demoſthenes* was a patriot as well as an orator; that he did not purſue *Philip* with implacable hatred, becauſe he was king of *Macedon*, but becauſe he thought him both willing and able to obſtruct the deſigns of *Athens*, and even to reduce her from that ſplendid pre-eminence which ſhe now held in *Greece*, to the ordinary rank of a ſtate in name free, but in truth dependent upon him; this was the motive of *Demoſthenes*'s heat on other occaſions; and the motive to his coolneſs now was the ſtrict alliance between *Philip* and the other *Grecian* ſtates, which rendered it a thing impracticable for *Athens* to contend with him and them alone. Beſides, as he rightly obſerves in the harangue, it would have been ridiculous for thoſe who refuſed to enter into an equal war for rich cities, and fertile provinces, to have ruſhed ſuddenly into a moſt unequal conteſt about an empty title, or, as he emphatically expreſſes it, *To take away the ſhadow of* Delphos *from him who was maſter of* Delphos *itſelf* (21). We therefore acknowledge this to be the oration of *Demoſthenes*, becauſe he was worthy of it.

(20) *Phot. Biblioth. cod.* 265. (21) *Demoſthen. Orat. pacif.*

reverſe

a reverſe of fortune ſhould not immediately deſtroy it. To this end, while he carried on his negotiations through *Greece*, he likewiſe kept his army in exerciſe by taking ſeveral places in *Thrace*, which terribly incommoded the *Athenians* [k]. *Diopithes*, who had the government of the *Athenian* colonies in thoſe parts, perceiving well what end *Philip* had in view, did not ſtay for any inſtructions from home; but having raiſed with much expedition a conſiderable body of troops, taking advantage of the king's being abſent with his army, entered the adjacent territories of *Philip*, and waſted them with fire and ſword. The king, who on account of the operations of the campaign in the *Cherſoneſe*, was not at leiſure to repel *Diopethes* by force, nor indeed could divide his army without eminent hazard, choſe like an able
b general rather to abandon his provinces to inſults, which might be afterwards revenged, than by following the dictates of an ill-timed paſſion to hazard the loſs of his veteran army, whereon lay all his hopes. He contented himſelf therefore with complaining to the *Athenians* of *Diopethes*'s conduct, who in a time of peace had entered his dominions, and committed ſuch devaſtations, which could ſcarce have been juſtified in a time of war. His partiſans ſupported this application with all their eloquence; they told the *Athenians*, that unleſs they recalled *Diopethes*, and brought him to a trial for this infringement of the peace, they ought not to hope either for the friendſhip of *Philip*, or of any other prince or ſtate; neither could they juſtly complain, if, prompted by ſuch a precedent, others ſhould break faith with them, and fall
c without the leaſt notice upon their dominions. *Demoſthenes* defended *Diopethes*, and undertook to ſhew, that he deſerved the praiſe and not the cenſure of the *Athenians*. Thoſe of the other party began to charge him then with crimes of a different nature; they alledged, that he had oppreſſed the ſubjects, and mal-treated the allies of *Athens*. *Demoſthenes* replied, that of theſe things there were as yet no proofs; that when ſuch ſhould appear, a ſingle galley might be ſent to bring over *Diopethes* to abide their judgment, but that *Philip* would not come if they ſent a fleet; whence he inferred, that they ought to be cautious, and to weigh well the merits of this cauſe before they took any reſolution. He ſaid, that it was true, *Philip* had not as yet attacked *Attica*, or pretended to make a deſcent on their territories in
d *Greece*, or to force his way into their ports; when it came to that, he was of opinion they would be hardly able to defend themſelves, wherefore he thought ſuch men were to be eſteemed as ſought to protect their frontiers, in order to keep *Philip* as long as might be at a diſtance; whereupon he moved, that inſtead of diſowning what *Diopethes* had done, or directing him to diſmiſs his army, they ſhould ſend him over recruits, and ſhew the king of *Macedon*, they knew how to protect their territories, and to maintain the dignity of their ſtate as well as their anceſtors. Theſe arguments had ſuch an effect, that a decree was made conformable to his motion [l].

An account of the ſources of the continual differences between Philip *and the* Athenians.

The reader muſt certainly be ſomewhat at a loſs as to the grounds on which theſe parties proceeded; nor is it eaſy to ſet them in a clear light. *Philip* is, generally ſpeak-
e ing, repreſented not only as a politic, and over-reaching, but as a fraudulent and perfidious prince, one who had ſmall regard to treaties, and who ſet no bounds to his ambition. But then it muſt be conſidered, that we have all theſe reports from the ſworn enemies of *Philip*; he had the misfortune to have been at variance all his reign with the *Athenians*, and the *Athenians* were at that time the moſt eloquent, as their authors are yet eſteemed the moſt excellent, among the *Greeks*. The orations of *Demoſthenes* many of them remain, but for any anſwers that were made to them, time has ſwallowed them up; and we have ſcarce any apologies for *Philip*; yet in ſpight of theſe croſs accidents, it may be diſcerned, that *Philip*'s character ought not to be conſidered in altogether ſo bad a light as the orator has placed it.
f For, firſt, all ſpeakers in popular aſſemblies are wont to exaggerate the ſubjects on which they declaim, and like the painters of domes and cupolas make large allowances for the diſtances between their pictures, and thoſe who are to look up to them. Secondly, The *Athenians* naturally hated kings, and conceived all nations to be barbarians who were governed by them. Thirdly, they held their territories in *Thrace* by a very dubious title, which we ſhall take this occaſion to explain. When the republic was in the zenith of its glory, they had poſſeſſed themſelves of the *Cherſoneſe* by force. When *Lyſander* deſtroyed *Athens*, the inhabitants of the beforementioned country put themſelves under the protection of the *Lacedæmonians* [m].

[k] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Aristot. de Rhetor. lib. ii. Orat. 8.
[l] Demosthen. Orat. de Cherſoneſ. Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Ariſtot. de Rhetor. lib. ii. Orat. 8.
[m] Plutarch. in vit. Lyſand. Diodor. Sicul. lib. ii.

Conon afterwards reduced them to the obedience of their ancient maſters [n], and *Cotys* king of *Thrace* conquered them once more from *Athens*. *Cherſobleptes* his ſon, finding himſelf unable to oppoſe *Philip* of *Macedon*, gave up this place again to the *Athenians*, reſerving only the city of *Cardia* which ſtood on the iſthmus [o]. *Philip* having now diſpoſſeſſed *Cherſobleptes* of his kingdom, the citizens of *Cardia*, unwilling to fall under the *Athenian* yoke, ſubmitted themſelves voluntarily to *Philip*; whereupon *Diopethes* began the war, on a ſuppoſition, that ſo enterprizing a prince would not ſtop here, but would make uſe of the advantages he had already gained, utterly to diſpoſſeſs the *Athenians* of their colonies in theſe parts [p]. Such were the ſources of thoſe differences, which ſo long embroiled the *Athenians* and *Philip*; ſources which lying as they did in the conſtitutions of *Macedon* and *Athens*, could never be dried up; for the prudence of *Philip* giving him to underſtand, that till he was maſter of *Greece*, he would never be able to keep the *Athenians* under; and till that was done, knowing himſelf to be unſafe at home, and ſcarce to be called a king; he choſe to run all hazards in order to be the *former*, chiefly becauſe of all ſituations he dreaded to be in the *latter* (F). a b

His expedition in repreſſing the Illyrians, *and his negotiations in* Greece.

While affairs ſtood thus, the *Illyrians* recovering courage, and ſeeing *Philip* at ſuch a diſtance haraſſed, the frontiers of *Macedon*, and threatened a formidable invaſion; but this attempt of theirs prejudiced none ſo much as themſelves, for *Philip* by quick marches arrived on the borders of *Illyrium*, and ſtruck this barbarous people with ſuch a pannic, that they were glad to compound for their former robberies at the price he was pleaſed to ſet [q]. Moſt of the *Greek* cities in *Thrace* now ſought the friendſhip of the king, and entered into a league with him for their mutual defence. As it cannot be ſuppoſed, that each of theſe free cities had a power equal to that of *Philip*, we may therefore look upon him as their protector. This is exactly conformable to the account which *Diodorus* gives us of this matter; but *Demoſthenes* repreſents this tranſaction as downright robbery, inſinuating, that to have *Philip* for a protector, was to own him for a maſter; and that conſequently his proceeding in this manner was making a conqueſt of ſo many cities, and an injury to all *Greece* [r]. About this time *Philip*'s negotiations in *Peloponneſus* began to come to light; the *Argives* and *Meſſenians* growing weary of that tyrannical authority which the *Spartans* exerciſed over them, applied to *Thebes* for aſſiſtance; and the *Thebans*, out of their natural averſion to *Sparta*, ſought to open a paſſage for *Philip* into *Peloponneſus*, that in conjunction with them, he might humble the *Lacedæmonians*. *Philip* readily accepted the offer, and reſolved to procure a decree from the *Amphyctions*, directing the *Lacedæmonians* to leave *Argos* and *Meſſene* free; which if they complied not with, he, as the lieutenant of the *Amphyctions*, might, with great appearance of juſtice, march with a body of troops to inforce their order. When *Sparta* had intelligence of this, ſhe immediately applied to *Athens*, earneſtly intreating aſſiſtance, as in the common c d

[n] Corn. Nepos, vit. Conon. [o] Demosthen. Orat. adv. Ariſtoc. Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. [p] Demosthen. Orat. de Cherſoneſ. [q] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. [r] Demosthen. Orat. Philip. iii, iv.

(F) The extended country of *Thrace* was inhabited by many nations. The reader will meet with what can be collected reſpecting their hiſtory hereafter; at preſent, it will be neceſſary to ſay ſomething of the families of thoſe kings with whom *Philip* had to do. *Teres* king of the *Odryſians*, by the conqueſt of many little princes raiſed himſelf to a very high rank, and ſwelled his dominions to a large extent; he had two ſons, *Sitalces* and *Sparadocus* (22). The deſcendants of theſe ſons were engaged in continual wars amongſt themſelves, which extremely broke and ruined all their principalities, till at laſt *Seuthes* raiſed a conſiderable kingdom out of the conqueſts he made, and left it to his ſon *Cotis* the father of *Cherſobleptes*, as *Demoſthenes* tells us (23); but *Diodorus* will have him to be his brother (24). After the death of *Cotis*, his dominions were ſhared by *Cherſobleptes*, *Beriſades*, and *Amadocus*. *Cherſobleptes* quickly diſpoſſeſſed the other two, and flushed with theſe conqueſts, and the hopes he had of the friendſhip of the *Athenians*, he began to contend with *Philip*, who falling upon him with a veteran army of well-diſciplined troops, defeated and dethroned him. This *Cherſobleptes* we ſhall hear much of hereafter: The *Athenians* granted him the honour of being inrolled in their city regiſter, and he, when he found *Philip* too ſtrong for him, reſigned a part of his dominions to them. The truth is, conqueſt was the beſt title that any of them had, except the *Thracians*, who may be ſaid to have had a birthright in their own country. *Philip* therefore wiſely added that tract of land he conquered between the rivers *Strymon* and *Neſſus* to *Macedonia*, without pretending to make himſelf abſolute maſter of *Thrace*. His ſon *Alexander* indeed did conquer it, but after his death, it fell again under the obedience of a native, viz. *Seuthes* the ſon or grandſon of *Cherſobleptes*, who defended his right and his poſſeſſion againſt the *Macedonians* more ſucceſsfully than his anceſtors had done (25).

(22) *Ariſtot. Polit. lib.* v. *c.* 10. (23) *Demoſthen. adv. Ariſtoc.* (24) *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* xvi. (25) *Demoſthen. ubi ſupra. Diodor. Sicul. lib.* xviii. & xix.

cauſe

a cauſe of *Greece*. The *Argives* and *Meſſenians* on the other hand laboured aſſiduouſly to gain the *Athenians* to their ſide, alledging, that if they were friends to liberty, they ought to aſſiſt thoſe whoſe only aim was to be free. *Demoſthenes* at this juncture outwreſtled *Philip*, if we may borrow that king's expreſſion; for by a vehement harangue, he not only determined his own citizens to become the avowed enemies of the king, but alſo made the *Argives* and *Meſſenians* not over-fond of him for an ally.' [s]; which when *Philip* perceived, he laid aſide all thoughts of this enterprize for the preſent, and began to practiſe in *Eubœa*.

The cauſes of the war in Eubœa. *Year after the flood* 2695. *Before Chriſt* 304.

THIS country now called *Negropont*, is ſeparated from *Greece* by the *Euripus*, a ſtreight ſo narrow, that *Eubœa* might eaſily be united to the continent. This ſituation made *Philip* call it, *The fetters of Greece*, which he therefore ſought to have in
b his own hands. There had been for ſome years great diſturbances in that country, under colour of which, *Philip* ſent forces thither, and demoliſhed *Porthmos*, the ſtrongeſt city in thoſe parts, leaving the country under the government of three lords, whom *Demoſthenes* roundly calls tyrants, eſtabliſhed by *Philip* [t]. Shortly after the *Macedonians* took *Oreus*, which was left under the government of five magiſtrates, ſtiled alſo tyrants at *Athens*. Thither *Plutarch* of *Eretria*, one of the moſt eminent perſons in *Eubœa*, went to repreſent the diſtreſſes of his country, and to implore the *Athenians* to ſet it free. This ſuit *Demoſthenes* recommended warmly to the people, who ſent thither their famous leader *Phocion*, ſupported by formidable
c votes, but a very ſlender army; yet ſo well did he manage the affairs of the commonwealth, and her allies, that *Philip* quickly found he muſt for a time abandon that project, which however he did not till he had formed another no leſs beneficial to himſelf, or leſs dangerous to *Athens* [u]. It was the proſecution of his conqueſts in *Thrace*, which he thought of puſhing much farther than he had hitherto done, or could be reaſonably ſuſpected to have any intention of doing (G).

Philip *invades the cities of* Neleſpont.

THE preparations he made for the campaign were extraordinary, his army larger than he was wont to make uſe of, and the precautions he took for the ſafety of his dominions in his abſence, by appointing his ſon *Alexander* regent, ſuch as ſhewed he had vaſt deſigns in his mind. At length, when the ſeaſon of the year permitted, he marched with thirty thouſand men and inveſted *Perynthus* [x]. This city was one
d of the moſt conſiderable in *Propontis*, always firm to the *Athenians*, and conſequently both dreadful and dangerous to *Philip*. The ſiege was hardly formed before the king received advice, that his reſtleſs neighbours had taken arms, ſuppoſing that

[s] DEMOSTHEN. Philip. ii. [t] PLUT. in vit. Phocion. DEMOSTHEN. Philip. iii. [u] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. PLUTARCH. ubi ſupra. DEMOSTHEN. ubi ſupra. [x] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. JUSTIN. lib. viii. DEMOSTHEN. pro Cteſiphon.

(G) We have ſhewn above of what importance *Eubœa* was both to *Philip* and to the reſt of *Greece*; we ſhall here take occaſion to ſpeak of the form of government which *Philip* would have eſtabliſhed there. We no-where find that he had any idea of annexing it to his dominions, or of obliging the people to live under new laws, or new modes of rule. *Eubœa* was full of great cities, each of which was a kind of republic, and together with the benefits of freedom and independence were ſometimes diſturbed by that ſpirit of diſſenſion which frequently enters where liberty is adored. In theſe diſputes both parties were wont to have recourſe to foreign aſſiſtance, the *Athenians*, *Thebans*, *Lacedæmonians*, all in their turn, had ſent auxiliaries to ſupport their friends in this iſland; and now it ſeems the king of *Macedon* thought fit to do the like; without doubt on a principle of intereſt, for when do princes act from any other? We have very imperfect accounts of this war, which ended at laſt to the diſadvantage of the *Athenians*; inſtead therefore of drawing together all the jejune paſſages in ancient authors, wherein the *Eubœan* war is mentioned; we will from *Demoſthenes* himſelf give a ſuccinct detail of the tyranny which *Philip* ſet up in *Oreus*, one of the principal cities of *Eubœa*. *Philiſtides*, *Menippus*, *Socrates*, *Agapeus*, and *Thoas*, were at the head of affairs, and were profeſſed friends to *Philip* of *Macedon*; *Euphreus*, who had formerly dwelt at *Athens*, began to treat theſe magiſtrates as traitors; he alledged, that they were entirely devoted to the *Macedonian*, and would betray the city into his hands; *Philiſtides* and his collegues immediately threw this man into priſon; the people it ſeems concurred with their magiſtrates, and looked upon him as a diſturber of the public peace. When the diſorders in the reſt of *Eubœa* had occaſioned *Macedonian* troops to be ſent thither, the magiſtrates of *Oreus* owned them for their protectors, baniſhed ſuch as had confederated againſt them, and aſſumed the direction of public affairs to themſelves, which had ſuch an effect on the patriot they had impriſoned, that he laid violent hands upon himſelf. *Philiſtides* and his collegues are qualified by the *Athenian* orator with the name of tyrants, and *Philip*, who was their protector, is made the tyrant of tyrants (26). This was the true ſtyle of *Athens*, where all power underived from, or unexerciſed for them, was held tyrannical. It is very poſſible, the *Eubœans* might ſpeak another language, and without queſtion, the partizans of *Philip* proteſted loudly, that he intereſted himſelf in the affairs of *Eubœa* in order to preſerve the people from being oppreſſed by foreign ſtates.

(26) *Demoſthen. Orat. Philip.* iii.

they

they could eaſily deal with forces commanded by a child; for *Alexander* was not above fifteen: but before he had leiſure to reflect on this danger, he was farther informed, that *Alexander* had marched againſt them with ſuch ſecrecy and expedition, as to fall upon them before they were aware, and thereby ſtruck them with ſuch conſternation, that making a precipitate retreat, they covered themſelves with ſhame, and crowned the youth they deſpiſed with laurels: *Philip* however ſent for his ſon immediately to the camp, fearing that this ſucceſs might make him adventurous, and that fortune might not be always ſo favourable, as upon this occaſion ſhe had been. The *Perinthians* however made a gallant defence, their city being well fortified, as well as remarkably ſtrong from its ſituation. *Philip* on his ſide preſſed it cloſely, both by his artillery, that is, *Battering engines*, and by *ſap*; he cauſed alſo moveable towers to be erected, and bringing them near the walls, his ſoldiers from thence threw all ſorts of miſſive weapons into the city [y]. *Athens*, for whoſe ſake *Perynthus* thus ſuffered, heard the complaints of her embaſſadors, ſupported by the pathetic orations of *Demoſthenes* with compaſſion. Succours were immediately decreed in ſpight of all the arts which the friends of *Philip* could make uſe of; however, *Chares* was made choice of to command them, and if *Philip* had been to have appointed a general, he would probably have been the man. He was vain, luxurious, haughty, inſolent, and unjuſt; was very indifferently ſkilled in military matters, yet ſo full of promiſes of what he would perform, that *the promiſe of Chares* became a proverb, to ſignify an undertaking which would never be fulfilled. This commander in chief ſet ſail with a ſmall ſquadron of gallies, a conſiderable body of land-forces, and an excellent band of muſic, which he choſe with great care, and paid at an extravagant rate. His character was ſo well known, that the *Perinthians*, in as bad a ſtate as they were, refuſed to admit him into their port, ſo that he was forced to return home without doing any thing more than plundering the allies, and thereby bringing diſgrace on the *Athenian* name [z].

Philip *writes a letter to the* Athenians.

As *Philip* was perfectly well acquainted with the ſtate of *Athens* at that time, and knew that the engaging it in a war would in all probability revive that ſpirit of ambition, and that appetite of glory, which had in former times rendered it ſo powerful; he had recourſe to thoſe mighty talents which diſtinguiſhed him in that age, and which may be ſaid to have diſtinguiſhed him from all kings. He wrote the *Athenians* a letter, which is ſtill extant, and which it would be injurious to his memory to abridge, or to publiſh in any other than his own words. It was intended as a manifeſto to the commons, and to his enemies in *Athens*, and as a ſcheme of inſtruction to his friends; how well it anſwered both purpoſes, the reader will diſcern, and form from thence a juſt idea of a prince, who was his own ſecretary, as well as his own general, his own miniſter, and his own treaſurer; not that he was opinionated of his own parts, but becauſe he was a perfect judge of thoſe of other men, as appears from a ſaying of his relating to theſe *Athenians*. He was told they elected annually ten generals: *They are a happy people, ſaid he, who every year can find ten generals, ſince I in my whole life have found but one*, which was Parmenio [a]. But to the letter, thus it ran:

Philip to the ſenate and people of *Athens*, greeting;

"AFTER applying to you often, though always in vain, by my ambaſſa-
" dors, in order to engage your paying the ſame regard to your oaths and treaties
" that I do to mine; I am determined to explain to you myſelf the miſchiefs I
" ſuſtain by your perſiſting in a contrary conduct. Do not be ſurprized at the
" length of my letter; to enter into a detail of your infractions, and my patience
" requires no ſmall room.

" I begin with *Nicias* my herald, taken out of my dominions. Inſtead of puniſhing
" ſuch as were concerned in this fact, you were pleaſed to detain him in priſon for
" no leſs a time than ten months before you ſent him back, neither did you make
" any difficulty of taking from him, and reading in the public aſſemblies, the let-
" ters with which he was intruſted by me. After this the ports of the iſle of *Thaſus*
" were opened to the *Byzantine* gallies, or rather to all ſorts of corſairs, which you

[y] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. [z] PLUTARCH. in vit. Phocion. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. [a] PLUTARCH. Apophtheg.

" ſaw

a " ſaw with the ſame indifference, as if this practice did not involve you in the guilt
" of evident perjury. Then your general *Diopithes* entered my territories in a hoſtile
" manner, carrying into ſlavery the inhabitants of *Crobylus* and *Tiriſtaſas*, pillaging
" and ſacking all the villages in that part of *Thrace*. When *Amphylochus* my am-
" baſſador went to treat for the ranſom of the priſoners, *Diopithes*, to crown his
" worthy exploits, clapped him up, and forced him to reſcue himſelf from ill uſage,
" to pay down nine talents, and all this he did with your participation and coun-
" tenance. Ought the violating the reſpect due to a herald at arms, or an am-
" baſſador, to be borne rather from you than from other people? What think you
" of the buſineſs at *Megara?* As ſoon as its inhabitants had injured *Anthemocrites*,
b " cloathed by you with a public character, you thought yourſelves obliged to take
" a public and proportionate revenge; you excluded ſuch as were guilty from any
" commerce with you; and you erected a pyramid before your gates to perpetuate
" the memory of your juſtice, and their crime. Well then! an outrage held ſo
" intolerable, when done to your ſelves, doth it paſs for nothing when you your-
" ſelves do it?

" *Callias*, one of your generals, made not the leaſt ſcruple of reducing under
" your obedience all the towns ſeated on the *Pegaſæan* gulph, though they were
" expreſsly comprehended in our treaty under the name of my allies. This done,
" he attacked all the veſſels bound to *Macedonia*; paſſengers, merchants, all were
c " held good prize, and ſold for ſlaves. Theſe piracies you have applauded and
" juſtified by your decrees; for my part, I don't ſee what you could have done
" worſe, if you had declared open war againſt me. Nay heretofore, when the
" ſword was drawn, you contented yourſelves with carrying on hoſtilities in an
" open manner; you made reprizals on my ſubjects; you did all you could to in-
" jure their trade; you ſupported my enemies, and endeavoured to make deſcents
" on my territories; but now while we are at peace, you ſtop not at theſe things,
" your rancor and your injuſtice have puſhed you on to ſtir up a barbarian to be-
" come my enemy; and your embaſſadors have ſolicited the king of *Perſia* to over-
" whelm *Macedonia*. What ſtrange conduct is this? to beſeech that monarch to
d " ally himſelf with you againſt me, without remembring, that before he had ſub-
" dued *Egypt* and *Phœnicia*, you reſolved to invite me and the reſt of the *Greeks*
" into a confederacy againſt him as the common enemy. Very conſiſtent! T'other
" day you were for going with me againſt him, now you deſire him to go with
" you againſt me. Your anceſtors, as I have been informed, objected it as an un-
" pardonable crime to the children of *Piſiſtratus* that they invited the great king into
" *Greece*; yet the ſame thing is done by your modern politicians. You are not
" thus it ſeems aſhamed to injure me by methods you condemned even in your
" tyrants, ſo that all things become lawful and laudable, as ſoon as it is diſcerned,
" they will ſpight *Philip*. You have given me a ſignal mark of this in your de-
e " crees, injoining me to put *Teres* and *Cherſobleptes* as citizens of *Athens* into quiet
" poſſeſſion of their eſtates. I ſhall not inquire whether they were comprized in
" our treaty of peace, whether their names are to be found in your liſt of citizens,
" or whether they are natives or deſcendants of *Athens*; this I know very well, that
" I have ſeen *Teres* ſerving in my armies againſt you, and *Cherſobleptes* being on the
" very point of ſwearing to a treaty concluded with my embaſſadors, declined it,
" terrified by the menaces of your general, who threatened to proclaim him an
" enemy to your republic. What juſtice! what equity! what conſiſtency is here!
" when he was about to become my friend, you threatened to declare him your
" enemy; after doing me all the miſchief he could, now truly he is your citizen. You
f " who heretofore received and protected a murderer, while yet *red* with the *blood*
" of *Sitacles! Sitacles* king of *Thrace! Sitacles*, whom you called your citizen!
" yet in regard to this title, you are now for taking *Cherſobleptes* under your pro-
" tection, and for making war on me on his account; however, upon other occa-
" ſions, you have more than once regarded in another light theſe adopted citizens,
" your laws and your decrees. But to cut ſhort this diſpute, you cannot deny that
" you have ſeen dethroned, and ignominiouſly baniſhed, *Evagoras* of *Cyprus*, and
" *Dionyſius* of *Syracuſe*, two kings, who for themſelves and their deſcendants were
" honoured with the high titles of citizens of *Athens*. If your eloquence can be
" ſo effectually employed as to perſuade thoſe who have driven theſe tyrants from
" their thrones to replace them again, you may be aſſured, that you will find

" me no leſs tractable in reſettling *Teres* and *Cherſobleptes* in all and ſeveral their do- a
" minions in *Thrace*. If you look upon that to be a crime in me, with which
" you will not ſo much as upbraid others, can you wonder that I pay little regard
" to your cenſure? I could ſay many things more upon this head, but I chuſe rather
" to ſuppreſs them.

" WITH reſpect to other things, be it known to you, that if you attack the
" *Cardians*, they ſhall be ſuccoured; I will and I ought to do it, not only in reſpect
" to the ſtreight alliance there has been between us, long before I concluded the
" treaty with you, but on account alſo of your obſtinacy in refuſing to ſubmit the
" differences between you and them to arbitration, as they and I have often deſired
" you to do. Would you not take me for the meaneſt creature in the world, if b
" upon this occaſion I ſhould deſert my old and conſtant friends for the ſake of
" people who thwart me in every thing I do? I can no longer be ſilent, your inſo-
" lence is come to a height not to be borne; your late proceedings are of ſuch a
" caſt, that moderation is no longer a virtue. The *Peparethians* did but tell you
" they were oppreſſed by me; and without further inquiry, you direct your generals
" to avenge theſe iſlanders, whom I had chaſtiſed more mildly than they deſerved.
" Theſe faithleſs people had in full peace ſurprized *Halonneſus*, nor would they
" part either with the iſland or the gariſon, though I often ſolicited them by my
" embaſſadors. When I was thus inſulted, you ſaid not a word; but when I came
" to do myſelf juſtice, what a clamour have you ſet up? You know very well, that
" I took this *Halonneſus* neither from them nor you, but from *Soſtrates* the pirate. c
" If you ſay that he held it under your protection, you declare yourſelves his ac-
" complices: If you diſown him, and his robberies, why ſhould you think of de-
" priving me of my juſt reward for clearing the ſeas, and protecting trade? I be-
" lieve I can gueſs the reaſon. All things I do offend you, kindneſſes not excepted.
" I offered you this *Halonneſus* merely out of the great reſpect I had to your friend-
" ſhip; this did not pleaſe your demagogues, they talked you into a refuſal of my
" offer, and which was ſomewhat ſingular, they talked you into reclaiming what
" they made you refuſe to accept. Would you know the reaſon? Come, I'll tell it
" you: Either I muſt have reſtored the iſland, which you know would have been
" a full proof of my taking it unjuſtly; or I muſt have refuſed to reſtore it, and d
" thereby have opened a way to thoſe violent motions which they long to make in
" your aſſemblies. Well, I penetrated all this, and, to be even with them,
" offered to ſubmit our diſputes to arbitration, reſolving to make you a preſent of
" the iſland, if it was adjudged to me, and to have yielded it up, if judgment had
" gone againſt me. Many a time did I offer this, and as often did you reject it.
" The *Peparethians* in the mean time ſeized the iſland. Well, what was I to do
" then? Was I bound not to puniſh thoſe violaters of their oaths? Was I patiently
" to ſubmit to injuries of ſuch a nature, offered in ſuch a manner? Conſider a little,
" if *Halonneſus* belonged to theſe people, how came the *Athenians* to demand it? If
" it belonged to you, why did not you attack the uſurpers? Things came at laſt e
" to ſuch a paſs, that, to ſecure the paſſage of *Macedonian* veſſels from the priva-
" teers, fitted out from your colonies by order of *Polycrates*, authorized ſo to do
" by your decrees, I was conſtrained to come in perſon before the ports of theſe
" corſairs, in order to keep them in awe. I had little reaſon to act with all this
" caution, when that general at the ſame time ſent to the *Byzantines* to join with
" him, and declared publickly, that when occaſion ſhould offer, he would make
" war upon me. All this did not engage me to act with a violence proportioned
" to yours. I attempted nothing againſt you; I ſeized not either your gallies or
" your dominions, though it was in my power to have taken a part, if not the
" whole, of both; and all this time I continued to ſolicit you, that our di..rences f
" might be put to arbitration. Judge for yourſelves, whether equity is beſt awarded
" by reaſon or the ſword, and whether it be fit that you or I ſhould be judges in
" our own cauſes; conſider too with yourſelves, how unreaſonable it will appear,
" that the *Athenians*, who forced the *Thaſians* and the *Maronites* to be content with
" an arbitration made on their reſpective claims to the city of *Stryma*, ſhould refuſe
" to ſubmit to the deciſion of their own differences with me in the ſame way. Your
" obſtinacy muſt appear ſtill more unreaſonable, when it is remembered, that the
" arbitration I offered would not have left you expoſed to the incertainties which

" uſually

a " uſually attend ſuch judgments. If it went againſt you, you were to loſe nothing; a
" decree in your favour would have given you my conqueſts.
" To crown all your oddities, you refuſe to hear my embaſſadors, who are im-
" powered in the name of me, and my allies, to aſſure you, that we are willing
" to compromiſe upon reaſonable terms whatever differences ſubſiſt between us and
" other *Greeks*. Could you take any better method than complying with this
" propoſition? At all events, it muſt have been beneficial to you; for I muſt either
" have acted conformable to my offers, or not: In the firſt caſe, you would have
" had the honour of protecting all the *Greeks* who, you ſay, have taken umbrage at
" my power: In the ſecond, you would have had the greateſt advantage over me;
b " my want of faith could not have been concealed, I muſt have paſſed for a traitor
" convict throughout *Greece*. To ſay the truth, my propoſitions were perfectly
" ſuited to your people; but, alas! your demagogues could not find their accounts in
" them. Thoſe who are beſt acquainted with your government ſay, that theſe ſort
" of people know no ſort of war ſo cruel as a peace, and never taſte ſo much of peace
" as in the midſt of war. When the ſword is drawn every *Athenian* general is tied
" down to compound with them; and muſt either pay for their crying him up, or
" for their not crying him down. Your dealers in words carry it ſtill farther: In
" order to have reputation, a man's character muſt be publicly given by them.
" This is a general buſineſs, nor is it of any great conſequence what country he is
c " of, who deſires to be commended; the noble citizen, the illuſtrious ſtranger, a
" whole ſtring of theſe ſort of epithets are at their command; and, once beſtowed
" in the aſſembly, thoſe who are honoured with them become moſt excellent com-
" monwealth's men in the opinion of the vulgar. I could upon very reaſonable
" terms have ſilenced their invectives higher upon, have converted them into eulogies;
" but I ſcorn to acquire your friendſhip in ſo ſcandalous a manner. I ſhould be
" aſhamed to have any thing to do with theſe mercenaries, who, becauſe they did
" not ſell me *Amphipolis*, have the impudence to ſay, I uſurp it. I am poſitive, my
" title to that city is built on reaſons too ſtrong for them with all their eloquence
" to overthrow. For, if *Amphipolis* ought to belong to its moſt ancient poſſeſſors,
d " how do I hold it unjuſtly? *Alexander*, one of my anceſtors, held it firſt; witneſs
" the riches taken by him there from the *Perſians*, the firſt fruits of which he con-
" ſecrated in a ſtatue of gold, ſet up in the temple at *Delphi*. Well, if you don't
" like this reaſon, ſhall *Amphipolis* belong to its laſt maſter? I am content, for by
" this title alſo it is mine. I took it from the *Lacedæmonians*, who, after they had
" driven you out, ſettled in it a colony of their own. As I take it, all cities are
" held either by a right of ſucceſſion, or a right of conqueſt. Now both theſe
" rights have I; you have not either the one or the other; and yet, becauſe you
" held the city ſome time, you are pleaſed to ſet up a claim to it, though you have
" confeſſed my right in the moſt authentic manner in the world. For in your anſwers
e " to my letters on this ſubject, you have over and over acknowledged me for the
" lawful ſovereign of *Amphipolis*; beſides, you have recognized me for its maſter
" by your laſt treaty of peace. Is it poſſible to have the poſſeſſion of a place better
" guaranteed than I have this? My anceſtors held it formerly, I have conquered it,
" you have acknowledged my right, you who never parted with any thing, to
" which you had ſo much as the colour of a title. You ſee then the grounds of
" my complaints. Becauſe you are without contradiction the aggreſſors, becauſe
" I have ſpared no pains to prevent your having any reaſon for a rupture, you
" load me with reproaches, and make it your buſineſs to blacken me all you can.
" I take the gods to witneſs the goodneſs of my cauſe, and the neceſſity I am under
f " of doing myſelf that juſtice which you have refuſed me (H) [b]".

THE

[b] Vide apud DEMOSTHEN. Orat. hanc Literam & Refutat.

(H) There are ſome few paſſages in this eloquent letter which may be illuſtrated from ancient authors. *Evagoras* king of *Cyprus* was originally a private citizen of *Salamis*, but deſcended of a noble family, and a man of great ſpirit; he perſuaded his fellow-citizens to throw off the *Perſian* yoke, which they did under his conduct, and conquered a great part of the iſland; he was afterwards ſlain by *Nicocles*; however his ſon *Evagoras* the younger pretended to the kingdom of *Cyprus*, and was ſupported by the *Athenians* againſt *Protagoras* the ſucceſſor of *Nicocles*. The *Athenians* were induced to take his part on account of the great aſſiſtance his father had given their admiral *Conon*, when he laboured to reſtore *Athens* to her former grandeur (27). As to *Dionyſius* the younger, the reader has had his hiſtory

(27) *Pauſan. in Attic. Diodor. lib.* XV, XVI.

THE judicious reader will not be diſpleaſed at the extraordinary length of this letter, when he conſiders, that it is an accurate and authentic hiſtory of many curious events, and at the ſame time an artful apology written by the moſt potent prince, and moſt conſummate politician of his time. Happy would it have been for us, if more ſuch letters as theſe had been preſerved; but time has ſwallowed them up, and we have only a few ſhort epiſtles, which ſerve barely to demonſtrate, that this is truly *Philip*'s, from the conformity of its ſtyle, as it muſt be allowed worthy of him from the conſideration of its matter. a

Meaſures taken by the Athenians.

IN all probability, this epiſtle had wrought its deſired effect, if *Demoſthenes* the conſtant adverſary of *Philip* had not undertaken to open the people's eyes, and to convince them, that the king's deſign was only to ſuſpend their judgments, and to hinder their taking any vigorous reſolution, till he had ſubdued ſuch places in the country where his army now lay, as would leave him without apprehenſions from that quarter [c]. It happened that about this time the news arrived at *Athens* of *Chares*'s being excluded the ports of the allies; this occaſioned great heats in the aſſembly, the partizans of *Philip* inſiſting warmly on the contempt ſhewn towards the republic, by firſt ſoliciting ſupplies, and then refuſing to admit them. *Phocion* cleared up this; he told them in few words, that the allies had not inſulted the people of *Athens* by endeavouring to ſecure themſelves from a rapacious *Athenian*; and that, if they would retrieve their reputation, they ought to ſend back their ſuccours under the command of ſome man of honour [d]. According to the wonted flexibility of popular councils, this motion was approved, and *Phocion* himſelf named admiral, and captain general. In this flow of their good humour, the *Athenians* did every thing that could be expected from them; as on the other hand, *Phocion* ſhewed himſelf a true patriot by accepting readily this command, when he found it in his power to execute it with honour to himſelf, and to the ſtate; though upon other occaſions he had oppoſed their declaring againſt *Philip*, when he judged thoſe declarations would only ſerve to irritate him, and do themſelves no good. Such were the enemies of *Philip* on this ſide. The *Perſian* kings, as we have already frequently noted, were wont to regard the *Macedonian* princes, not only as their tributaries, but as their faithful allies. The fortune of *Philip*, the continual clamour of the *Athenians* againſt him, and his dethroning at his pleaſure the petty princes of *Thrace*, concurred to make the *Perſian* view him in another light. When therefore he led his troops againſt *Perinthus*, the great king, as he was ſtiled by the *Greeks*, ſent his letters mandatory to the governors of the maritime provinces, directing them to ſupply the place with all things in their power; in conſequence of which, they filled it with troops, granted large ſubſidies in ready money, and ſent beſides great convoys of proviſions and ammunition. The *Byzantines* alſo conceiving their own turn would be next, exerted their utmoſt force for the preſervation of *Perinthus*, ſending thither the flower of their youth with all other neceſſaries for an obſtinate defence [e]. Thus *Philip* found all this part of the world either open enemies, or ſuſpicious friends. b c d

Philip *compelled to raiſe the ſieges of* Perinthus *and* Byzantium. *Year after the flood* 2660. *Before Chriſt* 339.

THESE difficulties, which would certainly have made a ſtrong impreſſion on a prince of leſs firmneſs, or more moderate abilities, ſerved only to ſtimulate the ambition of the *Macedonian*. As ſoon therefore as he ſaw a ſmall breach made in the wall, he proceeded to the attack, and ſtormed *Perinthus* with a vaſt effuſion of blood on e

[c] DEMOSTHEN. ubi ſupra. [d] PLUTARCH. in vit. Phocion. [e] DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xvi.

hiſtory already; there is however a paſſage relating to him, which deſerves to be mentioned here. It is ſaid, that *Philip*, having an interview with this prince, could not help asking him, how in ſo ſhort a time he had loſt the flouriſhing kingdom left him by his father? *Dionyſius* anſwered frankly, *Becauſe, Sir, my father did not leave me his fortune with his kingdom* (28). When the king of *Macedon* wrote in a high ſtrain to the *Lacedæmonians* to leave the *Argives* and *Meſſenians* free, he received this *Laconic* anſwer: Dionyſius *at* Corinth; by which they intimated, that he was no leſs a tyrant than *Dionyſius*, and no more out of fortune's power than he (29). The iſlands of *Peparethus*, *Halonneſus*, and *Sciathus*, lie in the *Ægean* ſea, where they form a triangle. *Philip*, as he tells us in the letter, would have given up *Halonneſus* to the *Athenians* as a preſent, but *Demoſthenes* engaged them to refuſe it in that light, alledging that their acceptance would be injurious to them as a republic (30). *Æſchines* however told them plainly, that it was fooliſh to refuſe an iſland, and diſpute about words; that theſe ſort of proceedings would do ſervice to *Philip*, and afford him an opportunity of charging them with haughtineſs and inſincerity as often as they upbraided him with breach of faith (31). f

(28) *Ælian. Var. Hiſt. lib.* xii. *c.* 60. (29) *Demet. Phaler. de Eloc. c.* 8. (30) *Orat. adv. Cteſiph.* (31) *Æſchin. de falſ. legat.*

both

a both ſides. It is not likely, that with all theſe advantages, the *Perinthians* would have been able to have ſuſtained many ſuch efforts, if the ſituation of the city had not proved of greater uſe to them, than either themſelves or *Philip* foreſaw. For ſtanding as it did on the ſide of a hill, and their houſes being built with great regularity, every ſtreet with the help of a few works was converted into a new wall, which while the beſiegers battered, they were expoſed to all the ſhot of the beſieged; which, as the houſes roſe gradually one above another, did prodigious execution. *Philip* ſeeing this, and being informed by his engineer named *Polindus*, that nothing but time could overcome theſe difficulties, he inſtantly bethought himſelf of a method, whereby he hoped to indemnify his army for their long and great
b fatigue, though for the preſent he increaſed it; for marching ſuddenly with a great corps of troops, he blocked up *Byzantium*, which, as it was in a manner exhauſted by the ſuccours ſent to *Perinthus*, had well nigh fallen into his hands immediately, and could never have endured a ſiege even of a moderate length. But while *Philip* dreamt of gaining two cities at a time, he was compelled to leave them both; for *Phocion* arriving with his fleet, quite changed the face of affairs. The inhabitants of the *Cherſoneſe* declared immediately for the *Athenians*, and *Philip*, ſeeing all hopes of ſucceeding taken away, raiſed both his ſieges, and marched off with an army exceſſively haraſſed, and not a little diſpirited [f]. *Phocion* made the beſt uſe of his abſence, he retook ſuch places as the *Macedonian* had gariſoned, took many of his
c ſhips, and by frequent deſcents raiſed contributions throughout the maritime provinces of *Macedonia* [g].

THIS reverſe of fortune ſerved only to aggrandize the character of *Philip*; he ſent immediately to treat of a peace, and that the reputation of his arms might not ſuffer from his late diſappointment, he turned them inſtantly on a *Scythian* prince, who ſought to take advantage of his misfortune; and having totally defeated his forces, made the *Macedonians* rich with their plunder. The *Triballi*, a fierce and barbarous nation, refuſed him paſſage through their country, unleſs he would ſhare with them the ſpoil he had taken. *Philip*, conſidering rather the wound his reputation would have received by complying with ſuch a propoſition, then the worth of what
d they required, abſolutely rejected their demand, and marched to give them battle. The engagement was obſtinate and bloody, and had well-nigh been fatal to the king; for after receiving a wound in his thigh, his horſe was killed under him, and himſelf trampled to the ground. This being perceived by the young *Alexander*, he flew immediately to his aſſiſtance, and having covered his father's body with his ſhield, ſlew or put to flight ſuch of the *Barbarians* as were got about him. *Philip* being remounted, gained a ſignal victory, and returned into *Macedon*, as he was wont, covered with laurels, and received with loud acclamations, though in himſelf he was much diſſatisfied, and began to form new projects for depreſſing the *Athenians*, who, kept continually warm by the orations of *Demoſthenes*, were far from being ſo ready as they had formerly been to clap up a peace [h].

Makes war on the Scythians *and defeat the* Triballi.

e THE effects of the *Athenian* war became daily more and more inſupportable to the ſubjects of *Philip*; for, as the *Macedonians* were never very powerful at ſea, the *Athenians* now deprived them of all their trade by keeping continually ſuch ſquadrons on their coaſts, that their veſſels durſt not ſtir out of port. If *Philip*'s deſign had ſucceeded in *Thrace*, and on the *Helleſpont*, he would have ſtarved *Athens*, her proviſions as well as her revenues being chiefly drawn from thoſe countries; the *Athenians* were now even with them in the ſame wars with this unlucky circumſtance, that the king knew not how to relieve himſelf [i]. Yet he did not diſpair; he formed on the contrary a project of invading *Attica*, though he had no fleet to tranſport
f his troops, and notwithſtanding that he knew well enough the *Theſſalians* were not to be depended on, if he attempted to march through the *Pylæ*, and that the *Thebans* would even then be ready to oppoſe his march. To obviate all theſe difficulties, he had recourſe to *Athens* itſelf, where, by means of his partizans, he procured *Æſchines* his old friend to be ſent their deputy to the *Amphyctions*; this ſeemed a ſmall matter, and yet this was the hinge on which his whole project turned. By that time *Æſchines* had taken his ſeat, a queſtion was ſtirred in the council, whether the *Locrians* of *Amphiſſa* had not been guilty of ſacrilege in plowing the fields of *Cyrrha*

Philip *ſucceeds in his project of entering* Greece. *Year after the flood* 2661. *Before Chriſt* 338.

[f] PLUTARCH. in vit. Phocion. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. [g] DEMOSTHEN. pro CTESIPH. PLUT. ubi ſupra. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. [h] JUSTIN. lib. ix. c. 3. [i] DEMOSTHEN. pro CTESIPH. PLUTARCH. in Phocion.

in the neighbourhood of the temple at *Delphi*. Sentiments being divided, *Æſchines* a
propoſed a view, which was accordingly decreed. But when the *Amphyctions* came in order to ſee how things ſtood, the *Locrians*, either jealous of their property, or ſpurred thereto by the ſuggeſtions of ſome who ſaw farther than themſelves, fell upon theſe venerable perſons ſo rudely, that they compelled them to ſecure themſelves by flight. The *Amphyctions* conſidering this matter in council, decreed that an army ſhould be raiſed under the command of one of their own number to chaſtiſe the delinquents; but as this army was to be compoſed of troops ſent from all the ſtates of *Greece*, the appearance at the rendezvous was ſo inconſiderable, that the *Amphyction* ſent to command them durſt undertake nothing. The whole matter being reported to the council, *Æſchines* in a long and eloquent harangue ſhewed how much b
the welfare and even the ſafety of *Greece* depended on the reverence paid to their decrees; and after inveighing againſt the want of public ſpirit in ſuch as had not ſent their quota's at the time appointed by the council, he moved, that they ſhould elect *Philip* for their general, and pray him to execute their decree. The deputies from the other ſtates conceiving that by this expedient their reſpective conſtituents would be freed from any farther trouble or expence, came into it at once; whereupon a decree was immediately drawn up, purporting that embaſſadors ſhould be ſent to *Philip* of *Macedon* in the name of *Apollo*, and the *Amphyctions* once more to require his aſſiſtance, and to notify to him that the ſtates of *Greece* had unanimouſly choſen him their general with full power to act as he thought fit againſt ſuch as had oppoſed the c
authority of the *Amphyctions* [k]. Thus of a ſudden, and before any body foreſaw it, *Philip* by this round-about method acquired all that he ſought; and having an army ready in expectation of this event, he immediately marched to execute the commands of the *Amphyctions* in all appearance, but in truth to fulfil his own deſigns; for having paſſed into *Greece* with his army, he meddled not with the *Locrians*, but ſeized immediately *Elatea*, a great city in *Phocis* on the river *Cephiſus* [l]. This amazed all *Greece*, nor was there any body who could pretend to ſay what ſtep he would take next (H).

The Athenians *and* Thebans *reſolve to oppoſe him.*

THE *Athenians* were in the utmoſt confuſion on the news of *Philip*'s march; an d
extraordinary aſſembly was called, in which the people demanded advice of *Demoſthenes* by name. That great orator with much preſence of mind exhorted them to ſend embaſſadors throughout all *Greece*, but eſpecially to the *Thebans* to engage them to riſe at once and oppoſe the *Macedonian* torrent before it bore down all. The people inſtantly aſſented, and *Demoſthenes* went to *Thebes* at the head of the embaſſy [m]. *Philip* had ſent to the ſame city *Pytho* as his embaſſador; he was a man of great abilities, by birth a *Byzantine*, by his merit a citizen of *Athens*, by choice the miniſter of *Philip* [n]. This orator eaſily overcame the collegues of *Demoſthenes*; but *Demoſthenes* himſelf who could overcome? His ſpeeches had ſuch an effect on the

[k] PLUTARCH. in Demoſthen. & DEMOSTHEN. in Orat. ſupr. citat. [l] DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xvi. PLUTARCH. in Phocion. & Demoſthen. [m] DEMOSTHEN. pro CTESIPH. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. [n] DEMOSTHEN. Orat. pro Coron.

(H) This was *Philip*'s maſter-piece; upon this occaſion he ſhewed that he was able to over-reach all the ſtateſmen in *Greece*; for it is morally certain, that if any of the *Grecian* ſtates had ſuſpected his deſign, they would never have conſented to the decree which gave him a paſſage into the heart of their country. By ſeizing *Elatea*, he provided himſelf the fitteſt place in the world for his head-quarters, ſince it awed *Bœotia*, and opened him a paſſage into *Attica*. It is true, the *Thebans* barred his paſſage, but that was what he could not foreſee; for inaſmuch as he had done them very conſiderable ſervices, particularly in the *Phocian* war, he might better have reckoned upon them than upon any of the *Grecians*. Theſe were not the only people who were not over-grateful to the king of *Macedon*; the *Peloponneſians*, for whom he had done much, openly hiſſed his chariot at the *Olympic* games, offering him thereby the higheſt affront in the ſight of all *Greece*. When it was reported at the court of *Philip*, there wanted not ſome to declare, that ſuch inſolence ought to be chaſtiſed; but *Philip*, who was practiſed in the art of ſwallowing injuries (32), anſwered very mildly: *If the* Peloponneſians *hiſs us for doing good turns, what will they not ſay, if we ſhould do them ill ones* (33)? This calmneſs of his had its deſired effect. His enemies, while they indulged their tongues, never thought of acting to his prejudice: When therefore he ſeized *Elatea*, they ſtood amazed inſtead of running to arms, and as if they had been faſcinated by the charms of *Philip*, ſtood gazing on his army, expecting where it would march next. This ſight was doubtleſs as pleaſing to *Philip* as his ſubſequent victory at *Cheronæa*, ſince it was the avowed maxim of this ſagacious monarch, that an advantage gained by policy was more glorious than a conqueſt by arms, becauſe in the glory of the latter his whole army had a right to ſhare, whereas in reſpect to the former the fame reſulting therefrom belonged to himſelf alone (34).

(32) *Longin. de Sublim. c.* 25. (33) *Plutarch. in Apophthegm.* (34) *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* xvi. *prope fin.*

Thebans,

a *Thebans*, that forgetting all the obligations they owed to *Philip*, they conſidered him no longer as their benefactor, but as one who ſought to arrive at the ſovereignty of *Greece*. Fired therefore with reſentment, they concurred unanimouſly with the *Athenians*, and concerted with *Demoſthenes* the meaſures proper to be taken in ſo nice a conjuncture. *Philip* on the other hand did not ſit ſtill, he ſent his embaſſadors to *Athens* to treat of peace, and he is ſaid to have engaged the prieſteſs at *Delphi* to propheſy nothing but deſtruction to thoſe who ſhould make war againſt him. *Demoſthenes* defeated both deſigns, he engaged the *Athenians* not to liſten in any degree to his propoſitions, and encouraged them alſo to pay no regard to the oracle, by telling them that *Pythia* philippized. An army was immediately raiſed, which
b marched with incredible diligence to *Eleuſis*, where they were joined by the *Thebans*, who ſhewed a laudable zeal for the liberty of *Greece*. The confederates made the greateſt appearance that had ever been ſeen in *Greece*, and the troops were without doubt exceedingly good, but, unfortunately, generals were wanting. *Chares*, that ſcandal to his country, and *Lyſicles*, a man without conduct, commanded the *Athenians*; the *Thebans* were without any general of note; however, they prepared for a battle, which, all circumſtances conſidered, could not but be deciſive [o].

Philip, when he found his arts defeated, and that all his negotiations could not hinder this extraordinary junction, reſolved as his laſt reſource to have recourſe to an engagement. Thus determined, he advanced to *Cheronæa*, in the neighbourhood
c of which city the confederates were encamped. The next day by that time the ſun was up both armies were in the field. The king gave the command of his left wing to his ſon *Alexander*, then about nineteen years of age; but he placed about him his moſt experienced generals to prevent any accident his extraordinary courage unſuſtained by experience might draw on him. The right he commanded in perſon. On the other ſide the *Athenians* were on the left, the *Thebans* on the right. *Alexander* began the charge, and his troops ſeconded his ardor with an alacrity conformable to his wiſhes. The ſacred band of the *Thebans* however made a ſteady and gallant reſiſtance [p]. The *Athenians* in the mean time had the better on the left, and having puſhed the enemy from their ground, *Lyſicles* their general had the imprudence to
d cry aloud, *Come on, my fellow ſoldiers, let us drive theſe cowards to* Macedon. On which the *Athenians* loſing all order, ruſhed on to the purſuit. *Philip* who ſaw and heard this from the ſide of a hill, whereon his phalanx remained in excellent order, ſaid coldly to thoſe who were near him, *Theſe* Athenians *don't know how to conquer* [q]. Then bearing down upon them all in confuſion as they were, he obtained an eaſy, though a very bloody victory; a thouſand *Athenians* being ſlain on the ſpot. At the ſame time, and with a like effuſion of blood, *Alexander* triumphed over the *Thebans*: Thus the confederates were totally overthrown, and the authority of *Philip* effectually eſtabliſhed. *Demoſthenes*, who had been ſo inſtrumental in bringing the *Athenians* and *Thebans* into the field, was there in perſon; but it ſeems he wanted
e military courage, for in the beginning of the rout he threw away his ſhield, and betook himſelf to flight. We are farther told, that a ſtake catching hold of his robe as he fled, he not doubting but it was an enemy, cried out, *Alas! ſpare my life* [r]. On his return to *Athens*, he was well received, though *Lyſicles* was put to death. As to *Philip*, in the firſt tranſport of his joy, he behaved very ridiculouſly; he cauſed the decree of *Demoſthenes* to be ſung in his preſence, ſpoke contemptibly of the powers of *Greece*, and inſulted his priſoners, till *Demades* the *Athenian* brought him to his ſenſes, by telling him, *Heaven, O king, hath aſſigned thee the part of* Agamemnon, *and thou wilt needs play that of* Therſites [s] (I). It was the peculiar felicity of

And are defeated at Cheronæa.

[o] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Theopomp. apud Plut. in Demoſthen. Demosthen. ubi ſupra. [p] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Oros. lib. iii. [q] Polyæn. Stratagem. lib. iv. Arrian. lib. vii. [r] Plutarch. in vit. dec. Orat. [s] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra.

(I) We need not wonder at *Philip*'s intemperate joy on account of his victory. Heroes and kings are the greateſt of men, but they are ſtill men. *Demoſthenes*, who alone preſerved his courage, when *Thebes* and *Athens* were ſtruck with terror, loſt it when he came to engage thoſe *Macedonians*, againſt whom he made it the buſineſs of his life to excite enemies, and raiſe armies. *Philip*, ſo wiſe in his deſigns, ſo cool in the execution of them, could not behold this ſucceſs without tranſports. When the news of *Philip*'s death reached *Athens*, *Demoſthenes* put on a garland, and appeared publicly in pomp, though his daughter was but juſt dead. He did that for the death of *Philip*, which *Philip* had done for the political death of *Athens*; both were mad from the ſame motive, and both, if either, were excuſable alike (35). It is indeed alledged in favour of *Philip*, that his ſenſes were overcome with wine; but methinks

(25) *Plutarch. in vit. Demoſthen. Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra*

of this prince, that he would hear advice, and receive thoſe things kindly which to monarchs of a weaker brain would have ſounded like treaſon. He inſtantly ordered *Demades* to be releaſed, eſteemed him as his friend, and loaded him with benefits ever after. His converſation, *Diodorus* tells us, gave *Philip* ſo high a reliſh of the *Athenian* civility, that he diſmiſſed all his priſoners. But when they afterwards demanded their baggage, though he granted their requeſt, he could not help ſaying, *Theſe men, I believe, do not think we fought in earneſt* [t]. The reflection of *Polybius* on this act of clemency ought ever to accompany its recital, ſince it is no leſs honourable to its author, than the act itſelf was to *Philip*. *By this*, ſays that polite *Grecian*, *he gained a ſecond victory more glorious than his former*; *for*, *whereas at* Cheronæa *he triumphed only over ſuch* Athenians *as oppoſed him, he now vanquiſhed the whole city* [u]. He carried his moderation ſtill farther; for he concluded a peace with *Athens* on their own terms, and having a good gariſon in *Thebes* did the reſt of the *Bœotians* no manner of hurt.

The conſequences of this victory.

Thus *Philip* of *Macedon* with an army of thirty thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe, effected what *Xerxes* with his millions attempted in vain. He attained by one victory the ſovereignty of *Greece*, though it coſt the *Greeks* many to eſtabliſh its liberty. He did not indeed diſturb his countrymen with the rattling of their chains; but when there was a neceſſity, he did not ſpare to ſhew them that he was, and would be their maſter. The *Athenians* in the mean time acted as they were wont, that is, violently, and beyond all bounds of reaſon. They cried up the virtue of *Demoſthenes* to the ſtars, they inveighed loudly againſt ſuch as had any ſhare in betraying *Greece*, they interred thoſe who were ſlain at *Cheronæa* at the public expence. *Demoſthenes* publiſhed their virtues in a funeral oration, and, if we may be allowed to expreſs our ſentiments in a metaphor, they ſhewed by the ſolemnity of its interment what a high value they ſet upon their liberty [w]. The reſt of the *Greeks* did not either ſo readily perceive, or did not think it prudent ſo publicly to lament the change which this expedition had made in their affairs; inſtead of deploring their ſervitude, they rejoiced in the lenity of their ſovereign, and ſeemed rather to regard the greatneſs of *Philip* as due to his merit, than acquired by his arts and arms.

Philip *choſen generaliſſimo of the* Greeks *againſt the* Perſians.

We are now to behold the king of *Macedon* in a new light; hitherto we have ſeen him ſtruggling with his neighbours, courting the *Athenians*, and practiſing as the times required with the other ſtates of *Greece*. He was now lord of all, and the uſe he made of his power was to convoke a general aſſembly of the *Greeks*, wherein he was recognized generaliſſimo, and with full power appointed their leader againſt the *Perſians*. Having by virtue of his authority ſettled a general peace amongſt them, and appointed the quota which each of the ſtates ſhould furniſh for the war, he diſmiſſed them, and returning into *Macedon*, began to make great preparations for this new expedition; an expedition which, beſide the ancient hatred of the *Greeks* toward the barbarians, occaſioned by the injuries received from them, he coloured with a new pretence relating particularly to himſelf, *viz.* the aſſiſtance given by the *Perſian* to the cities of *Perinthus* and *Byzantium* [x].

The motives which encouraged Philip *to invade* Aſia.

From the very time that *Xerxes* invaded *Greece*, its inhabitants had projected a return of his viſit, not in a piratical way, by making deſcents on his ſea-coaſts, for that they did immediately after they had driven him back into *Aſia* [y]; but with a view of making an abſolute conqueſt of his dominions, or at leaſt ſo much of

[t] Plut. in Apophtheg. Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. [u] Polyb. lib. v. [w] Plutarch. in Demoſthen. Demosthen. pro Ctesiph. [x] Alexand. ad Dar. ap. Arrian. lib. ii. c. 14. [y] Plut. in vit. Ariſtid. Corn. Nepos, in vit. Pauſan. Thucyd. lib. i. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xi.

thinks the joy of his victory might intoxicate him ſufficiently. He had good ſenſe enough to foreſee that he ſhould fight no more battles againſt *Greeks*; that this victory would eſtabliſh the pre-eminence of *Macedon*, and leave him at liberty to purſue thoſe vaſt deſigns he had formed. But if all that has been ſaid will not wipe off the ſtain of his intemperance on this occaſion, his future conduct ought to obliterate it; he buried the *Athenians* who fell in the battle honourably, and on all occaſions afterwards acknowledged them to be the braveſt and politeſt people in *Greece*. Nay, he was wont to do juſtice to the merit of *Demoſthenes*, at whom when ſome of his courtiers were railing, *Let the man ſpeak freely*, ſaid Philip, *ſince he is not in our pay, though we would gladly give him a larger appointment than to any of our houſhold* (36). At another time, ſpeaking of the different kinds of eloquence, *Iſocrates*, ſaid he, *fences with a foil, but* Demoſthenes *with a ſword* (37). 'Tis plain, that if *Philip* had vices and follies, he had alſo many good qualities, and much good ſenſe.

(36) *Lucian. in laud. Demoſthen.* (37) *Dionyſ. Halicarn. in Iſæ. Liban. in Demoſthen.*

them

a them as might ſuit them beſt; of this we have ſeen already, that one of the *Spartan* kings had ſome thoughts, and actually gave ear to a plan laid before him for that purpoſe [a]. One of his ſucceſſors, *Ageſilaus* carried it ſtill farther, and with an inconſiderable army gave law to the lieutenants of the great king. It is true, *Ageſilaus* did not openly profeſs a deſign of conquering the whole empire, but that he really intended no leſs may be gathered from his affecting to ſacrifice in the ſame manner with *Agamemnon*, when he went upon his expedition, and his reply to one who called the *Perſian* emperor, as the *Greeks* were wont, *the great king*. *In what*, ſaid Ageſilaus, *is he greater than I, if he be not braver or better*. His ſacrificing ſhewed, that he meant to emulate *Agamemnon*, who did not harraſs but ſubvert *Troy*, and his apophthegm, that he deſired to make himſelf equal to him who was called *the great*
b *king* [b]. *Jaſon* of *Theſſaly* is thought to have been meditating the ſame thing when his thread of life was abruptly cut off through a domeſtic conſpiracy [c]. *Philip* ſeemed to have entered upon this momentous conqueſt with more probable and auſpicious hopes; he was by common conſent elected general of *Greece*, and he had ſo effectually humbled the *Grecians*, that he had reaſon to expect they would obey him; he had beſides a numerous, well-diſciplined, and victorious army, and, which might be juſtly reckoned his peculiar felicity, able and faithful miniſters, brave and experienced officers: At the head of the former ſtood *Antipater*, whoſe character might have taken up a page, if his maſter had not ſummed it up in a line; having riſen later than uſual one morning, he ſaid, rubbing his eyes at his levee, *I have ſlept*
c *ſoundly to day, for I knew* Antipater *was waking* [d]. This was an eulogium worthy of the prince, and of his miniſter; yet *Alexander* deſcribed him better, when it was obſerved to him, that all his lieutenants except *Antipater* wore purple; true, ſaid he, *but* Antipater *is all purple within* [e]. In ſhort, he was a man of prodigious abilities, but made no diſplay of them. And, as his maſter rightly depicted him, was alike aſpiring in his thoughts, and humble in his manners. *Parmenio* was of another caſt, *Philip*, the beſt judge in *Greece*, had pronounced him *the only general he ever met with* [f]. *Parmenio* returned his maſter's compliment upon another occaſion in a manner which ſhewed the penetration of a ſtateſman, and the frankneſs of a ſoldier. The embaſſadors of the *Grecian* ſtates expreſſed ſome uneaſineſs, that *Philip*
d came not out earlier in the morning. *Be quiet, gentlemen*, ſaid Parmenio, *for while you ſlept he was waking*. *Antipater* would have thought this, but only *Parmenio* would have ſaid it, who as he conceived juſtly is remarkably famous for ſpeaking freely, which under *Philip* procured him the higheſt honours, under *Alexander* a violent death; ſuch was the ſtate of things in *Greece*, and in the court of *Philip*, when he projected the conqueſt of *Aſia* [g] (K).

[a] Herodot. lib. vi. [b] Plutarch. in vit. Ageſil. & in Apophtheg. [b] Diodor. Sicul. lib. xv. [c] Plutarch. Apophthegm. [d] Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvii. [e] Plutarch. Apophthegm. [f] Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvi.

(K) We have in the text attempted to make ſome diſcovery of thoſe motives which induced *Philip* to undertake the conqueſt of the *Perſian* empire. It may not however be amiſs to put the reader in mind, that the *Perſians* by their fooliſh attempt to conquer *Greece* had firſt inſpired the *Greeks* with a thirſt of conquering them, and by their ſubſequent proceedings cheriſhed and kept up that deſire either thro' want of foreſight, or from a fatal neceſſity. We do not mean by this any inevitable deſtiny, but ſuch a neceſſity as is the conſtant attendant on imprudence and luxury. When governors either through want of thought, or, which is often the caſe, from a wrong turn of thought, ſuffer thoſe of whom they have the care, to ſink into all the exceſſes of debauchery, they muſt not expect from theſe weak and effeminate men either generous thoughts, or gallant actions. When a people become ſlaves to their luſts, they are in the faireſt train imaginable of becoming ſlaves to their neighbours. Politicians may for a time indeed ward off the blow; but how? Why, by making uſe of mercenary troops. Thus the cowardly ſpendthrift pays a bully to fight his quarrels, and when he pays him no longer, is beaten by him himſelf. This was the fate of the *Perſians*; they hired *Greek* troops, maintained them in the exerciſe of their diſcipline, made them perfectly acquainted with their country and their manners, ſuffered them to ſee and to conſider thoſe errors in their government, which made it in ſpight of its grandeur appear contemptible; and then theſe very *Greeks* on their return home were continually prompting their countrymen to go and pull down that empire whoſe weight ſcarce permitted it to ſtand. If the *Perſian* emperors had always encouraged feuds in *Greece*, the *Greeks* could never have turned their arms upon them; for we ſee, that till one ſtate ſubdued the reſt, an expedition into *Aſia* might be talked of, but could not be executed. Inſtead of this, the neceſſity I before-mentioned compelled the *Perſian* to compoſe the quarrels of the *Grecians*, that they might furniſh him with troops. Peace enervated the *Greeks*, the facility of recruiting their mercenaries made the *Perſians* neglect all martial diſcipline. In the mean time *Philip*, bleſſed with an excellent education, exerciſed with early troubles, endued with invincible fortitude, and full of as reſtleſs ambition, raiſed the nation he governed from an indigent and dependent ſtate to be firſt the terror of its neighbours, then the miſtreſs of *Greece*, laſt

Diſſenſions in Philip's family. Year after the flood 2639. Year before Chriſt 360.

How great ſoever he appeared there, how happy ſoever he might be here; in his family, he was not only uneaſy, but miſerable. His wife *Olympias* was the daughter of *Neoptolemus*, brother of *Arymbas*, king of *Epirus*, whom *Philip* raiſed to a participation in the kingdom; his ſon *Alexander* by the favour of the ſame monarch was raiſed to the ſole poſſeſſion of the throne to the prejudice of *Eacidas* the ſon of *Arymbas*; all which teſtifies how great a ſhare *Olympias* once had in the affection of her husband. She was a woman of a high ſpirit, great abilities, a fine addreſs, much cunning, and has been terribly wronged, if ſhe had not more intrigues than that with *Jupiter*, to which *Alexander* ſought to aſcribe his birth [g]. The reader muſt remember, that in *Philip*'s letter to the *Athenians*, he ſpeaks with great heat of their ſeizing his herald, taking from him his letters, and reading them in a public aſſembly, in which if they ſhewed their diſreſpect to *Philip*, they ſhewed at the ſame time a high regard to *Olympias*, to whom they ſent a packet of letters taken at the ſame time without preſuming to open them [h]. How this lady embroiled herſelf with her husband might be ſomewhat myſterious even in thoſe days; at preſent it is impoſſible to give a very diſtinct account of it. Whatever it was, the king was ſo extremely offended with her, that he proceeded to a repudiation, and married *Cleopatra* the niece of *Attalus* [i]. This conduct of his, added to ſome other ſlights, either real or ſo conceived, inſpired *Alexander* with a warm diſlike of his father; and as young princes have ſeldom prudence enough to conceal their ſentiments, he gave evident tokens of it, inſomuch that the whole court knew and obſerved it. An accident happened which put all things into a flame. At the nuptial feaſt, *Attalus* the young queen's uncle was ſo unpolite as to tell the king in the hearing of his ſon, that his *Macedonians* hoped he would give them now a lawful heir to the throne. *Alexander* in the heat of his reſentment cried out, *What then, raſcal, do you take me for a baſtard?* And while he ſpoke, threw a flaggon at his head. *Attalus* returned the compliment in the ſame way, and the king, extremely provoked at this diſturbance, drew his ſword, and forgetting that he was a cripple, haſtily made towards his ſon; but in his paſſage fell down, which gave the courtiers time to get between them. *Alexander* riſing up, and forgetting that he to whom he ſpoke was both his father and his prince, had the aſſurance to ſay in quitting the room, *The* Macedonians *are likely to conquer* Aſia *when led out of* Europe *by a prince who cannot go from one table to another without hazarding his neck.* He rightly conjectured, that it would not, after this, be proper for him to remain in *Macedon*, where his father *Philip* was both revered and beloved; he therefore retired with his mother into *Epirus* [k] (L).

[g] Justin. l. viii. c. 6. [h] Plut. in vit. Demet. [i] Diodor. Sicul. l. xvi. Arrian. in præfat. expedit. Alex. [k] Plut. in vit. Alex. Arrian. l. iii. c. 6.

laſt of all a match for *Perſia*. On this foundation ſtands the fame of *Philip*; theſe were the cauſes of his being in a condition to paſs into *Aſia*; and theſe the ſources of that weakneſs and inability to reſiſt, which afterwards appeared in the *Perſian* adminiſtration (37).

(L) *Philip*'s greateſt fault was his proneneſs to feaſting and flattery. If we may believe a certain author, he made one of his flatterers, whoſe name was *Thraſideus*, king in *Theſſaly*, merely becauſe he had a happy way of making his compliments. *Neoptolemus*, the *Athenian* poet, was at once his favourite and the chief manager of his affairs in that city. At this time of day a poet would be thought a very indifferent agent in politics; but it was quite otherwiſe at *Athens*. That writer knew how to manage the people ſo well, that he gave umbrage to *Demoſthenes*, who failed not to raiſe a ſpirit of perſecution againſt him, which conſtrained the poet to retire to *Macedon*, where he was extremely well received by *Philip*, and became the darling of the whole court (38). When his affairs required it, the king was patient, abſtemious, and attentive to every thing; when they allowed of relaxation, he made great entertainments, drank hard, and talked very freely with his friends. It would have been well if nothing worſe than freedom had mingled in his feaſts; but, it is ſaid, they were polluted with every kind of vice, and all the various debaucheries, which the moſt ſenſual wits could deviſe (39); yet it muſt be allowed, that, in his graver moments, *Philip* ſaw the folly of this, and reflected ſeverely enough on the inequality of his own conduct. He would often ſay, *That he was obliged to Meſſieurs the ſpeech-makers of* Athens *for pointing out his faults, and thereby giving him an opportunity to amend them* (40). Indeed he always heard reproofs, not only with patience, but with pleaſure, and ſhewed, upon every occaſion, a ſtrong inclination to reward ſuch as put him upon doing right. Once at a public ſale of captives, a poor man approaching the tribunal, whiſpered in his ear, *Sir, it would be more decent if you let your robe fall lower. Here*, cried *Philip*, *ſet me this man at liberty; I did not know he was my friend* (41). The regard we owe to truth obliges us to record theſe things.

(37) *Plut. in vit. Alex. Arrian. in expedit. Alex. Remarques de M. Tourreil ſur les Phillippiques.* (38) *Orat. pro pac. Joſeph. Antiq. l.* xi. *c.* 7. (39) *Theopomp. ap. Athen. Deipnoſ. l.* vi. (40) *Plut. in Apophthegm.* (41) *Plut. ubi ſupra.*

a A little after theſe diſturbances at court, *Damaratus* the *Corinthian*, who had been *Philip*'s hoſt, and who lived with him, not only in the ſtricteſt friendſhip, but with the greateſt familiarity, came to make him a viſit. When the firſt compliments were over, *Philip* asked him, If all things were quiet in *Greece*? *You have reaſon, Sir*, returned he, *to trouble yourſelf about the peace of* Greece; *you who have filled your own family with noiſe and diſſention* [l]. The king, who, tho' he liked flattery, loved truth, received this reproof as kindly as it was meant, immediately made up the breach between himſelf and his ſon, and thereby recalled *Alexander* to court. It is not clear whether the king of *Epirus* engaged heartily in his ſiſter's quarrel or not. In all probability he temporized with *Philip*, who in a ſhort time after gave him his daughter *Cleopatra* in marriage, with an intent, it is likely, to preſerve all things b in quiet during his abſence. It is time now to return to public affairs. *Philip recals his ſon.*

As *Philip* piqued himſelf on bearing the character of a religious prince, he ſent deputies to conſult the oracle at *Delphi* as to the ſucceſs of the *Perſian* war. *Pithia* returned for anſwer a ſingle line in verſe, in *Engliſh* thus; *Prepares for the war in* Perſia.

The ox's deſtin'd head now wreaths inthral,
To ſlaughter doom'd, and quickly ſhall he fall.

The king, when he received this reſponſe, immediately conjectured, that it portended his leading the *Perſian* king as a victim to be offered to the *Grecian* gods [m]. But c when the event ſhewed that he was miſtaken, others held that to be clearly pointed out, which had been utterly unſuſpected before (M). *Attalus* and *Parmenio*, who with an excellent corps of troops were detached to open the war, had orders given them to ſet the *Grecian* cities at liberty; for how much ſoever *Philip* might be eſteemed a tyrant at *Athens*, he affected to paſs for a lover of liberty at home, requiring that as a juſt reſpect from others, which the *Athenians* called a ſlaviſh ſubmiſſion. Without queſtion the *Greek* cities, whoſe inhabitants had ſo readily libelled him when *Phocion* forced him to raiſe the ſieges of *Perinthus* and *Byzantium*, were now as ready to load him with panygerics ſince they were intirely at his mercy, the *Athenians* having it neither in their power nor their will to afford them now any d kind of aſſiſtance; on the contrary, *Athens* herſelf at this time ſought to ſooth the victor, and began, with the reſt of *Greece*, to *philippize*, as *Demoſthenes* emphatically called it. Indeed *Philip* had been very kind to them, giving up the places they ſo much deſired in *Eubœa*, and removing, as far as was conſiſtent with his own ſafety, whatever might be grievous to them, or afford them apprehenſions. They ſeemed alſo to be highly pleaſed with the expedition he was about to take, and ſent their deputies to compliment him upon that occaſion. The reſt of the *Grecian* ſtates did the ſame thing; ſo that *Philip* had now need of a ſecond monitor. He had already appointed one of his pages to ſalute him every morning with this ſober compliment, *Philip, remember thou art a mortal*; a caution, which, as we ſhall ſee, he forgot long

[l] Plut. ubi ſupra. [m] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra.

(M) There is no ſubject that hath been oftner treated, and remains yet leſs clear, than this of oracles and their reſponſes. Some, ſtruck with particular inſtances of the correſpondence between their anſwers and the events which followed them, have been led to confeſs, that there were in them undeniable marks of ſupernatural aſſiſtance (42). Others, fixing their eyes on the many inſtances of doubtful, and even falſe, reſponſes which are recorded in hiſtory, have attributed the whole to prieſtcraft, and have excluded the devil's having any further ſhare in the anſwers of the oracles, than he may claim as the patron of fraud, and the father of lies (43). We do not pretend to unravel in a note, a knot twiſted by ſo many volumes; on the contrary, we ſhall confine ourſelves to the reſponſe mentioned in the text, and ſhall propoſe to the learned ſome difficulties which have occurred to us, and which, we cannot think, can be reſolved by either of theſe ſyſtems. *Philip* had been, in a particular manner, the protector of the temple at *Delphi*; if therefore any dæmon delighted in the worſhip offered to him there, why did he not give this royal friend of his a fairer caution? Or, if the oracle was a mere engine of prieſtcraft, and, as *Demoſthenes* alledged, had by this time learned to *philippiſe*, how came he to give ſuch a reſponſe, as particularly enough pointed out, not only *Philip*'s ſudden death, but the very manner of it? It ſhould ſeem, that a verſe might eaſily have been contrived to have ſpoke the future ſucceſs of *Philip*, without wearing that cloudy aſpect, which was evident in the verſe delivered We ſhall enter no farther into this matter here; but when we come to ſpeak expreſly of the methods in uſe among the *Greeks* for penetrating into the myſteries of providence, we ſhall ſhew, that *Chance* was chiefly relied on in theſe caſes, and that the clearneſs in ſome inſtances, the doubtfulneſs in others, and the faſhood in many, reſulted intirely from hence, and from nothing elſe.

(42) *Delrio, More, Beauchamp, &c.* (43) *Van Dale, Fontenelle, &c.*

before

before night, being in himſelf much addicted to pleaſure, tho', when it was neceſ- a
ſary, no one was more indefatigable in buſineſs. Amongſt the reſt of his cares, that of making his family eaſy gave him a good deal of concern. He had not only a young wife, whom he had lately married, but ſeveral concubines alſo, by whom he had children. *Alexander* was very jealous of theſe, and *Philip* no leſs uneaſy at his jealouſy; he ſought however to ſooth him; and when the prince would ſometimes break out into harſh expreſſions, *Philip* would ſay, *Be patient, my ſon, and let my having other children engage you to act in ſuch a manner, as that the preference I give you may appear the effect of your own merit rather than of my choice* (N). To quiet alſo the relations and friends of *Olympias*, the king of *Macedon* thought it neceſſary to celebrate, in a public and ſplendid manner, the marriage between her brother *Alex-* b
ander and his daughter *Cleopatra*. He accordingly appointed *Ægæ* for the place wherein this ſolemnity ſhould be performed, and alſo ſignified, that there, for the laſt time, he would regale the *Greek* embaſſadors, before he marched into *Aſia*. The concourſe on this occaſion was prodigious, not only the *Macedonians*, but all the *Grecian* ſtates, ſtriving to outvie each other in expreſſions of zeal and friendſhip towards *Philip*, and his government. Amongſt the reſt the *Athenians*, always ingenious in flattery, ſent him a gold crown, which, when preſented by their miniſter, he alſo declared, that if any plotter of treaſon againſt *Philip*, ſhould, for the future, endeavour to ſhelter himſelf in *Athens*, he ſhould immediately be delivered up. The king was mightily pleaſed with this, and no leſs delighted with a drammatic enter- c
tainment compoſed by *Neoptolemus* the *Athenian*, a famous tragic poet, and highly in *Philip*'s favour. The title of this piece was *Cinyras*; and it was intended to repreſent the king as having already triumphed over the *Perſian*, and made himſelf lord of *Aſia*. The following lines, repreſenting the pride of thoſe ancient enemies of *Greece*, particularly affected *Philip*, inſomuch that he cauſed them to be more than once repeated.

Your tow'ring hopes above heaven's concave ſtray,
O'er all the globe of earth you ſeek to ſway;
Palace to palace join, and madly vain, d
Think that no bounds ſhould life or lands reſtrain.
Alas! that lot, which ye wou'd far remove,
With haſty ſtep, your conſtancy ſhall prove.
Secure in thought, a ſtroke doth now impend,
Which to extended views ſhall give an end;
Sudden and ſure it falls, nor ſhall your pow'r defend *.

The correſpondence between the reſponſe of the oracle and this prediction of the poet, gave *Philip* an unuſual confidence, and ſpread an air of joy and ſatisfaction

* DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra.

(N) It may be juſtly ſaid, that *Philip* was a better father than *Alexander* proved a ſon. As ſoon as the young man was capable of inſtruction in the ſciences, *Philip* put him under the care of *Ariſtotle*, from whom, ſuch was that monarch's modeſty, he was contented to receive leſſons in government himſelf. The king formed the deſign of educating his ſon thus on his very birth. Here is his letter to *Ariſtotle* on the occaſion, alike conciſe and inimitable; "You are to know I have a ſon. I thank "the gods for it; not ſo much for that they have "given me one, as that he is born co-temporary "with *Ariſtotle*. I promiſe myſelf, from your "care, he will become worthy of ſucceeding us, "and of ruling *Macedon* (44)." We have given ſome inſtances of his care of that young prince's perſon, of his concern for his reputation at the battle of *Cheronæa*, and of his deſire to infuſe into him noble and heroic principles. To theſe let us add, that tho' *Philip*, as a politician, had a great opinion of the force of gold, and was wont to ſay, that no city was impregnable, through the gates of which an aſs laden with that metal could paſs, tho' he was addicted to the retaing penſioners in every ſtate, and alſo laviſh of his money to domeſtic flatterers, ye he checked this humour as ſoon as he perceived it in his ſon. He wrote him a letter on the ſubject, full of excellent philoſophy: "How "came you, young man, ſaid he, to reaſon ſo "wretchedly with yourſelf, as to fancy thoſe will "ſerve you faithfully, whom daily you corrupt "with money? Do you this that the *Macedonians* "may hereafter take you not for their king, but "for their ſteward or pay-maſter? If you diſcharge "theſe offices well, you muſt make but a pitiful "prince. They are ſpoiled who take gifts, by be-"ing taught thereby a habit of taking (45)." Thus, as a father, he endeavoured to eradicate thoſe vices, which he practiſed and boaſted of as a prince. Perhaps he thought them lawful, or at leaſt more excuſeable, when done from political motives, than when ſpringing from an idle inclination of waſting and throwing away.

(44) *Aul. Gel. l.* ix. *c.* 3.

(45) *Cicero de Offic. l.* ii.

through

a through the greateſt part of his court. Some, it is ſaid, there were, who ſuffered themſelves to doubt of theſe omens; they thought the anſwer of the oracle equivocal; they held the compliment of the *Athenian* embaſſador portentive of ſome ſecret conſpiracy; they conceived thoſe lines, which ſo much moved the king, deſcriptive not ſo much of the *Perſian* ſtate as of his own. Whether theſe conjectures were made before the king's death is a little uncertain; if they were, certain it is that they were well grounded; for a plot there was againſt the king's life, a plot as dark in its circumſtances as in its nature. We are indebted to *Diodorus* for the fulleſt account of it; and from him therefore we ſhall take it (O).

Pauſanias *conſpires againſt him.*

THERE were in the court of *Macedon* two young men of quality of the ſame name, b *viz. Pauſanias.* One of theſe was in great favour with the king, who treated him with ſuch indulgence and familiarity, that it began to be ſuſpected the king's inclination for him tranſgreſſed both the bounds of reaſon and of nature. This had reached the ear of the other *Pauſanias*, who having frequent quarrels with the favourite, was wont, by way of reproach, to call him *either ſex.* The lad, ſtung with this terrible outrage, addreſſed himſelf to *Attalus* one of the king's friends, and whoſe niece, *Cleopatra*, he afterwards married, ſhewing him how he had been inſulted, and wiſhing for ſome opportunity to wipe off the ſtain. Some time after this, in a general engagement againſt the *Illyrians*, this *Pauſanias* fighting near the king, and perceiving that the enemy directed againſt him a ſhower of arrows, threw himſelf c before his maſter, and received them into his own body, falling immediately afterwards dead upon the ſpot. The extraordinary courage of the youth, his fidelity, and the manner of his death, made him much ſpoken of. *Attalus* thought fit to inform the king of the cauſe from whence the young man grew deſperate; he alſo took it into his head to revenge him upon the other *Pauſanias*; which he did in a manner alike cruel and deteſtable. He invited him to an entertainment, and having taken care to drink him down, he expoſed him, when void of ſenſe, to the luſt of his grooms, who abuſed him according to their beaſtly appetites. *Pauſanias*, who was an *Oreſtian* by birth, and had all the haughtineſs natural to his countrymen, applied himſelf frequently to the king, paſſionately demanding juſtice d againſt *Attalus.* That monarch, always partial to his friends, and eſpecially to the uncle of his young wife, put him off with good words; and, in order to make him forget his diſgrace, made him captain of his guards. Herein he greatly miſtook the temper of *Pauſanias*, who was not to be wrought upon by ſuch methods. Inſtead of growing eaſier he became more impatient, and, from hating *Attalus*, began more grievouſly to hate the king. It happened, while he was in this ſullen diſpoſition, that converſing one day with *Hermocrates* the ſophiſt, he put to him this queſtion, *What muſt he do who would be famous? He muſt*, replied *Hermocrates*, *kill him who has done the greateſt things; for when the fame of him whom he ſlew ſhall make him often remembred, that remembrance will of courſe lead to the mention of him* e *who ſlew him.* *Pauſanias*, after meditating ſome time longer on his own wrongs, and the ſophiſt's advice, came at laſt to a reſolution of killing the king, in hopes thereby of reſtoring that reputation which *Attalus* had taken away from him; a ſtrange reſolution this! and a ſtrong teſtimony of the weakneſs of human reaſon both in the

(O) We have different accounts of the manner in which *Pauſanias* was injured. Some ſay, that *Attalus* himſelf abuſed him at a feaſt, and afterwards proſtituted him to the reſt of the gueſts (46). However it was, *Attalus* without queſtion was much to blame, and ſo alſo was *Philip*, in not doing juſtice upon the complaint of *Pauſanias.* On another occaſion he ſhewed himſelf remiſs in the ſame way, and was recalled to his duty by the quick anſwer of a poor woman. She had offered him a petition ſeveral times, and as often had been told, that he had not leiſure to hear her. At laſt, ſtung with this ill uſage, ſhe could not forbear replying, *If you have not leiſure to do juſtice, be no longer a king.* The propriety of this reproof was at that time ſo viſible to *Philip*, that he immediately heard her complaint, and redreſſed it. Happy had it been for this monarch, if the good woman's logic had made a deeper impreſſion on his heart. Certain it is that a politician could not have made a nicer diſtinction than this, *that a denial of juſtice is an abdication of magiſtracy* (46). At other times *Philip* was more ſtrict, and would not ſacrifice his duty to his paſſions. His courtiers once preſſed him vehemently to interpoſe in favour of a man who was on the point of being condemned; and they gave this reaſon for it, *becauſe, if judgment went againſt him, all the world would decry him. Very well*, ſaid *Philip*, *I had rather the world ſhould decry him than me* (47). *Attalus*, it ſeems had a better intereſt than this man; but his intereſt coſt *Philip* dear. His death however ought to be a leſſon to princes, and teach them, that injuſtice begets injuſtice; which therefore they ſhould be afraid to commit, becauſe it is the only means by which themſelves can ſuffer.

(46) *Plut. in Apophthegm.* (47) *Plut. ubi ſupra.*

ſage and in his diſciple! A bad reſolution is always eaſier executed than amended. a
Pauſanias having directed horſes to be placed for him at the gates of the city, contrived within himſelf how to diſpatch *Philip*, and afterwards how to preſerve himſelf. Theſe things buſied his mind, while the king was taken up with the ſolemnities of which we have before given an account. We come now to the accompliſhment of *Pauſanias*'s plot, and the laſt ſcene of the king's life [n].

Philip murdered. Year after the flood 2633. Year before Chriſt 366.

THE next day after the open audience of the embaſſadors of *Greece*, *Philip* went in ſtate to the theatre, where certain ſhews were to be exhibited in honour of his daughter's marriage. All the ſeats were early taken up, and the ſhews began with a ſplendid proceſſion, wherein the images of the twelve ſuperior deities of *Greece* were carried, as alſo the image of *Philip*, habited in like manner, as if he now made up the thirteenth. At this the people, who, as their humour takes them, readily make b
a man either a *god* or a *devil*, ſhouted aloud. Then came *Philip* alone, in a white robe, crowned, his guards at a conſiderable diſtance, that the *Greeks* might ſee he placed his ſafety not in them, but in the loyalty of the people. *Pauſanias* had fixed himſelf by the door of the theatre, and obſerving that all things fell out as he had foreſeen they would, took his opportunity, when the king drew near him, to draw his ſword from under his garment, and plunging it into his left-ſide, laid him dead at his feet. He then fled as faſt as his feet could carry him to the place where his horſes were, and had eſcaped, if the twig of a vine had not catched his ſhoe, and thrown him down. This gave *Attalus*, *Perdiccas* and *Leonatus*, who purſued him, time to come up with him. *Perdiccas* threw himſelf on the aſſaſſin firſt, c
and wounded him with his ſword, and then the reſt quickly put an end to his life [o]. Thus fell this great prince by the hand of his own ſubject, not without ſtrong ſuſpicions that *Olympias* and *Alexander* were not altogether ignorant of his death, being about forty-ſeven years of age, and having reigned twenty-four (P).

His character.

WE ought now, according to the eſtabliſhed method of hiſtorians, to enter into the character of this monarch, whoſe actions and whoſe death we have recorded; but

[n] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. [o] ARIST. Polit. l. v. c. 10. DIODOR. SICUL. l. xvi. ZONAR. Annal. Tom. x. JOSEPH. l. xi. c. 7. JUSTIN. l. ix. OROS. l. iii.

(P) The deaths of kings, eſpecially when violent, are uſually attended with myſterious circumſtances. From the account given above, it ſeems as if *Pauſanias* had, out of a mad pique, murdered his ſovereign, without conſulting any but his paſſions and the ſophiſt *Hermocrates* indirectly; yet, as we have hinted above, ſuſpicions have not been wanting, that tho' the arm of *Pauſanias* diſpatched *Philip*, yet it received its direction from other minds than his own. If this had been only a flying rumour, or the ſuggeſtion of a ſingle or ſuſpicious hiſtorian, it would not have deſerved a place here; but the fact is otherwiſe, and we ſhall ſhew from indubitable authorities, that *Philip* loſt his life by a conſpiracy, and not merely from the malice of *Pauſanias*. *Ptolemy* the ſon of *Lagus*, who was judged to be in truth the ſon of *Philip*, who was the boſom confident of *Alexander*, and afterwards king of *Egypt*, wrote the hiſtory of *Alexander*'s reign. From this hiſtory *Arrian* chiefly took his; and in his hiſtory we have a letter from *Alexander* to *Darius*, wherein the former ſetting forth the cauſes of the war, hath theſe remarkable words; *My father was ſlain by traitors, whom you had hired for that purpoſe, as you have publicly boaſted in your letters* (48). The fact is now clearly eſtabliſhed, that a conſpiracy there was, which wrought the death of *Philip*. We can alſo name ſome of the conſpirators, *viz.* the ſons of *Æropus* the *Lyncеſthean*, *Alexander*, *Amyntas*, *Heromenes*, and *Arrabæus* (49). Of theſe *Amyntas* fled to *Darius*, and actually fought againſt *Alexander* at the battle of *Iſſus*. As to the ſuſpicion which fell on *Alexander*, it ſeems to have taken riſe from two cauſes; the firſt, his embroiling himſelf with his father on account of his mother *Olympias*, which we have heretofore mentioned. This quarrel, it ſeems, went ſo far, that ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, who were deep in *Alexander*'s intereſt, were forced to quit *Macedon*, and durſt not return till after the death of *Philip*; particularly *Harpalus*, *Ptolemy* the ſon of *Lagus*, *Nearchus*, and *Erigyus* and *Laomedon* brothers (50); all of whom were in high favour with *Alexander* afterwards. The ſecond cauſe of ſuſpicion reſulted from *Alexander*'s behaviour after his father's death; for notwithſtanding *Amyntas* the ſon of *Æropus* fled into *Aſia*, and it was known that himſelf and his brethren were in the conſpiracy againſt the king, yet he not only pardoned *Alexander* one of the brothers, on the ſlight pretence that he was the firſt who ſaluted him king, but made him afterwards general of his horſe; which had well nigh proved fatal to him; for, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, *Alexander* conſpired againſt him too, and ſought to deprive him at once both of life and kingdom. There is one circumſtance more that deſerves mention on this ſubject; and it is this. *Alexander*, when he viſited the temple of *Jupiter Ammon*, inquired of the oracle, If all his father's murderers had been puniſhed (51)? To which the oracle anſwered in the affirmative; but as every body knows there was no credit given to what paſſed at this interview, this queſtion recoils upon him who put it; the rather becauſe if the oracle really made that anſwer, it was certainly falſe, *Alexander* the ſon of *Æropus*, who was a confederate in that buſineſs, being at that time alive. There is this however to be ſaid for the oracle, that *Alexander* alone conſulted it, and, in juſtification of his own character, might report what anſwers he pleaſed (52).

(48) *Arrian. l.* ii. *c.* xiv. (49) *Idem. l.* i. *c.* 25. (50) *Curt. l.* iv. (51) *Idem ibid.* (52) *Arrian. l.* iii. *c.* 3. *Curt. l.* iv. *Plut. in vit. Alexand.*

we

a we have already taken ſo many opportunities of illuſtrating the recital of events during his reign, by manifeſting their motives and conſequences, not from conjecture, or to gratify a partiality which too frequently grows on writers, in favour of thoſe of whom they write, but to render the narration clear; that on this account therefore we have the leſs to ſay here, and ſhall content ourſelves with a very ſhort portrait of this glorious prince, of whom it may be reckoned his peculiar felicity, that he has been always moſt admired by the moſt knowing. *Philip* of *Macedon* then was in the cabinet by very much the moſt ſagacious prince of his time. He had a perfect idea of the ſtate of his own country, the condition of *Greece*, and the weakneſs of the *Perſian* empire. He was ſecret without affecting cloſeneſs; eloquent, without either being ready to ſpeak, or vain of ſpeaking; obliging in his deport-
b ment as a king, and yet never departing from the king in any act of complaiſance. In the field he was in all things a complete general, an expert engineer, an indefatigable ſoldier. He ſtudied war as an art, and acted as coolly in an engagement, as if he had been only attending to a praxis on the leſſons he had given his ſoldiers. His diſcipline was ſtrict, but without ſeverity, which he effected by treating all who ſerved under him with familiarity; whereby he convinced them of the neceſſity of order, which he exacted not more for his own ſervice than for their ſafety. He was not ſo much the commander in the camp, as the father of thoſe who were in it, the meaneſt of whom he treated upon all occaſions with the endearing titles of com-
c rade and fellow-ſoldier. If a private man diſtinguiſhed himſelf, *Philip* perſonally praiſed and rewarded him; if he grew old, he provided for him; if he fell in the field, he was interred with honour, and his family taken care of. In private life there was no man more affable, chearful, or kinder to his friends than *Philip*. He was himſelf learned, and a great patron and lover of learning. He eſteemed wit in an enemy, and rewarded it amply in thoſe who profeſſed their reſpect for him. With theſe ſhining qualities he had ſome very dark ones. His ambition had no bounds; his treaties always gave way to his intereſt. He was the moſt finiſhed diſſembler of his time; he treated ſuch as oppoſed his deſigns with great ſeverity, when they fell into his hands. He was greatly addicted to women; and yet was ſuſpected of a luſt too foul to name. He would drink immoderately, took delight in flattery,
d was ſurrounded with pimps, panders, buffoons, pantomimes, and all that rabble of paraſitical vultures, which gnaw the bowels of the people through the folly of their prince. To ſum up all, he was a great man, but had great vices (Q).

And progeny. BEFORE we conclude this chapter, it will be neceſſary to ſpeak of the offſpring of *Philip*. By *Olympias* he had *Alexander* his ſucceſſor, and *Cleopatra*, who married

(Q) Throughout the whole of this life and reign of *Philip*, we have followed no direct guide, tho' ſuch an one we might have had in *Theopompus*, who wrote fifty books upon this ſubject, all of which have been ſwallowed up by time. Some fragments indeed there are remaining, preſerved by ſuch authors as were happy enough to have peruſed his accurate work. It may ſeem ſtrange, that *Plutarch*, who was ſo induſtrious in preſerving the ſtories, and vindicating the characters, of the *Grecian* heroes, ſhould altogether neglect *Philip*'s; but for this an excellent *French* critic has accounted thus: "I "doubt whether *Alexander* can be compared to "*Cæſar*, notwithſtanding that compariſon has been "generally received, or univerſally maintained. Nei-"ther the unanimous agreement of the ancients "and moderns upon this ſubject, nor my unwill-"ingneſs to be ſingular in an opinion, can hinder "me from thinking, that this compariſon is built "upon a wrong principle. I believe there will ap-"pear a greater reſemblance between *Philip* and *Cæ-"ſar*, at leaſt if we ground it upon their manners "and characters, rather than their ſucceſſes. *Philip* "perhaps had no place in the lives of *Plutarch*, "becauſe that hiſtorian, pre-poſſeſſed in favour of "his own nation, wanted the conqueror of *Aſia* to "oppoſe to him of *Rome*; and foreſaw very well, "that, in the eyes of the multitude, the moſt illu-"ſtrious of the *Romans*, maſter of an empire that "laboured under its own weight, would be too "great a match for a *Macedonian*, who acted in a "narrow ſphere, and whoſe conqueſts had no other "theatre than the adjacent parts of a petty king-"dom. At firſt glance indeed there ſeems a reſem-"blance in every thing between *Cæſar* and *Alexan-"der*; the extent of their conqueſts, their valour, "activity, vigilance, and that ſublimity of ſoul, "which made them ſenſible that they deſerved to "command the reſt of mankind, together with an "imperious paſſion that would let them endure no "ſuperior; but made them look on the world as "their inheritance. But when we come to ex-"amine them at leiſure, trace them from their "cradles, ſtudy their inclinations, obſerve their pro-"ceedings and their progreſſes, we ſhall find this "reſemblance to diminiſh or fall to nothing (52)." However, *Plutarch* in other treatiſes, *Diodorus Siculus*, in his moſt learned, comprehenſive and excellent work, *Pauſanias*, in his ſurvey of *Greece*, *Polyænus*, in his ſtratagems, with many other *Greek* writers, and not a few of the *Latins*, have recorded enough to ſhew, that *Philip* was indeed the greateſt man of his age. And with reſpect to his ſon, *Cicero* has given ſuch a judgment, as, we believe, none of the critics will reverſe. Philip *of* Macedon, ſays he, *in deeds and glory was ſurpaſſed by his ſon; but, in point of diſpoſition and humanity, he ſeems to me to have ſurpaſſed him* (53).

(52) *M. Tourreil's preface to the Philip.* (53) *Cic. de Offic. l.* i.

her

her uncle *Alexander* king of *Epirus*. By an *Illyrian* lady, whoſe name was *Audaca*, a
he had a daughter named *Cyna*, who was married to *Amyntas* the lawful heir of the *Macedonian* crown, being the ſon of *Perdiccas Philip*'s elder brother. By *Nicaſipolis*, a *Theſſalian* lady, he had *Nicœa*, who became afterwards the wife of *Caſſander*. By *Cleopatra* the niece of *Attalus*, he had a ſon named *Caranus*, and a daughter *Europa*, both ſlain by *Olympias*, the laſt in her mother's arms. *Arſinoe* one of his miſtreſſes he gave in marriage to *Lagus*, when ſhe was big with child; which child proved a ſon, and was the famous *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*. By *Philena* of *Lariſſa*, a dancer, he had *Aridæus*, who, for a while, was titular king of *Macedon*; but afterwards put to death by the cruel *Olympias* [p] (R). If *Philip* had not fallen ſo ſuddenly, b
he would certainly have provided for the ſafety of theſe unhappy branches of his family; whereas by his unforeſeen death, they fell under the power of their greateſt enemies; yet did they not immediately periſh, the veneration the *Macedonians* had for *Philip* defending them. But by degrees, when the glory of *Alexander* had in ſome meaſure ſwallowed up that of his father, and again the miſeries which the *Macedonians* endured, had withdrawn their affection from the royal houſe, they fell apace, as will be ſeen in the ſubſequent part of this hiſtory; whence the propriety of treating ſo fully of the life and actions of *Philip*, as we have done, will clearly appear.

[p] REINUC. geneal. Alex. Mag.

(R) *Cleopatra* the niece of *Attalus*, is by *Arrian* called *Euryaice* (54). There are alſo ſome variations, in reſpect to the reſt of the proper names, to be met with in ancient authors; but theſe, as they occur in the ſubſequent part of our work, we ſhall take notice of, without troubling the reader with a long critical detail here. However, it may not be amiſs to take notice of ſome other princes of the blood of *Macedon*. *Amyntas* was the ſon of *Perdiccas*, the ſon of *Amyntas*, *Philip*'s father. *Archelaus*, *Argæus*, and *Menelaus*, were the natural ſons of the ſame *Amyntas* king of *Macedon*, by his concubine *Cygnæa*. There were beſides ſeveral ſons of *Æropus*, brethren of *Pauſanias*, from whom *Amyntas* the father of *Philip* took the kingdom (55). We do not find, that *Philip*, in his life-time, either was uneaſy, or had any occaſion to be uneaſy, about theſe princes; but we ſhall ſee, that it fared otherwiſe with his ſucceſſor. The truth is, *Philip* was ſo kind to his people, and put them into ſo different a ſtate from that in which he found them, that they could not avoid loving and admiring him. Whoever would ſee this placed in the ſtrongeſt light, need only turn his eyes on a ſpeech of *Alexander*'s recorded by *Arrian*. It was otherwiſe with this ſon of his, who, great and glorious as he was, found it enough to do to keep the *Macedonians* and *Greeks* in obedience. In the very dawn of his reign he was vexed with conſpiracies, and was never out of the fear of them during his life, tho' he did not ſpare very rigorous and cruel executions; a fault with which none can charge his father, whoſe conduct was ſo full of clemency, that he was accountable for no man's death except his own.

(54) *Arrian. l.* ii. *c.* 14. (55) *Reinec. geneal. Alex. Mag.*

SECT. V.

The reign of ALEXANDER the Great.

THE new-erected empire of *Macedon*, ſo formidable to the *Greeks*, and ſo dreadful to the *Perſians*, did not change its fortune with its prince; on the contrary, it ſeemed to reap new advantages therefrom, and to derive, from the vigour of *Alexander*, that exalted grandeur of which it was rendered capable thro' the policy of *Philip*. How this came to paſs, how ſo violent a ſhock went off without diſordering the government; how a prince of twenty years old became truly the father of his country; how he ſo readily took up, and ſo happily conducted the thread of his father's deſign, without weakening or breaking it; and all this in ſpite of violent and obſtinate oppoſition, leads us to the view of *Alexander*'s character at this time, on which the underſtanding theſe paſſages intirely depends. This we ſhall draw from ſober and authentic hiſtorians, leaving whatever favours of the d
wonderful to thoſe rhetorical declaimers, who love to amaze their readers, and to illuſtrate with a pomp of words, ſtories altogether incredible [a].

THE natural capacity of the *Macedonian* prince was every way ſuited to ſuſtain the mighty fabric which his father intended to raiſe thereon. It was lively, but not ſlight; ſolid, without being intractable, and tho' capable of judging by its own

[a] PLUT. in vit. Alex. DIODOR. SICUL. l. xvii. ARRIAN. expedit. Alex. l. i.

lights,

a lights, inquiſitive, and fond of converſation. When the *Perſian* embaſſadors were at the court of *Philip*, *Alexander*, then a perfect boy, entertained them with much civility and politeneſs; but inſtead of asking queſtions about the hanging gardens, the ſplendid palaces, the vaſt retinue of the king, or other marks of grandeur, for which the *Perſian* court was famous, he inquired about the road leading into the *Upper Aſia*, the forces which the great king could raiſe, their diſcipline, and the place in which the king took poſt when his army drew into the line of battle [b]. This admirable genius was cultivated by an excellent education. *Philip* was a lover of letters, as ſome think, to a fault; but this hindred not his regarding other things neceſſary as well as learning, to the forming of a prince. *Alexander* had therefore
b all ſorts of maſters, according as his years and improvements required them. *Leonidas*, who was his mother's relation, a man of ſevere morals, and of a very exact behaviour, was his governor; *Lyſimachus* the *Acarnanian*, a man of very moderate abilities, his præceptor; and *Ariſtotle*, when he was grown old enough to receive his inſtructions, became not only his tutor in reſpect of literature, but his maſter alſo in reſpect of politics, which gave that wonderful perfection to his acquirements which remain as unequalled as his conqueſts. In his exerciſes he diſtinguiſhed the uſeful from the fanciful, in his diverſions he declined whatever was unmanly, and in his ſtudies deſpiſed alike whatever was trifling or pedantic. He diligently cultivated what may be ſtiled the art of ſpeaking with dignity, or the rhetoric of kings,
c in which none ever exceeded him. He applied himſelf to metaphyſics and natural philoſophy; but morality eſpecially pleaſed him, and the knowledge of the duties which are eſſential to ſocial life. In order to underſtand theſe he ſtudied *Homer*, *Ariſtotle* having corrected an edition of that poet's works for his uſe. This ſtudy made him the man he was; nor can any thing more truly ſpeak his character than this ſhort ſentence, Alexander *was a* hero *formed on the principles* Homer *hath laid down*. Taking this as a key, we may eaſily decypher the actions of this prince, or rather trace them to their ſource; but we muſt have a care of thinking, that the ſublimity of the verſe, the beauty of the compoſition, the ſurprizing majeſty of the poet's thoughts, captivated the mind of *Alexander*, and inclined him to doat upon
d this poem. On the contrary, his extraordinary regard for it was owing to the recommendation of *Ariſtotle*, who taught him the true merit of the piece. *Homer*'s poems, in ſuch hands, were a complete body of divinity, morality and politics, delivered, not in dry diſcourſes, but ſet forth in ſtrong, moving and moſt natural characters; and ſo they were afterwards conſidered by the learned, particularly by *Horace*, who prefers them to the labours of all the philoſophers [c]. Such were the foundations of *Alexander*'s magnanimity and prudence. They were continually ſtrengthned by the converſation of the ableſt men in *Philip*'s court, and the ſuperſtructure carefully and quickly raiſed by a happy mixture of theory and practice. The turbulent tranſactions in the midſt of *Philip*'s reign ſerved as a ſchool of war to
e *Alexander*, as the laſt years of peace afforded an opportunity of teaching him true policy, and the intereſts of *Greece*. Above all he was happy in the indulgence of a father, the greateſt ſtateſman and the greateſt captain of his age. He it was who caſt his eyes on *Ariſtotle* for the tutor of *Alexander*; he it was who taught the youth to execute what the philoſopher laid down; and he it was who excited the *Macedonians* to turn their eyes on this riſing ſun, whom, in *Philip*'s life-time, they began to ſtile their king, allowing his father only the title of their general. *Philip* himſelf carried the compliment ſtill higher; for embracing *Alexander*, who ſhewed more skill than all the grooms in *Greece* in breaking *Bucephalus*. *O! my ſon*, ſaid he, *look thee out ſome kingdom as extenſive as thy abilities*; Macedonia *will be too narrow for them*. From
f a perſon thus accompliſhed all things were to be hoped; we may now therefore proceed to ſhew how he accompliſhed all things, and gave laws to *Greece*, at a time of life when modern princes are ſcarce held of age to govern themſelves [d] (A).

[b] Plut. ubi ſupra. [c] Epiſt. lib. i. [d] Plut. ubi ſupra.

(A) If we were to record exactly every incident relating to the childhood and infancy of *Alexander*, it would undoubtedly ſwell our work exceſſively; we have therefore choſen as the more uſeful, and at the ſame time the conciſer method, to throw together ſuch circumſtances, as may ſerve to elucidate his character, and to refer the curious and inquiſitive reader for further information to the life of *Alexander* written by *Plutarch*, and to the two orations of the ſame author, which treat of the virtue

THE firſt act of *Alexander* as a king was doing juſtice on his father's murderers, a
it may be from a double motive, of ſhewing affection to *Philip*'s memory, which he always honoured, and to wipe away the imputation of being concerned in it, which was not eaſily done, if we credit *Plutarch*. Next he turned his attention to matters of ſtate, which in a moment were all in confuſion. As ſoon as the neighbouring nations heard of the death of *Philip*, they conceived themſelves intitled to liberty, and began to think of diſclaiming the authority of *Macedon*. In *Greece* its reſpective ſtates longed to throw off the yoke; and at *Athens Demoſthenes*, by his example, drew the people into open teſtimonies of exceſſive joy, and into immediate negotiations againſt *Alexander*, whom he ſtiled a giddy boy, unfit for, and unbecoming empire. As for the *Perſians*, before the death of *Philip* they were contriving to tranſ- b
fer the war to *Macedon*; but now, as if all danger had died with that monarch, they thought nothing of his ſucceſſor, till his fame grew ſo loud they were unable to think of any elſe. *Attalus*, who, with *Parmenio*, had the joint command of the *Macedonian* army on the frontiers of *Aſia*, aſpired to the crown, and ſought to debauch the ſoldiers. Thus was the morning of *Alexander*'s reign diſturbed with the noiſe of foreign wars, and at the ſame time overcaſt with the gloom of domeſtic treaſons [e].

IN the councils held on this diſtracted ſtate of things, it was judged adviſeable by *Alexander*'s beſt friends, that diſſimulation ſhould take place of force, and that he ſhould cajole thoſe whom he could not ſubdue. *Alexander* diſliked this; he thought, c
vigorous meaſures at firſt would check ſome preſent, and prevent many future inconveniencies; wherefore he betook himſelf to arms, and boldly looked every danger in the face [f]. Firſt he marched ſouthwards into *Theſſaly*, with a numerous army, yet without committing any act of hoſtility. The princes aſſembling, he made a long and eloquent oration, wherein alledging their common deſcent from *Hercules*, the kindneſs between their anceſtors, and the victories they had won together, he ſo ſtrongly charmed them to his intereſts, that as the ſon and ſucceſſor of *Philip*, they declared him general of *Greece*. The neighbouring ſtates he drew over in the ſame manner, partly by awing them with his army, partly by the charms of his eloquence; for being perfectly verſed in their intereſts, he ſpoke home and warmly d
to their paſſions. Having reſtored tranquility on this ſide, and procured the title of generaliſſimo of *Greece* to be conferred on him, he returned to *Macedon*. *Heccateus*, a perſon in whom he confided, was diſpatched with recruits for the *Aſiatic* army, with orders to ſeize *Attalus*, if it was practicable, or, if not, to diſpatch him. As for that ambitious general, perceiving the preſence of *Parmenio*, and the fame of *Alexander*, with-held the ſoldiery from following his purpoſes, he ſuddenly changed them, and ſent to *Alexander* an epiſtle of *Demoſthenes*, and profeſſed himſelf wonderfully loyal; which profeſſions, whether true or falſe, had no weight with the king, whoſe inſtructions *Heccateus* followed in putting *Attalus* to death [g]. Thus the dawn of his government began to clear, and the firſt rays of his glory to diſplay a pleaſant e
proſpect, which afterwards appeared brighter and brighter, till it overſpread the nobleſt countries on the globe.

Alexander *invades the* Triballians *and the* Illyrians.

AT the approach of the ſpring *Alexander* marched with his forces towards *Thrace*, intending to penetrate into the country of the *Triballians* and *Illyrians*, now called *Bulgaria* and *Sclavonia*. In this expedition he followed rather his own ſentiments than the counſels of others, acting regularly on the principle he had laid down, that the power of *Macedon* was to be ſupported by the ſame vigorous meaſures by which it had been attained. In conſequence of this reſolution he ordered his army to

[e] ARRIAN. l. i. c. i. PLUT. ubi ſupra. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra [f] PLUT. ubi ſupra. [g] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra.

virtue and fortune of *Alexander the Great*. As to the reſt of the writers, who have tranſmitted to us the hiſtory of *Alexander*, they are ſuch as either have written expreſly of his actions, as *Diodorus*, *Arrian* and *Curtius*; or they ſpeak accidentally of particular actions of his, as *Strabo*, *Polyænus*, *Pauſanias*, and many others. We ſhall make uſe of them all, preferring however *Arrian*, not only on account of his great impartiality, but alſo becauſe his hiſtory is collected from thoſe of *Ariſtobulus* and *Ptolemy*, which, of the many accounts of *Alexander*'s expeditions, once extant, were always preferred to the reſt. But inaſmuch as *Arrian* is ſometimes very conciſe, and many circumſtances relating to the facts he ſpeaks of, are preſerved in other authors, we ſhall make uſe of their writings to ſupply what he has omitted, without pretending to ſet their authority on the ſame level with his.

aſſemble

a aſſemble at *Amphipolis*, from whence he marched towards the river *Neſſus*, and leaving the city of *Philippi* and mount *Orbelus* on the left, he in ten days reached mount *Hæmus* [h]. This poſt the barbarous nations, againſt whom he made war, had ſeized, and fortified in the beſt manner they were able. On the tops of the cliffs, and at the head of every paſſage, they placed their carriages and waggons, ſo as to form a ſort of parapet, with their ſhafts inwards, that when the *Macedonians* ſhould have half aſcended the rock, they might be able to puſh the heavieſt of theſe wains upon them. They reckoned the more upon this contrivance, becauſe of the cloſe order of the phalanx, which, they conceived, would be terribly expoſed, by the ſoldiers wanting room to ſtir, and thereby avoid the falling waggons. But *Alexander*, who
b had ſtudied the art of war under the ableſt maſters, defeated their deſign; for having directed his heavy armed troops to march, he gave orders, that, where the openeneſs of the way would permit it, they ſhould open to the right and left, and ſuffer the falling carriages to go through; but that, in the narrow paſſes, they ſhould throw themſelves on their faces, with their ſhields behind them, that the carts might run over them. His contrivance had the deſired effect, and the *Macedonians* reached the enemy's works without the loſs of a man. Then the light-armed troops began the attack. The barbarians made an obſtinate reſiſtance for ſome time, till *Alexander* himſelf charged at the head of the targeteers. Then they began to break, and on the approach of the phalanx, fled out-right, leaving their camp, full of women, chil-
c dren and cattle behind them. Three days after the king reached the river *Iſter*, in an iſland of which called *Peuce*, the *Triballians*, *Thracians*, and other barbarous nations, had conveyed their wealth and women, reſolving to defend them with all their force. Some few ſhips there were, which, through the *Euxine* ſea, had come to *Byzantium*; on board of theſe *Alexander* embarked as many of his troops as he could, and endeavoured to make a deſcent with them on the iſland before-mentioned; but the river being rapid, the ſhore ſteep, and the enemy preſſing thither in great multitudes, he relinquiſhed this deſign, and landed his forces at their old camp. *Alexander* obſerving, that the *Getæ*, who inhabited on the other ſide the river, were inclined to give him all the trouble they could, and had, for that purpoſe, raiſed an
d army of four thouſand horſe, and ten thouſand foot, determined to be before-hand with them, and by ſubduing them, ſtrike a terror into all their neighbours; the ſame night therefore he cauſed a conſiderable number of boats to be got together, and having ranged them from one ſide of the river to the other, he re-embarked his forces on board his ſmall fleet, which made a line a little higher. He then cauſed the tents, which, as they were made of skins, floated in the water, and yet afforded firm footing, to be thrown into the middle ſpace; whereby he paſſed over fifteen hundred horſe, and four thouſand foot. He then marched through the ſtanding corn, the ſpears of the phalanx being reverſed, and the horſe behind them, till they arrived in the open country; and then gave the command of the left wing, conſiſt-
e in of the foot, to *Nicanor*, drawing up his horſe on the right, under his own command, with intent to give the *Getæ* battle. Theſe, tho' a brave and bold people, were ſo aſtoniſhed at his paſſing the river, without either a bridge or a fleet, that they did not ſuſtain even the firſt ſhock; but fled immediately to the next town, which they intended to defend; but when they ſaw that *Alexander* did not follow them impetuouſly, but drew his foot ſlowly along the ſide of the river, to prevent his falling into any ambuſcade, they conceived that no place would protect them againſt ſuch a general; and therefore abandoning the town, they placed all hopes of ſafety in the diſtance of their flight. *Alexander* entered the city, and having collected the ſpoil, delivered it to *Meleager* and *Philip*, officers of great rank in his
f army, that it might be conveyed to the ſea, and then razed the place. Here he ſacrificed to *Jupiter Soter*, *i. e.* the *Saviour*, to *Hercules*, and to the *Iſter*, for affording him a ſafe paſſage [i].

He makes a general peace with the barbarous nations.

THE next day he brought all his forces into his camp on the other ſide of the river, whither immediately embaſſadors came from all the neighbouring nations to make peace with him; amongſt the reſt from *Syrmus* king of the *Triballi*, who ſaw, that it was to no purpoſe to reſiſt him; as alſo from the *Celtes*, a robuſt and high-ſpirited people. The king treated them all with great civility; but as he was always inclined to indulge his vanity, he could not help asking the deputies from

[h] ARRIAN. expedit. Alex. l. i. c. 1. & ſeq. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. [i] ARRIAN. exped. Alex. l. i. c. 2, 3, 4.

the

the laſt mentioned nation, *What, of all things, they feared moſt?* ſuppoſing they would have anſwered, his arms; but they very roundly told him, *That, except the falling of the clouds upon their heads, they feared nothing*; which ſo pleaſed the king, that, after ſaying the *Celtes* were a haughty people, he granted them his friendſhip, and ranked them in the number of his allies. Soon after he adjuſted his differences with the reſt of the neighbouring nations, and then prepared for his return into *Macedonia* [k]. a

He defeats the Taulantii, and Clytus king of Illyria.

As he paſſed through the countries of the *Agrians* and the *Peonians*, he was informed, that *Clytus*, the ſon of *Bradilis*, had revolted from him. This *Bradilis* had been king of *Illyria*; and his ſon, it ſeems, had a mind to remain no longer a dependent on the king of *Macedon*: He therefore entered into a league with *Glaucias* king of the *Taulantii*, and into a treaty with the *Autariatæ*, to defend themſelves againſt *Alexander*, whom they looked upon as their common enemy. The king immediately reſolved to attack theſe enemies, and began to inquire of the force and ſituation of the laſt-mentioned people. *Langarus* king of the *Agrians* being near him, ſaid aloud, *Sir, trouble not yourſelf about theſe people; I, with my own ſubjects, will make an inroad into their country, and find them ſo much employment, that they ſhall be able to give no interruption to your march.* This accordingly he performed to ſo good purpoſe, that he put it abſolutely out of the power of this naion to proceed in their defection. *Alexander*, on his return to the camp, received him with great honour, and promiſed him his ſiſter *Cyna* for a wife; but that promiſe did not take place, king *Langarus* dying ſoon after. The king being come into the neighbourhood of *Pellion*, a ſtrong city, into which *Clytus* had thrown himſelf with a great body of troops, reſolved to beſiege him therein; and accordingly cauſed the place to be inveſted. But *Glaucias* king of the *Taulantii* coming with a great army to the relief of *Clytus*, the king was obliged to raiſe his ſiege, and to give them battle, wherein, after a ſtout reſiſtance, he was victorious. Three days after *Alexander* ſurprized *Glaucias* and *Clytus* in their camp, and after making a great ſlaughter of their troops, forced them to fly for ſhelter to the mountains [l]. b c

He makes a very quick march into Greece.

IN the midſt of theſe victories, *Alexander* received advice, that all *Greece* was in commotion. This was occaſioned chiefly through the indefatigable zeal of *Demoſthenes*, the inveterate enemy of *Macedon*; and the ſeveral diſaffected ſtates were encouraged to ſhew their inclinations more openly, by a report confidently ſpread about, that *Alexander* was dead in *Illyria*. The *Thebans*, laying violent hands on *Amyntas* and *Timolaus*, eminent officers in the *Macedonian* gariſon which held their citadel, dragged them to the market-place, and, without any form of proceſs, put them to death. They then diſpoſed all things for the ſiege of the citadel, and openly excited the reſt of *Greece* to throw off the yoke. The king, as ſoon as he had intelligence of this, immediately bent his march towards them, with ſuch diligence, that, in ſeven days, he arrived at *Pellene* in *Theſſaly*, and in ſix more entered *Bœotia*, before the *Thebans* had any intelligence of his paſſing *Thermopylæ*. When they were informed of this, they ſaid it muſt be *Antipater*, with a body of *Macedonian* militia; nay, when repeated advices acquainted them that the army was commanded by *Alexander*, they would ſtill have him dead, perſuading themſelves, that this was *Alexander* the ſon of *Æropus*. The king however did not leave them long in their miſtake, advancing briskly to the temple of *Iolaus*, where he made a halt, that the *Thebans* might have time to return to their ſenſes, and thereby prevent his having recourſe to extremities; for it was no way his inclination, as indeed it was no way his intereſt, to embroil himſelf with the *Greeks*; he therefore endeavoured, by the terror of his preſence, having with him thirty thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe, to compel his enemies to lay aſide their malice, rather than to gratify his own [m]. This ſudden march had, in part, the ſucceſs he wiſhed; for it prevented the reſt of the *Grecian* ſtates from aiding the *Thebans*, tho' they were actually aſſembling forces for that purpoſe; and ſo affrighted the *Athenians*, that, repairing their walls, and filling their magazines, they provided, not for their neighbours, but for their own defence, anſwering exactly what *Alexander* had ſaid when he entered *Bœotia*, that to this *Demoſthenes*, who called him a *child* when he was in *Illyria*, and a *youth* when he came into *Theſſaly*, he ſhould certainly appear a *man* when he approached the walls of *Athens* [n]. The *Thebans*, far from profiting by *Alexander*'s d e f

[k] Idem ibid. [l] Idem ibid. [m] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. [n] PLUT. in vit. Alex.

A MAP of the EXTENT of ALEXANDERS CONQUESTS
Compiled by M. Delisle Geographer to Lewis the XV. Compared with those of other Modern Geographers. Ann. 1751.
Author.

This. Map Contains only the places which prove the extent of this Empire according to the System of the Author.

A MAP of the EXTENT of ALEXANDERS CONQUESTS

According to M. Delisle *Geographer to* Lewis 14. *Compared with those of other* Modern Geographers *An: 1731.*

NB. The dark lines shew the plan of ye Author: the light ones that of the Modern Geographers; and the double Stroke Letters shew the present names of Countries Cities &c.

Meridian at 46 deg 30 East of Ferro Island according to Astron: observations

EUROPE

Danube

Crimea

Palus Meotis

Tanais Don

ASTRACAN to RUSSIA

Astracan

GREAT TARTARY

Scales.

Stades of 4 to a Degree according to Arestotles Measure used in Alexanders time.

500 5000 10000

Common French Leagues.

25 50 75 100 125 150

CIRCASSI TAR:

Iberia

Georgia

Derbent

DAGE STAN

CHIR VAN

CASPIAN SEA

Gulf of Zemba

Alexandria Bay

Gulf of Baldron

Ara or Sea

Jaxartes

Boundaries of the Emp. of Alexander according to Mod. Geogr.

SCYTHIA

Alexandria Maracanda

Maracanda Samarcand

Sogdiana

Sir or Sihon R.

Oxus Gihon

PONT: EUXIN: BLACK SEA

Byzantium Constantinople

Trapezus Trebisond

Triballes

Macedonia

Thrace

Bithynia

Cappadocia

Gordium

ARMENIA

Atropatena Aderbijan

ASIA MINOR

Cilicia

Hyrcania

Media

GILAN ASTRABATH

Aria

Bactra

Bactriana

Head of Indus

Alexandreta

Antioch

Cyprus

Candia

Rhodes

Arbela

Tapsaque

Ecbatana Amadan

Caspian Gate

R. de Heri

SIA

Alexandria of Aria Heri

Paropamisades

Alexandria Candahar

Parthia

Babylon Hella

Aspadan Ispahan

Dranges Segestan

Drangiana

Arachosia

Arachota Aroucage

Indus Sinde

Hydaspes

Kophenes

Acesines

Hydraotes

Lahor

MALLES

Alexandria Moultan

INDIA

ADoly

Ganges River

Indus R.

Agara Agra

Gemne R.

Benares

ESTATES of MOGUL

Tigris

Euphrates

Jerusalem

Persia

Persepolis Chilminar

Persian Gulf

Arabis R.

Hyphasis

Mediterranean Sea

Alexandria

Damietta

Rosetta

Jerusalem

Syria

Memphis

Gr. Cairo

Nile

EGYPT

RED SEA

Red Sea

Ide Queshm

ARABIA

The Mouth of the Indus

Tropic of Cancer

OCEAN

INDIAN SEA

Meridian at 50 deg 30 East of S.t Mard: according to Modern Geographers

T. Bowen sculp.

the laſt mentioned nation, *What, of all things, they feared moſt?* ſuppoſing they would have anſwered, his arms; but they very roundly told him, *That, except the falling of the clouds uhon their heads, they feared nothing*; which ſo pleaſed the king, that, after ſaying the *Celtes* were a haughty people, he granted them his friendſhip, and ranked them in the number of his allies. Soon after he adjuſted his differences with the reſt of the neighbouring nations, and then prepared for his return into *Macedonia* [k]. a

He defeats the Taulantii, *and* Clytus *king of* Illyria.

As he paſſed through the countries of the *Agrians* and the *Peonians*, he was informed, that *Clytus*, the ſon of *Bradilis*, had revolted from him. This *Bradilis* had been king of *Illyria*; and his ſon, it ſeems, had a mind to remain no longer a dependent on the king of *Macedon*: He therefore entered into a league with *Glaucias* king of the *Taulantii*, and into a treaty with the *Autariatæ*, to defend themſelves againſt *Alexander*, whom they looked upon as their common enemy. The king immediately reſolved to attack theſe enemies, and began to inquire of the force and ſituation of the laſt-mentioned people. *Langarus* king of the *Agrians* being near him, ſaid aloud, *Sir, trouble not yourſelf about theſe people; I, with my own ſubjects, will make an inroad into their country, and find them ſo much employment, that they ſhall be able to give no interruption to your march.* This accordingly he performed to ſo good purpoſe, that he put it abſolutely out of the power of this naion to proceed in their defection. *Alexander*, on his return to the camp, received him with great honour, and promiſed him his ſiſter *Cyna* for a wife; but that promiſe did not take place, king *Langarus* dying ſoon after. The king being come into the neighbourhood of *Pellion*, a ſtrong city, into which *Clytus* had thrown himſelf with a great body of troops, reſolved to beſiege him therein; and accordingly cauſed the place to be inveſted. But *Glaucias* king of the *Taulantii* coming with a great army to the relief of *Clytus*, the king was obliged to raiſe his ſiege, and to give them battle, wherein, after a ſtout reſiſtance, he was victorious. Three days after *Alexander* ſurprized *Glaucias* and *Clytus* in their camp, and after making a great ſlaughter of their troops, forced them to fly for ſhelter to the mountains [l]. b c

He makes a very quick march into Greece.

IN the midſt of theſe victories, *Alexander* received advice, that all *Greece* was in commotion. This was occaſioned chiefly through the indefatigable zeal of *Demoſthenes*, the inveterate enemy of *Macedon*; and the ſeveral diſaffected ſtates were encouraged to ſhew their inclinations more openly, by a report confidently ſpread about, that *Alexander* was dead in *Illyria*. The *Thebans*, laying violent hands on *Amyntas* and *Timolaus*, eminent officers in the *Macedonian* gariſon which held their citadel, dragged them to the market-place, and, without any form of proceſs, put them to death. They then diſpoſed all things for the ſiege of the citadel, and openly excited the reſt of *Greece* to throw off the yoke. The king, as ſoon as he had intelligence of this, immediately bent his march towards them, with ſuch diligence, that, in ſeven days, he arrived at *Pellene* in *Theſſaly*, and in ſix more entered *Bœotia*, before the *Thebans* had any intelligence of his paſſing *Thermopylæ*. When they were informed of this, they ſaid it muſt be *Antipater*, with a body of *Macedonian* militia; nay, when repeated advices acquainted them that the army was commanded by *Alexander*, they would ſtill have him dead, perſuading themſelves, that this was *Alexander* the ſon of *Æropus*. The king however did not leave them long in their miſtake, advancing briskly to the temple of *Iolaus*, where he made a halt, that the *Thebans* might have time to return to their ſenſes, and thereby prevent his having recourſe to extremities; for it was no way his inclination, as indeed it was no way his intereſt, to embroil himſelf with the *Greeks*; he therefore endeavoured, by the terror of his preſence, having with him thirty thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe, to compel his enemies to lay aſide their malice, rather than to gratify his own [m]. This ſudden march had, in part, the ſucceſs he wiſhed; for it prevented the reſt of the *Grecian* ſtates from aiding the *Thebans*, tho' they were actually aſſembling forces for that purpoſe; and ſo affrighted the *Athenians*, that, repairing their walls, and filling their magazines, they provided, not for their neighbours, but for their own defence, anſwering exactly what *Alexander* had ſaid when he entered *Bœotia*, that to this *Demoſthenes*, who called him a *child* when he was in *Illyria*, and a *youth* when he came into *Theſſaly*, he ſhould certainly appear a *man* when he approached the walls of *Athens* [n]. The *Thebans*, far from profiting by *Alexander*'s d e f

[k] Idem ibid. [l] Idem ibid. [m] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. [n] PLUT. in vit. Alex.

This Map contains only the places which prove the extent of this Empire according to the System of the Author.

A MAP of the EXTENT of ALEXANDERS CONQUESTS

According to M.r Delisle Geographer to Lewis 14. Compared with those of other Modern Geographers An: 1731.

NB. The dark lines shew the plan of the Author: the light ones that of the Modern Geographers; and the double stroke letters shew the present names of Countries Cities &c.



a moderation, attacked his out-guards; and tho' their troops were repulſed with great diſadvantage, yet they determined to hazard all rather than purchaſe peace by their ſubmiſſion. The king ſeeing this, encamped over-againſt the gate leading to *Attica*, that he might be near the citadel, which they had ſurrounded with a double wall, in order to prevent their cutting his gariſon to pieces before his face. He did not however inveſt the city, or pretend to beſiege it; but cauſed open proclamation to be made, that he was ready to receive any *Thebans* who would join with him in defence of the *common liberties of* Greece. Whereupon the *Thebans* made proclamation, that they were ready to receive any who would join themſelves to the great king and them, to fight againſt the tyrant of *Greece*. This exceedingly provoked *Alexander*; however, if we may believe *Ptolemy*, he gave no orders for an attack:
b But *Perdiccas*, who lay neareſt the walls, perceiving ſome advantage, ſuddenly attempted them, and, being ſeconded by *Amyntas*, broke into the city. *Alexander*, ſeeing his friends engaged, was conſtrained to ſupport them; and thus the *Thebans* were driven to the temple of *Hercules*. There the citizens recovered their conſternation, and having deſperately wounded *Perdiccas*, fell upon the *Macedonians* with ſuch reſolution, that they drove them with great ſlaughter out of the city; which *Alexander* perceiving, he, with a freſh body of troops, attacked the *Thebans* in flank, routed them, entered the city pell-mell, with the flying gariſon, and after a prodigious ſlaughter, took the place by ſtorm. The *Macedonian* gariſon iſſuing from the citadel, contributed not a little to this event; which, however glorious to the
c king, was extremely fatal to the *Thebans*, who, for ſeveral hours, were ſlain and deſtroyed, without regard either to ſex or age. Afterwards the city was razed, excepting only the houſe of *Pindar*, a famous poet, out of reſpect to the merit of its owner, and for that he had celebrated *Alexander* the firſt king of *Macedon*; a circumſtance which might well weigh with his ſucceſſor [o]. The lands, except ſuch as were deſtined to religious uſes, were ſhared among the ſoldiers, and the priſoners ſold for ſlaves; whereby four hundred and forty talents were brought into the king's treaſury. The king however took care to colour this extraordinary ſeverity, by procuring a decree of the *Amphyctions*, enjoining him to do what he was already inclined to, under pretence, that the *Thebans*, in allying themſelves with the great
d king, were become enemies to the *Greeks*; wherefore the decree was cloſed with an expreſs prohibition to any *Greek*, either to conceal or protect a *Theban*: Yet it muſt be owned, that theſe generous *Thebans* fought ſolely for liberty, refuſing quarter, and provoking the *Macedonians*, during the ſack of the place, to take away their lives, eſteeming them not only worthleſs, but burdenſome, when held at the will of a maſter. To carry on the ſame ſhew of zeal for the freedom of *Greece*, *Alexander* ordered the cities of *Orchemenus* and *Platæa* to be rebuilt, giving ſpecial directions for adorning the latter, out of regard to the generous conduct of its inhabitants, when *Pauſanias* fought in its neighbourhood that deciſive battle, which deſtroyed the *Perſian* hopes. This behaviour of *Alexander* ſtruck all the *Greek* ſtates
e with terror; the *Eleans* reſtored their exiles becauſe they were his friends; the cities of *Ætolia* deprecated his wrath by a moſt ſubmiſſive embaſſy; as for the *Athenians*, they were terrified to ſuch a degree, that they made themſelves ridiculous; for they ſent to compliment the king on his ſafe return from his expedition againſt the barbarians, and alſo to aſſure him of their great ſatisfaction in his chaſtizing the rebellious *Thebans* [p]. *Alexander* took all in good part; only he demanded by letter, that *Demoſthenes*, *Lycurgus*, *Hyperdes*, *Polyeuctus*, *Charetes*, *Charidemus*, *Ephialtes*, *Diotemus*, and *Merocles* ſhould be delivered up to him, alledging, that they were the authors of all the miſchiefs which had happened in *Greece*, ſince his father *Philip* had been elected general. The *Athenians* however did not comply with his requeſt, tho' *Pho-*
f *cion* adviſed them to do it. This was owing to the art of *Demades* the orator, who having firſt procured a vote in favour of the perſons demanded, drew up afterwards ſuch a decree as might pacify *Alexander*; the purport of which was, that the orators ſhould ſubmit themſelves to the laws of their country, and that the *Athenians* undertook to puniſh them, if they appeared to be guilty. *Demades* himſelf went at the head of the deputies who preſented this decree to *Alexander*, and who were charged alſo with other requeſts, *viz.* that notwithſtanding the decree, they might be permitted to receive the *Theban* fugitives; and that the king would, for the future,

[o] Arrian. l. i. c. 7. Dio. Carysost. Orat. [p] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Plut. ubi ſupra.

regard them as his faithful allies. *Alexander*, affecting to ſhew an extraordinary a
eſteem for the *Athenians*, granted all their requeſts, excepting that he commanded the orator *Charidemus* to baniſh himſelf; upon which he inſtantly fled to *Darius*. He uſed *Demades* with the utmoſt civility, and commanded him to aſſure his citizens, that they had nothing to fear [q]. The reader who remembers, that in the hiſtory of *Athens*, we have given a different account of this matter [r], muſt not conceive, that this variation happened through careleſſneſs or miſtake; we have the authority of ancient authors for both relations, and the reader, by conſidering the citations, will eaſily diſcern why we inſerted that in the *Athenian*, this in the *Macedonian* hiſtory. All authors agree, that the king was ſorry for, and greatly regretted the miſchiefs done at *Thebes*; inſomuch that *Plutarch* informs us, he never afterwards b
denied any requeſt a *Theban* made [s]. To ſpeak the truth, there is is no part of *Alexander*'s character better eſtabliſhed than this, that as he was violent in his paſſions, ſo he was ſteady in repentance (B).

Continued generaliſſimo at Corinth.

As ſoon as he had ſettled *Greece* in tranquility, he went to *Corinth*, where, in a general aſſembly of the ſtates of *Greece*, every thing relating to his dignity as generaliſſimo was exactly ſettled. Here he received the compliments, not only of the ſeveral ſtates, but alſo of the moſt eminent perſons among the *Greeks*, either for valour or wiſdom, many of whom thought it not below them to travel a conſiderable ſpace for this purpoſe [t]; but *Diogenes* of *Sinope*, who was then in *Cranium*, a ſuburb of *Corinth*, did not ſo much as wait upon the king; which when it was remarked to c

[q] ARRIAN. l. i. c. 10. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. PLUT. in vit. Alex. [r] UNIVERS. HIST. Vol. II. p. 549. [s] PLUT. ubi ſupra. [t] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra.

(B) It is an obſervation very juſtly made, in reſpect of the ancient hiſtorians, that they ſeldom mention any great event, without introducing it by omens and prognoſtics. With reſpect to this critics are apt to judge according to their own prepoſſeſſions; if they have themſelves any opinion of theſe things, then the ancients are in the right; if not, they are in the wrong, or, at leaſt, disbelieve theſe ſtories tho' they recorded them; which judgment, by the way, is really more injurious to their memories than the other; for to ſay, that a man writes what he knows to be falſe, is to ſay that he is a deceiver, which is certainly the higheſt reflection that can be thrown upon an hiſtorian: Whereas ſuperſtition, which is the imputation in the other caſe, is a mere human frailty, and affects his character very little. Having premiſed this, we ſhall go on to ſpeak of theſe ominous appearances which are recorded by the ancients, as predicting the fall of *Thebes*. *Diodorus* tells us, that in the temple of *Ceres*, a ſlender ſpider's web was obſerved to ſpread itſelf as broad as a cloak, and to repreſent the rainbow in an arched circumference; upon this deputies were ſent to conſult the oracle at *Delphi*, to know what it imported. The anſwer was,

This web ſtands as a ſign *from* heav'n *confeſt*
To thee, Bœotia, firſt, *then to the* reſt.

The oracle, in their own country, explained it thus:

One party's loſs, the other's gain, this ſhews.

This happened about three months before *Alexander*'s march. About the time of his arrival, the *ſtatues* in the *forum* ſweated, ſo that great drops ſtood upon them. In the lake of *Oncheſtus* the roaring and bellowing of oxen was heard. The waters in *Dirce* ſeemed of a ſanguine hue; and advice came from the temple at *Delphi*, that the roof built by the *Thebans*, out of the ſpoils of the *Phocians*, was beſmeared all over with blood. Such, continues our author, as ſtudied the explanation of theſe things, gave it as their opinion, that the web portended the retreat of the *gods* from their city; its having the colour of the rain-bow, various troubles and diſſentions; the appearance of ſweat ſignified extreme miſeries; and the ſmeared roof of the temple, that the city would be ſtained with ſlaughter and bloodſhed: they therefore concluded, that the *Thebans* ought to have ſought an agreement, and not have urged all things to extremity (1). But they, it ſeems, were not to be moved; for when *Alexander* demanded only *Phœnix* and *Prothytes*, who had occaſioned the murder of his officers, to be delivered up, they ſent him word, he ſhould ſend them *Antipater* and *Philotas* (2). Thus they, in a manner, ſought their own deſtruction. The circumſtances attending the ſack of this ſack of this city, are moſt exactly recorded by *Arrian*, who, tho' in the general, a very ſuccinct writer, expatiates on this ſubject, and ſhews, that it was the moſt terrible deſtruction that any ſtate ever ſuſtained to that time; concluding his deſcription thus: "They are reported to have been "forewarned of this great and tremendous ſubver- "ſion of their city, by ſundry prodigies from hea- "ven, which they all along diſregarded, till after- "wards the events recalling them to their remem- "brance, they were forced to own them fulfilled (3)." This author is frequently cited as a perſon diſregarding omens, and having a ſlender opinion of all ſorts of miracles; yet this notion of him ſeems to be raſhly taken up. He does indeed mention them more ſparingly than *Diodorus* or *Plutarch*; and the reaſon is clear, becauſe he was a cloſer writer, and extremely careful of ſtraying from his ſubject; yet, on particular occaſions, he records both omens and prodigies, without any tokens, that we can perceive, of diſbelief or diſreſpect; but rather the contrary, as the reader may perceive from the paſſage juſt cited. Thus much we thought ourſelves obliged to ſay in regard to truth; for as to the credibility of theſe things, we meddle not with that matter here. The facts themſelves either happened, or did not happen; if they happened, and were held ominous, an hiſtorian ought not to be blamed for recording them or their interpretations. They are ſo many points laid before us, which we may conſider as long as we will, and on which we may decide at laſt as we pleaſe.

(1) *Diodor. Sicul. bibliothec. l.* xvii. *Olymp.* cxi. 2. (2) *Plut. in vit. Alex.* (3) *Arrian. l.* i. *c.* 9.

Alexander

a *Alexander*, he went himſelf to viſit the philoſopher. He found him, as his manner was, lying on the ground, basking himſelf in the ſun. When thoſe who attended the king ſurrounded him, the ſage raiſed himſelf a little, and looked upon *Alexander*. The king, with his uſual civility, asked him, If he wanted any thing? *Yes*, anſwered *Diogenes*, *I would have you ſtand a little out of the way, that I may enjoy the ſunſhine.* Thoſe who were about *Alexander*, laughed at this ſaying, as the effect of a haughty and moroſe diſpoſition; but the king himſelf ſaid gravely, *If I was not* Alexander, *I could wiſh to be* Diogenes. The ſenſe of which, as it is interpreted by *Plutarch*, was that if he had not been capable of philoſophiſing actively, he would have preferred ſpeculative wiſdom to the ordinary employments of life [u]. This is cer-
b tainly a very noble, if it be not the juſt, ſenſe of *Alexander*'s words. Certain it is, that we ought always to conſider carefully the ſayings tranſmitted to us by the ancients, leſt we ſhould reject a diamond for a pebble, merely for want of knowing how to diveſt it of its coat. When the aſſembly at *Corinth* broke up, the king returned with his army into *Macedonia*.

His preparations for invading Aſia.

At *Ægæ* he held a grand council of ſtate and of war, in order to adviſe about his expedition into *Aſia*. The graveſt of his counſellors, among whom were *Antipater* and *Parmenio*, gave it as their opinion, that he ſhould firſt marry, and have heirs to the crown, before he thought of any foreign expedition. *Alexander* diſliked this, as indeed he did every motion of delay; but however he did not reject it with-
c out offering a reaſon. He ſaid, that after *Greece* had elected him her general, and he had drawn together that veteran army, which, under his father, had made ſo many conqueſts, he ſhould not ſit down idle at home, marry and beget children [w]. He therefore ſacrificed to *Jupiter Olympus*, and revived the games which had been inſtituted by his predeceſſor *Archælaus*. He ſacrificed likewiſe to the muſes, conſecrating a day to each muſe; then he appointed mighty feaſts, entertaining no leſs than a hundred of his friends at his own table, after which he diſtributed all the crown-lands amongſt them, and even the reſt of his revenues, giving one a farm, another a village, a third the cuſtoms of a port. *Perdiccas* obſerving this waſte of the royal revenue, in which he refuſed to participate, asked the king, What he
d reſerved for himſelf? *My hopes*, anſwered *Alexander*. *Very well, Sir*, replied *Perdiccas, you will not then take it amiſs, that among thoſe who are to ſhare your dangers, there are ſome who deſire to ſhare your hopes alſo* [x].

An account of his troops.

These feaſts once over, the army had orders to aſſemble, in order to their paſſing immediately over into *Aſia*; but what their numbers were, hiſtorians by no means agree. *Arrian* ſays, that there were thirty thouſand foot, and about five thouſand horſe. *Diodorus Siculus* is more particular; for he tells us, there were thirteen thouſand *Macedonian* foot, ſeven thouſand of the confederate ſtates, and five thouſand mercenaries. Theſe were under the command of *Parmenio*. Of the *Odriſians*, *Triballians* and *Illyrians* there were five thouſand; and of the *Agrians*, who
e were armed only with darts, a thouſand. It is generally thought, that our author is miſtaken in his firſt number, and that inſtead of thirteen, there were but twelve thouſand *Macedonians*; becauſe, in the whole, *Diodorus* ſays there were thirty thouſand foot. It may be the *Agrians* are omitted in this total. As for the horſe, he tells us there were eighteen hundred commanded by *Philotas*; as many *Theſſalians* under the command of *Callas*; out of the ſeveral ſtates of *Greece*, ſix hundred, led by *Eurygius*; and nine hundred *Thracians* and *Peonians*, who led the van, under *Caſſander*. *Plutarch* tells us, that, according to a low computation, he had thirty thouſand foot, and five thouſand horſe; and, according to the largeſt reckoning, thirty-four thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe. As to his fund for the payment
f of the army, *Ariſtobulus* ſays, it was but ſeventy talents; and *Oneſicritus*, who was alſo in this expedition, not only takes away the ſeventy talents, but affirms the king was two hundred in debt. As for proviſions, there was ſufficient for a month, and no more. *Antipater* was left behind in *Macedon*, with twelve thouſand foot, and fifteen hundred horſe [y]. *Juſtin* tells us, that, to prevent any diſturbances in his abſence, *Alexander* cauſed ſuch of the blood royal as he ſuſpected to be put to death [z]; in which however he deſerves no credit, ſince neither *Diodorus*, *Arrian*, *Plutarch*, nor any other *Greek* or *Latin* hiſtorian mentions any ſuch thing; on the contrary, he

[u] Plut. de virtut. Alex. [w] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. [x] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit. Alex. Arrian. l. i. c. 11. [y] Diodor. Plut. Arrian. ubi ſupra. [z] Hiſt. l. xi. c. 5.

is

is ſaid to have checked his mother *Olympias* for having treated *Cleopatra* ill in his abſence [a]. a

He paſſes the Heleſpont.

THE army aſſembled at *Amphipolis*; from thence he marched to the mouths of the *Strymon*, then croſſing mount *Pangæus*, he took the road to *Abdera*. Croſſing the river *Ebrus*, he proceeded through the country of *Pætis*, and after twenty days reached *Seſtos*, thence he came to *Eleus*, where he ſacrificed on the tomb of *Proteſilaus*, becauſe he was the firſt among the *Greeks* who at the ſiege of *Troy* ſet foot on the *Aſiatic* ſhore; he did this, that his landing might be more propitious than that of the hero to whom he ſacrificed, who was ſlain ſoon after. The greateſt part of the army under the command of *Parmenio* embarqued at *Seſtos* on board a fleet of a hundred and ſixty gallies, of three benches of oars, beſides ſmall craft. *Alexander* himſelf ſailed b from *Eleus*, and when he was in the middle of the *Helleſpont*, offered a bull to *Neptune*, and the *Nereids* pouring forth at the ſame time a libation from a golden cup. When he drew near the ſhoar, he launched a javelin which ſtuck in the earth, then in complete armor he leaped himſelf upon the ſtrand, and having erected altars to *Jupiter*, *Minerva*, and *Hercules*, he ſacrificed to them, and then proceeded to *Ilium* [b].

Sacrifices at Ilium.

Strabo informs us, that at the time *Alexander* came thither, *Ilium* was little better than a village, diſtinguiſhed only by a ſmall temple dedicated to *Pallas*; here the king ſacrificed to the heroes buried in the neighbourhood, eſpecially to *Achilles*, whom he declared to be particularly happy in two things, in having *Patroclus* for a friend, and *Homer* to record his actions. *Hepheſtion*, as a mark of his friendſhip to *Alexander*, c crowned the tomb of *Patroclus* with flowers; after this the king ſacrificed to *Minerva*, and taking down ſome arms which had hung there from the time of the *Trojan* war, conſecrated his own in their ſtead. He ſacrificed likewiſe to the ghoſt of *Priam*, to avert his wrath on account of his own deſcent from *Achilles*. We have thought fit to mark particularly theſe ſteps, becauſe they greatly contribute to ſhew the genius and temper of this young hero. It is clear from them, that he was a zealous obſerver of the religious rites of his age, and that he had the greateſt regard to decency and order in every thing he did. Indeed, he took his rules of war from *Homer*, and ſcrupulouſly adhered not only to the maxims but to the cuſtoms mentioned by him; thus inſtead of *Calchas*, who was the augur of the *Greeks*, he had *Ariſtander* the *Telmeſſian* d for his ſoothſayer, without conſulting of whom, he ſuffered nothing of moment to be done. *Hepheſtion* was his *Patroclus*, and many things more of this kind we might note, if the nature of this work did not require a brevity inconſiſtent with ſuch reflections [c] (C).

[a] PLUT. de virtut. Alex. [b] DIODOR. ARRIAN. PLUT. [c] DIODOR. ARRIAN. ubi ſupra. PLUT. in vit. Alex.

(C) *Alexander* did not neglect the uſual application to oracles on the undertaking his expedition. After the deſtruction of *Thebes* he went in perſon to *Delphi*, but arriving at the time that was held unlucky, the prieſteſs refuſed to do her office. *Alexander* thereupon drew her by force into the temple, and ſhe at laſt offering to ſit down on the tripod, ſaid by way of excuſe for breaking through the ancient cuſtom of the temple, *My ſon, thou art invincible.* At theſe words *Alexander* cried out, *I accept the anſwer* (4), and ſtaid for no other. This with ſome may paſs for an act of irreligion, whereas it was far from being ſo; ſudden anſwers were always held oraculous by the *Greeks*, if they were applicable to the thing inquired of, as we ſhall elſewhere ſhew at large. While the *Olympic* games were celebrating at *Ægæ*, *Arrian* tells us, there came advice that the ſtatue of *Orpheus* on mount *Pieria* ſweated, concerning the import of which, the *Augurs* and *Soothſayers* were much divided; but *Ariſtander* of *Telmiſſus*, who, as we obſerved in the text, was the *Calchas* of *Alexander*, ſettled the king's mind by the following interpretation: *Let it not diſturb you, Sir*, ſaid he, *the ſweating of the image portends, that all ſorts of poets ſhall labour and ſweat in deſcribing your great actions* (5). When *Alexander* was at *Troy* the prieſt of *Minerva* having obſerved the ſtatue of *Ariobarzanes*, the king of *Perſia*'s lieutenant, to have fallen down in the temple, with other portentous ſignals, told the king, that if he fought in *Phrygia*, he would gain a great victory, kill ſome officer of diſtinction with his own hand, and be himſelf ſlightly wounded; and on this account it was that *Alexander* took down the conſecrated armor in the temple of *Pallas*, and left there his own (6). Long before this, if we may believe ſome authors, the deſtruction of the *Perſian* empire by this very prince had been predicted. The prieſts of *Diana* at *Epheſus*, when the temple of the goddeſs there was burnt down, are reported to have given it as their ſentiment, that the conqueror of *Aſia* was that day born (7), which was true of *Alexander*, who came then into the world. It may be, theſe interpretations, and even the facts themſelves, were forged long after the *Macedonian* conqueſt; but inaſmuch as they ſerve to enlighten various paſſages in the beſt *Greek* and *Latin* authors, they ought to be recorded ſomewhere, and therefore, to avoid perplexing the text, we have thrown them into notes.

(4) *Plutarch. in vit. Alex.* (5) *Arrian. lib.* i. *c.* 11. *Plutarch. ubi ſupra.* (6) *Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra.* (7) *Plutarch. ubi ſupra.*

Alexander

a *Alexander* continued his march towards the river *Granicus* without meeting with any conſiderable accident, if we except only the preſervation of the city of *Lampſacus*, which on account of its adhering to the *Perſians*, he had determined to deſtroy. *Anaximenes*, an eminent hiſtorian, well known in the court of *Philip*, and for whom *Alexander* himſelf had a great eſteem, met him on the road in order to intercede for the place of his birth. The king's indignation ran ſo high, that as ſoon as he came into his preſence, he cried out, Anaximenes, *I ſwear ſolemnly that I will not do what you deſire me. My requeſt then, Sir,* (ſaid the old man ſmiling) *is, that you would burn* Lampſacus. *Alexander*, charmed with his addreſs, and conſidering at the ſame time the oath that he had made, ordered the city to be ſpared [d]. In the interim, the b *Perſians* had aſſembled a great army in *Phrygia*, amongſt whom was *Memnon* the *Rhodian*; he was indeed the very hopes of *Perſia*, and the beſt officer *Darius* had. When it was known that the *Macedonians* were marching directly towards them, this *Memnon* gave it as his opinion, that they ſhould burn and deſtroy all the country, and tranſport a moderate army over into *Macedon*. But the *Perſians* depending on their horſe, refuſed to comply with his advice, and therefore poſting themſelves along the river, they determined there to wait the arrival of *Alexander*. *Juſtin* would have us believe, that the *Perſian* army conſiſted of ſix hundred thouſand foot [e]. *Arrian* ſays there were but twenty thouſand, and the like number of horſe, which is moſt probable; *Diodorus Siculus* makes them ten thouſand horſe, and a hundred thouſand c foot. All agree that the horſe were drawn up in one line, fronting the river, and the foot behind them [f]. The river itſelf was rapid, and the bank ſteep.

He ſpares Lampſacus *through the art of* Anaximenes.

As ſoon as *Alexander* was informed of the poſture the *Perſians* were in, he ordered his forces to be drawn up in battalia, the foot in two lines, the horſe on the right and left, and the baggage in the rear, and then moved directly towards the river. *Parmenio* perceiving that he intended to fight, immediately addreſſed him in theſe words: "To me, my prince, it ſeems expedient, that we ſhould encamp cloſe "by the river ſide. For the enemy being far inferior to us in foot, I am per- "ſuaded their courage will not ſerve them to remain all night in their poſts; and if "they decamp, we may croſs the river by break of day. We ſhall then have d "time to take all our meaſures before they can form, whereas we cannot paſs now "without great hazard. For how ſhall we lead our ſoldiers to ford a river in the "ſight of our enemies, which of itſelf is rapid, full of eddies, its banks deep and "uneven as you ſee? Beſides, will not the enemy's horſe, who are perfectly well "diſciplined, take the advantage of our heavy-armed foot, as their order muſt be "broke in climbing the oppoſite bank, to charge them in flank. If any ill accident "ſhould happen at preſent, it would not only be attended with terrible conſe- "quences, but would be alſo thought to have an ominous appearance in reſpect to "the future progreſs of the war". I agree, "*Parmenio*, returned *Alexander*, that what "you ſay is very reaſonable; but how ſhameful would it be for us, who have ſo e "eaſily paſſed the *Helleſpont*, to be ſtopped by this brook. Such a conduct would "reflect on the *Macedonians*, and on myſelf, as if we were not able to look any "danger in the face. The *Perſians* too would from thence take heart, and believe "themſelves our equals, if our firſt attempt ſpeak not that ſuperiority in military "boldneſs for which the arms of *Macedon* are already famous [g]". As ſoon as he had done ſpeaking, the king diſtributed his orders. To *Parmenio* he conſigned the care of the left wing. The right he commanded himſelf, and under him *Philotas*. The *Perſians*, when they ſaw him advancing, for he was eaſily diſtinguiſhed by his armour, and by his guards, immediately brought ſome ſquadrons from the right wing to reinforce the left; ſo ſoon were they ſtruck with his preſence. *Ptolemy* the ſon of *Philip* had the command of the forlorn, and entered the river firſt; *Alexander* with the whole right wing followed him, but inſtead of marching directly croſs, as the *Perſians* expected, he ſuffered his troops to ſlope according to the motion of the current, whereby they had an opportunity of forming in the water, and of charging in good order. The horſe and light-armed troops commanded by *Amyntas* and *Socrates* were very warmly received; the ſons of *Memnon*, and *Memnon* in perſon, charged them briskly, and behaved ſo well, that moſt of them were ſlain, thoſe few who were left retired to the right wing, as it advanced, commanded by *Alexander*,

The battle at the Granicus. *Year after the flood* 2665. *Year before Chriſt* 334.

[d] Valer. Max. lib. vii. c. 3. [e] Hiſt. ubi ſupra. [f] Arrian. ubi ſupra. Diodor. ubi ſupra. [g] Arrian. lib. i. c. 12.

who inſtantly threw himſelf into the thickeſt of the fight, and performed wonders a
there till his lance broke. *Aletas* the maſter of his horſe, when he commanded him to
give him another, ſhewed him the broken ſtaff of his own with which he was fight-
ing; *Damaratas* however, one of the king's friends, reached him a ſpear, which as
ſoon as *Alexander* graſped, he rode directly to attack *Mithridates*, ſon-in-law to *Da-
rius*, who advanced at the head of a freſh body of horſe, and at their firſt meet-
ing, ſtriking him through the mouth, bore him to the ground; immediately *Rhe-
ſanes*, a *Perſian* nobleman, ſtruck the king over the head with his ſword, cut off
a part of his helmet, and ſlightly wounded him; but while he gave the ſtroke, the
king bearing upon him with his lance, ſtruck him through the body, ſo that he fell
down dead. Yet *Spithridates* coming behind *Alexander*, had at the ſame inſtant ſtruck b
off his head, if *Clytus* had not diſabled him, while his arm was lifted up [h]. The *Ma-
cedonian* horſe began now to reach the ſhore in all parts, and the light-armed foot mix-
ing themſelves amongſt them, the *Perſians* who were unable to ſtand the ſhock, began
firſt to break where *Alexander* charged in perſon. The king did not purſue them far,
becauſe the mercenaries remained as yet firm, till being ſurrounded on all ſides, they
were, except two thouſand who ſurrendered, cut to pieces to a man. Of the *Mace-
donians* twenty-five of the king's body-guard were ſlain, whoſe ſtatues, caſt in braſs
by *Lyſippus*, the king ſent to *Dium*, there to be ſet up as a memorial of their
bravery and his gratitude. Beſides theſe there fell of the horſe between ſixty and
ſeventy, and of the foot thirty. Theſe were the next day interred in their arms by the c
king's command; he granted alſo to their children, and to their parents, the freedom
of t. oſe cities in which they dwelt, together with the releaſe of all taxes and
duties whatſoever; as for the wounded, he viſited them in perſon, ſaw them dreſſed,
and heard from every man whatever he thought fit to ſay of his own deeds. He
gave directions alſo for burying the *Perſians* and *Greek* mercenaries; but for ſuch of
the latter as remained priſoners, he ſent them back to *Greece* in chains, ſaying, it
was fit uſage for ſuch as he found in arms againſt their country. He likewiſe ſent to
Athens three hundred ſuits of *Perſian* armour to be conſecrated in the temple of *Mi-
nerva*, with this inſcription; Alexander *the ſon of* Philip, *and all the* Grecians, *the*
Lacedæmonians *excepted, have dedicated theſe ſpoils taken from the* Barbarians *who in-* d
habit Aſia [i] (D).

This

[h] Plut. in vit. Alex. Justin. lib. xi. c. 5.

[i] Arrian. lib. i. c. 17. Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit. Alex.

(D) The different accounts we have of the battle of *Granicus* are in many reſpects abſolutely incompa ible. *Diodorus Siculus* ſays, that *Alexander* commanded the left wing, or at leaſt that he charged there, though at the beginning of the paragraph he aſſigns that command to *Parmenio*. Inſtead of *Mithridates*, he calls the *Perſian Spithrobates*, with whom *Alexander* fought, and tells us, that with his javelin he ſtruck the king into the right ſhoulder blade, from whence *Alexander* drew it, and returned it immediately (8). He alſo attributes to *Roſaces* what *Arrian* tells us of *Spithridates*, which in all probability induced *Freinſhemius* in his ſupplement to *Curtius* (9) to look on *Mithridates* and *Spithridates* as the ſame perſon, in which he has certainly rectified no miſtake in *Arrian*, but through an itch of criticizing hath fallen into one himſelf. Whoever reads *Arrian* carefully will diſcern, that *Mithridates* was dead before *Spithridates* attacked *Alexander*; that *Mithridates* was killed by *Alexander* himſelf, but *Spithridates* by *Clytus*. Beſides when he reckons up the great officers among the *Perſians*, who fell in this battle, *Arrian* ſays expreſsly, there were *Spithridates* governor of *Lydia*, and *Mithridates* ſon-in-law to *Darius*. We have mentioned theſe facts, not ſo much on account of their importance, as to vindicate our following *Arrian* rather than any other writer on this ſubject; and we hope every impartial reader will ſee and approve our reaſon, becauſe his accounts are cleareſt, and moſt conſiſtent with themſelves. *Plutarch* ſays, that the *Perſians* loſt twenty thouſand foot, and two thouſand five hundred horſe in this battle, and the *Macedonians* only thirty-four; to eternize whoſe memory, *Alexander* cauſed ſo many ſtatues of braſs to be ſet up (10). This is certainly a little incredible, but *Arrian*'s account inſerted in our text is very clear; he ſpeaks not of thirty-four, but of twenty-five ſtatues, which were made not to repreſent all who fell in the battle, but thoſe only who fell in the king's guards, who were all perſons of diſtinction. To ſay the truth, this is wonderful enough; for it is not eaſy to comprehend how in the ſpace of ten years, which includes the whole reign of *Alexander* after this battle, *Lyſippus* could make all theſe ſtatues; but that they were made and ſet up at *Dium* is certain, ſince we know that *Q. Metellus* ſent them from thence to *Rome*. It ſeems ſomewhat ſtrange, that *Plutarch*, who at other times ſpeaks ſo favourably of *Alexander*'s conduct, charges him upon this occaſion with rage and madneſs in offering to paſs a river in the ſight and in defiance of a ſuperior enemy. *Arrian*'s account ſhews, that *Alexander* offered ſome reaſons for what he did; and though it may be alledged, that the harangues in *Greek* authors are uſually compoſed by themſelves, and therefore cannot be acknowledged as authentic evidence, we apprehend that two anſwers may be in the preſent caſe given to this objection. The firſt, that ſuppoſing the fact true, the harangue contains the ſentiment of the author, which amounts to this, that

(8) *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* xvii. (9) *Sup. Curt. lib.* ii. *c.* 5. (10) *Plut. in vit. Alex.*

a THIS battle put the king in poſſeſſion of all the adjacent country, of which he began immediately to take care, as if it had been part of his hereditary dominions. *Calas* was conſtituted lieutenant of the province from which the ſame tribute was exacted as heretofore had been paid to *Darius*. He himſelf marched toward *Sardis*, and when he was about ſeventy ſtadia diſtant from that city, he was met by *Mythrenes* governor of the gariſon in the caſtle, accompanied by the chief citizens; theſe ſurrendering the city into his hands, and *Mythrenes* the caſtle with the royal treaſures therein contained. He then proceeded to the river *Hermus* about twenty ſtadia diſtant from *Sardis*, where he encamped, and from whence he diſpatched *Amyntas* the ſon of *Andromenes* to *Sardis* to take the government of the caſtle, and b carrying *Mythrenes* with him, treated him honourably. To the *Sardians*, and other *Lydians*, he granted the privilege of being governed by their ancient laws. He then entered the caſtle which was garriſoned by *Perſians*, and ſeemed to him well fortified. It was ſeated on a high rock, which was every-where ſteep, and ſurrounded with a triple wall. He therefore purpoſed to erect a temple on the top of that eminence, and therein to dedicate an altar to *Jupiter Olympius*; but while he was yet in ſuſpenſe, which part of the caſtle was moſt commodious for that purpoſe, a dreadful tempeſt aroſe on a ſudden, huge claps of thunder were heard, and a violent ſtorm fell on that part where the royal palace of the *Lydian* kings had ſtood. Thus the god ſeemed to point out the place where the temple ſhould be erected; and it was ordered c to be built accordingly. The government of this caſtle he committed into the hands of *Pauſanias*, one of his friends, but the collection of tributes and impoſts to *Nicias*. *Aſander* the ſon of *Philotas* was conſtituted prefect of *Lydia*, and the reſt of the provinces of *Spithridates*, and had ſuch a number of horſe and light-armed foot allowed him as were judged neceſſary. *Calas* and *Alexander* the ſon of *Æropus* were diſpatched into the province commanded by *Memnon*, and with them a very conſiderable body of troops [k]. In the mean time the mercenaries in gariſon at *Epheſus*, ſeizing two gallies of three banks of oars, retired; with them went *Amyntas*, who as we have elſewhere obſerved, had deſerted to *Darius*, as ſoon as *Alexander* aſcended the throne. As ſoon as the king had information of this, he went to *Epheſus* in d perſon, where he did every thing that was popular, he reſtored the democracy, and ordered the tribute which had been paid to the *Perſian* to be applied to the rebuilding the temple of *Diana*. It is ſaid he would have been at the whole expence of that magnificent pile, if the *Epheſians* would have inſcribed his name thereupon; but this they refuſed, chuſing to keep the honour and the expence to themſelves. His favours encouraged the commons of *Epheſus* to fall upon ſome perſons of diſtinction who had been formerly in the adminiſtration of affairs, and notwithſtanding they had taken ſanctuary in the temple, to drag them to the market-place, where they ſtoned them; as theſe men had been guilty of very flagrant oppreſſions, *Alexander* would not interpoſe to ſave them, but immediately after their deaths, he iſſued out an edict, whereby he ſtrictly forbad any farther inquiry into the conduct e of the former magiſtrates, rightly conceiving, that if the people were ſuffered to treat the guilty thus, envy, malice and avarice would ſoon lead them to treat the innocent in the ſame manner. This conduct of his gained him high reputation, all degrees of people owning him for their deliverer, while at the ſame time the nobles confeſſed that he was their preſerver [l]. By another edict, he ordered the popular government to be reſtored in all the *Greek* cities, and ſent *Alcimalus* with a body of troops to ſee it executed; then with the remainder of his army he marched to beſiege *Miletus*, before which his fleet commanded by *Nicanor* had lain for ſome time, and the *Perſian* fleet was alſo in the neighbourhood of that city. The *Mile*f *ſians* themſelves were diſpoſed to ſubmit to *Alexander*, but *Memnon*, who with a conſiderable body of troops had entered the place immediately after the battle at *Granicus*, reſolved to defend it. We have already obſerved, that he was a great officer, and his conduct here was equal to the reputation he had before acquired; for not-

The conſequences of this victory.

[k] ARRIAN. lib. i. c. 18. [l] ARRIAN. ubi ſupra. PLUT. in vit. Alexand.

that *Alexander*'s conduct was defenſible in the opinion of *Arrian*: The ſecond, that as *Arrian* tranſcribed his hiſtory from the memoirs of *Ariſtobulus* and *Ptolemy*, who were eye and ear-witneſſes of what they wrote, it may be well preſumed, that he had at leaſt the ſubſtance of the ſpeeches he inſerted from thoſe authors too, and if ſo, then they will be the ſtrongeſt evidence. This notion is rendered the more probable from the ſtructure of theſe orations, which are far from being rhetorical, but on the contrary, as plain and natural as can be imagined.

withſtanding

withſtanding the *Macedonian* fleet blocked up the haven, the citizens were diſaffected, a
and *Alexander*'s veteran foot ſtormed the place almoſt as ſoon as they came before
it; yet he made a vigorous reſiſtance, and after the city was taken withdrew with his
gariſon into an iſland where part of the mercenaries capitulated, and were received
into *Alexander*'s ſervice, the reſt with *Memnon* himſelf withdrew to *Halicarnaſſus* [m].
When the king was fully maſter of *Miletus*, he treated the citizens with much huma-
nity, but ſold all the ſtrangers he found for ſlaves. As ſoon as he was informed
that the *Perſian* fleet was withdrawn from *Mycale*, he diſmiſſed his own (E); this
was a very extraordinary ſtep, and authors are pretty much at a loſs how to account
for it. *Diodorus Siculus* ſays, that *Alexander* being well informed of *Darius*'s deſign
to march againſt him immediately with a mighty army, he determined by this means b
to cut off from his own troops all hopes of ſafety but from their valour; he grounds
this conjecture on the conduct of *Alexander* in the laſt battle, wherein he made his
forces fight with the river at their back, ſo that flight was rendered impracticable
there being the chance of war if they fought, but no chance at all if they attempted
to run away [n]. *Arrian* hath aſſigned us ſome better reaſons; he ſays, in the firſt place,
that *Alexander* had no money to pay them; and in the ſecond, that he was afraid to
truſt his fortune in an engagement at ſea. There was a third reaſon much ſtronger
than the other two; he was determined to poſſeſs himſelf of all the ſea-ports by
means of his land-army, and having done this, he very rightly conjectured, that
the *Perſians* would be deprived of all uſe of their fleet for want of their uſual recruits, c
and from their being deprived of ports where they might refit [o]. He had moreover
ſome notion that his fleet would be more wanting on the other ſide of the *Helleſpont*,
ſo that for many reaſons he was determined to this meaſure, how extraordinary ſoever
it might appear; for though it be true, that never any general poſſeſſed perſonal
courage in a higher degree than the prince of whom we are ſpeaking, yet it is as
certain that he was a great maſter in the art of war, and did many things which
had the air of raſhneſs from a ſuperior skill in the military art, which enabled him
to penetrate farther into the connection between cauſes and events, than many who
were about him, and than moſt of the authors who have tranſmitted his hiſtory to
poſterity, as the reader will diſcern from the laſt note. d

The ſiege of Halicarnaſſus.

ALMOST all the cities between *Miletus* and *Halicarnaſſus* ſubmitted as ſoon as the
former was taken, and the reſt ſurrendered as ſoon as the king marched towards
them; but for *Halicarnaſſus* itſelf, *Alexander* was ſenſible that the reduction thereof
would coſt him both time and trouble: *Memnon*, whom *Darius* had declared high
admiral, and governor of the *Lower Aſia*, commanded there in perſon with a very
numerous gariſon [p]. *Alexander* encamped therefore at the diſtance of five ſtadia from
the city, ſkirmiſhing daily with the gariſon, till he had provided all things for the ſiege.

[m] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. ARRIAN. ubi ſupra. [n] ubi ſupra. [o] ARRIAN. lib. i. c. 19. [p] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra.

(E) After the battle at *Granicus*, *Alexander*'s generals were a good deal perplexed as to the manner in which they ſhould adviſe him to proceed; for they ſaw plainly, that though their late victory had ſtruck the *Perſians* with great conſternation, yet in effect it had very little leſſened their power: Beſides at ſea they were ſtill maſters. What the ſentiments of *Parmenio* were on this head, and what thoſe of *Alexander*, we learn from *Arrian* in the following words: The *Barbarian* fleet conſiſted of about four hundred ſhips. *Parmenio* adviſed *Alexander* to a naval engagement, aſſuring him that the *Greeks* would be victors at ſea, becauſe a lucky omen had juſt happened, an eagle being ſeen upon the ſhore from one of the ſhips of his navy. He alſo added, that if they overcame their enemies, they would reap an immenſe advantage from ſuch an engagement during the whole war; and if they chanced to be overcome, he could not perceive that any vaſt danger could enſue, becauſe the *Perſians*, by virtue of their ſhipping, already held the ſovereignty of the ſea without fighting. As for his part, he would willingly enter himſelf on board, and ſhare the danger of the fleet in his own perſon. However, *Alexander* returned him anſwer, that he was miſtaken in his conjectures, and did not interpret the omen juſtly; for it would be a point of ſmall prudence in him with ſo few ſhips to hazard an engagement againſt a fleet ſo numerous; and with ſoldiers ſo little trained up in naval diſcipline to pretend to attack the expert *Cyprians* and *Phœnicians*: Neither was he willing that the *Barbarians* ſhould try the ſkill and valour of the *Macedonians* on ſo unſtable an element: And beſides, ſhould they be beaten in a ſea-fight, an inexpreſſible damage would accrue to them from the fame their enemies would thereby gain. Add to this, that if the *Greeks* were animated by the news of an overthrow at ſea, they would begin to ſtudy innovations. All which things maturely weighed, he deemed a ſea-fight altogether unſafe at that juncture: And for his part, he expounded the omen in a different manner. The eagle indeed he allowed promiſed ſucceſs; but as ſhe was ſeen on the ſhore, it ſeemed rather to portend, that he ſhould become maſter of the enemies fleet by beating their armies on the continent (11).

(11) *Arrian. lib. i. c. 19.*

While

a While things were in this ſituation, ſome of the citizens of *Myndus* privately promiſed *Alexander* to put their town into his hands, provided he would advance towards it in the night with a conſiderable body of forces; this propoſition the king very readily accepted, and drew out a conſiderable body of horſe ſupported by a body of light-armed foot in order to go on this expedition. At midnight therefore he approached the walls according to his promiſe; but perceiving no ſigns of a ſurrender from the citizens, and conſidering that he had neither engines nor ſcaling ladders at hand, as coming there not to beſiege a city, but to have it delivered to him; he nevertheleſs ordered the *Macedonian* phalanx to advance, commanding them to undermine the wall, which they did, and preſently overturned one of the towers thereupon,
b without making a breach in the wall itſelf. But the citizens making an obſtinate defence, and being aſſiſted by the *Halicarnaſſians*, who ſent them ſuccours by ſea, *Alexander* was diſappointed in his expedition of taking it at the firſt aſſault; wherefore without more ado, he drew off and returned to his ſiege of *Halicarnaſſus*: and firſt of all ordered the ditch which the citizens had dug round their walls of thirty cubits in breadth, and fifteen in depth, to be filled up, that ſo the wooden towers, out of which they were to direct their miſſive weapons againſt the beſieged, and their engines to ſhake the walls might advance forwards. The ditch being accordingly filled up, the towers began to advance; but the beſieged iſſued forth by night with a deſign of burning both the towers and engines which were now nigh
c the walls; and had certainly effected their deſigns had they not been encountered by the *Macedonians* who were placed to guard the engines, and others who came haſtily forth at the noiſe of the skirmiſh; ſo that they were with ſmall loſs beat back into the city. There fell of the *Halicarnaſſians* in this conflict one hundred and ſeventy, among whom was *Neoptolemus* the brother of *Arrhabæus*, and ſon of *Amyntas*, one of thoſe who had formerly fled to *Darius*. Of the *Macedonians* ſixteen were ſlain, and near three hundred wounded; for that ſally being made in the night, they were the leſs able to guard their bodies, and avoid the darts and arrows of their enemies [q]. We have in *Arrian* a very exact journal of this ſiege, wherein the greateſt vigour was ſhewn on the part of the aſſailants, and the moſt obſtinate reſolution diſ-
d covered by the defendants; a moſt conſummate experience in the affairs of war in both; for as the king's troops frequently attempted to ſcale the walls, continued conſtantly to batter them with engines, and in ſome places proceeded by ſap, ſo the gariſon ſallied often, ſometimes burnt the beſiegers engines, at others levelled their works, yet were in all their attempts expoſed to great danger, there happening a vaſt effuſion of blood on both ſides [r]. At laſt *Orontobates* and *Memnon*, and the reſt of the *Perſian* commanders, conſidering that they could not now hold the town long, becauſe part of their walls was already beat down, and part ſhaken, and ready to fall, and many of the defendants either cut off in the ſeveral encounters which had happened, or wounded and rendered unſerviceable; and having weighed the matter
e deliberately, about the ſecond watch of the night, ſet fire to the wooden tower which they had built to guard them from the ſhocks of the enemies engines, and to the arſenal where their artillery was lodged, as alſo to ſome houſes near the wall, which laſt blazed out with much fury, becauſe the wind ſetting that way, many flakes of fire were driven from the tower and arſenal thither. Hereupon ſome of the townſmen betook themſelves to a caſtle in an iſland, and others to another caſtle called *Salmais*. Which when *Alexander* was informed of by ſome deſerters, and when he beheld the raging flames, though it was near midnight, he nevertheleſs detached a body of *Macedonians* thither with orders to ſlay thoſe who ſet fire to the city, but to ſpare whomſoever they found in their habitations. As ſoon as it was day-light, *Alexander*
f viewing the caſtles which the *Perſians* and their mercenary troops had ſeized, reſolved not to lay ſiege to them, as well becauſe the reducing them, conſidering their ſituation, would take up too much time, as becauſe they would not be of any great importance after he had reduced the city; wherefore taking care to inter thoſe who fell in the laſt conflict by night, he commanded his engineers to convey the artillery to *Tralles*, which city he laid level with the ground, and marching thence into *Phrygia* left a body of three thouſand foot, and two hundred horſe, under the command of *Ptolemy* to keep the country of *Caria* in obedience [s].

[q] Arrian. lib. i. c. 21. [r] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. [s] Arrian. lib. i. c. 24.

Ada *made governeſs of* Caria.

AT the time *Alexander* entered this country there was a lady whoſe name was *Ada*, who claimed the title of queen of *Caria* thus: She was the daughter of *Hecatomnus*, and the ſiſter of *Hidrieus*, and according to the *Carian* laws, his wife too; on his death ſhe ſucceeded him in the kingdom, but was quickly diſpoſſeſſed of it by *Pexodorus*, whoſe ſon-in-law *Orontobates* ſucceeded him by the favour of *Darius*. *Ada* all this time held the city of *Alinda*, which was the ſtrongeſt in thoſe parts; the keys of which as ſoon as he entered the province ſhe delivered to *Alexander*, and as a farther mark of her reſpect, ſhe adopted him her ſon. The king, charmed by her obliging behaviour, and ſtruck with that greatneſs of mind ſhe manifeſted on this ſudden turn of affairs, received the honour ſhe did him very kindly, and after having demoliſhed *Halicarnaſſus*, he made her governeſs general of all *Caria* [t]. While his forces remained in *Caria*, *Ada* had often ſent him preſents of the beſt things the country afforded; and now when he was about to depart, ſhe ſent him ſeveral cooks and confectioners to ſerve in his kitchen; but the king ſent them back with this compliment, that his governor *Leonidas* long ago provided him better cooks than they, viz. *Long morning marches to give him a ſtomach to his dinner, and ſlender dinners, which were ſure to leave appetite enough for ſupper.* This conduct of *Alexander* towards the queen of *Caria* was of great uſe to him; for it induced many of the princes of the *Leſſer Aſia* to revolt from the *Perſian*, and put themſelves under his protection. *Mithridates* king of *Pontus* was in the number of theſe; he was the anceſtor of that famous king of the ſame name, who gave the *Romans* ſo much trouble, and was deſcended from the royal houſe of *Perſia*; and coming to *Alexander*'s camp to pay his compliments to him, he acquired ſuch a love for him, that he accompanied him in his *Perſian* expedition [u]. a b c

The ſlaughter of the Marmarians.

Diodorus Siculus affirms, that the laſt action of the campaign was againſt the *Marmarians*, an inconſiderable people inhabiting on the borders of *Lycia*; their city was ſeated among rocks, and thence held by them to be impregnable. Theſe people either for the ſake of booty, or from their warm attachment to the *Perſians*, fell upon the rear of *Alexander*'s army, cut a great number of *Macedonians* to pieces, and took a great part of the baggage; this exceedingly provoked the king, who immediately cauſed the place to be inveſted, and as it had no fortifications but thoſe of nature, he ſtormed it two whole days together. The old men then among the beſieged would have perſuaded them to ſurrender, but they declaring reſolutely that they would never ſubmit, their elders adviſed them to put all the ſuperannuated men, women and children to death, then to force a paſſage through the enemies camp. This advice the young men embraced, when every one going home made a great feaſt, and after eating and drinking plentifully with his wife and children, ſhut the door of his houſe, and then ſet it on fire. As ſoon as the flames began to mount, they to the number of ſix hundred ſallied out, forced the *Macedonian* guard, and made their eſcape to the mountains [w]. d

The new-married men ſent home.

WHEN the winter began to come in, *Alexander* made choice of *Ptolemy* the ſon of *Seleucus*, *Cœnus* the ſon of *Polemocrates*, and *Meleager* the ſon of *Neoptolemus* to lead home to *Macedon* all the new-married ſoldiers in his army, that they might ſpend the winter with their wives, an act very extraordinary in its nature, and for which there was no precedent among the *Greeks*; but inaſmuch as it is exactly conformable to the law of *Moſes*, ſome learned men have been tempted to believe, that *Ariſtotle*, who was well verſed in the *Hebrew* learning, adviſed him thereto; however it was, *Arrian* tells us expreſsly, that no action of his life endeared him more to the *Macedonians* than this. He likewiſe ſent *Parmenio* and ſome other general officers to raiſe recruits, ſome into *Europe*, and ſome into *Aſia* [x] (F). e

THINGS

[t] Id. ibid. [u] FLOR. lib. iii. c. 5. [w] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. [x] ARRIAN. lib. i. c. 25. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. PLUT. in vit. Alex.

(F) The words of the law of *Moſes* relating to this matter are theſe: *When a man hath taken a new wife, he ſhall not go out to war, neither ſhall he be charged with any buſineſs; he ſhall be free at home for one year, and ſhall chear up his wife which he hath taken* (12). To this paſſage it might be objected, that *Moſes* forbids the enliſting new-married men, whereas *Alexander* diſmiſſed thoſe who actually ſerved in his army; yet the truth is, that *Alexander* exactly fulfilled the law; for in another place, it is enjoined, the principal officers of the *Hebrew* army when in the field to inquire amongſt other things; *What man there is that hath betrothed a wife, and hath not taken her; let him go home and return to his*

(12) *Deut.* xxiv. 5.

a THINGS being in this ſituation, and the king buſy in providing for the next campaign, a very extraordinary piece of treaſon was diſcovered. *Alexander* the ſon of *Æropus*, whom the king had made general of the *Theſſalian* horſe, held a correſpondence with *Amyntas*, who was in the ſervice with *Darius*. *Aſiſines* a *Perſian* was pitched on by the latter to carry letters to this *Alexander*, promiſing him a thouſand talents of ſilver, and the kingdom of *Macedonia*, if he would undertake to murder the king; this *Aſiſines* *Parmenio* apprehended upon ſome ſuſpicion or other, and being examined, he confeſſed the whole buſineſs; whereupon the king ſent inſtructions to *Parmenio* to apprehend *Alexander* before he ſhould be able to debauch the troops under his command, and thereby cauſe a defection, which on account of the man's great quality might be very dangerous. This commiſſion was very happily executed, and the b king thereby delivered from a conſpiracy which had given him no ſmall diſquiet [z] (G). *A conſpiracy diſcovered.*

As ſoon as the ſeaſon permitted, *Alexander* quitted the province of *Phaſelus* where he now was, and having ſent part of his army through the mountainous country to *Perga* by a ſhort but difficult road, he led the reſt by the ſea-ſhore, taking his rout by a certain promontory, where the way is altogether impaſſable, except when the north winds blow. At the time of the king's march the ſouth wind had held for a long time, but of a ſudden it changed, and blew from the north ſo violently, that, as he and his followers declared, they by divine aſſiſtance obtained a ſafe and eaſy paſſage. This is *Arrian*'s account, not only in ſubſtance, but in his own words, of a c march held by many to be miraculous, and even compared to that of the children of *Iſrael* thro' the *Red-Sea*, while on the other hand, it is the opinion of many there is nothing extraordinary in it at all [a] (H). In this march he was met by deputies from the *Aſpendians*, who deſired him to ſpare putting a gariſon into their city, becauſe they were content to be his faithful ſubjects, to which he readily aſſented upon condition they paid him fifty talents, and ſent him the ſame number of horſes which they were wont to furniſh to *Darius*; terms to which they alſo readily agreed; but while the king was employed in reducing other places in the neighbourhood, the *Aſpendians* fortified their city, and refuſed to comply with the treaty which their deputies had made. Upon which the king marched immediately that way with his army. Alexander *proceeds in the conqueſt of the adjacent provinces.* *Year after the flood, 2666. Before Chriſt 333.*

[z] ARRIAN. lib. i. c. 26. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. [a] ARRIAN. PLUTARCH. ubi ſupra.

his houſe, leſt he die in battle, and another man take her (13). We are well aſſured that *Ariſtotle* was acquainted with, and highly eſteemed the law of the *Jews*; we know too, that what *Philip* expected from him was not to inſtruct his ſon in ſcanning of verſes, or ſolving grammatical niceties; but that he might become a worthy ſucceſſor of himſelf, and an able king of *Macedon*. To this end, that truly wiſe man put a correct edition of *Homer* into the hands of his pupil, and doubtleſs acquainted him with whatſoever elſe he had collected in relation to the ſcience of government from books or in his travels (14). This ſuppoſition therefore that the practice of *Alexander* was founded on the *Moſaic* law, is very probable. To ſay the truth, the beſt laws in *Greece* were but copies of the *Moſaic* law, as ſome learned men in the laſt century have very fully ſhewn, and of which any impartial perſon may be eaſily convinced, if he will compare thoſe laws in their original languages, and conſider how nearly the *Greek* approaches to an elegant tranſlation of the *Hebrew*, neceſſary allowances being made for the difference in manners.

(G) We are told by *Diodorus*, that it was by a letter from his mother *Olympias* the king was informed of the conſpiracy of *Alexander* the ſon of *Æropus*; however *Arrian*, beſides the information of *Parmenio*, informs us of another odd circumſtance which concurred to make this matter more obſervable. While the king, who then lay before *Halicarnaſſus*, was faſt aſleep about noon, a ſwallow came chattering about him, hovering over his head, and reſting ſometimes on one, ſometimes on the other ſide of the bed. He being exceedingly fatigued was not eaſily awaked; but when her inceſſant chattering rouſed him from ſleep, he put her away gently with his hand; notwithſtanding which ſhe was ſo far from endeavouring to eſcape, that ſhe perched upon his head, and ceaſed not her noiſe till the king was thoroughly awake. This prodigy being deemed of too great moment to be diſregarded, he immediately conſulted with *Ariſtander* the *Telmiſſean* ſoothſayer, who aſſured him that a conſpiracy was formed againſt his life by one of his domeſtics, but that it would be brought to light, becauſe the ſwallow was a domeſtic bird, and moſt exceedingly loquacious (15).

(H) There ſeems to be no juſt reaſon for believing any thing ſupernatural in relation to *Alexander*'s paſſage by the ſea-ſide. In his letters he ſpoke of it himſelf in terms the moſt plain and ſimple, affirming nothing more than that he marched from *Phaſelis* through the ſtreights called *the ladders* (16). There is however a paſſage in *Strabo* which ſeems to ſet this matter in a clear light, and to prove very fully that there was in this paſſage no miracle at all. "Near the city of *Phaſelis* between *Lycia* and "*Pamphylia* there is a paſſage coaſting along by the "ſea through which *Alexander* marched his army. "This paſſage is very narrow, and lies between "the mountain *Chinax* which overlooks the *Pam*"*phylian* ſea, and the ſhore. It is dry at low wa"ter, ſo that travellers paſs through it with ſafety; "but when the ſea is high, it is all covered over. "It was then in the winter ſeaſon, and *Alexander*, "who depended much upon his good fortune, was "reſolved to ſet out without ſtaying till the floods "were abated, ſo that his men were forced to "march up to the middle in water (17)".

(13) *Deut.* xx. 7. (14) *Joſeph. cont. Ap. lib.* i. *ap. Plut. in vit. Alex.* (15) *Arrian. lib.* i. *c.* 26. (16) *Epiſt. Alex.* (17) *Strab. Geogr. lib.*

The

The city of *Aſpendus* is ſeated chiefly upon a high and ſteep rock, the foot of which a
is waſhed by the river *Eurymedon*; but round the rock upon the plain are abundance of houſes ſurrounded with a ſlight wall. As ſoon as *Alexander* approached, the inhabitants of the lower town, diſtruſting their ſafety there, fled, and betook themſelves to the higher town or caſtle; which when he perceived, he entered the lower town with his army, and encamped within the walls. The beſieged ſeeing *Alexander*'s force, and themſelves hemmed in on every ſide contrary to their expectations, ſent meſſengers to intreat him to accept of the former conditions. *Alexander* conſidering the ſtrength of the place, and how unprovided he was to undertake a long ſiege, was willing to agree with them, though not upon the former terms; but inſiſted now, that their principal citizens ſhould be delivered up as hoſtages; that the number of b
horſes which they had before promiſed ſhould be punctually delivered, and the number of talents doubled; and moreover, that they ſhould be under the command of ſuch a gariſon as he ſhould place over them, and pay an annual tribute to the *Macedonians*; and laſtly, that the cauſe concerning the field which they were ſaid to have wreſted unjuſtly out of their neighbours hands ſhould be referred to arbitration. This affair being finiſhed, the king proſecuted his march to *Telmiſſus*, a very ſtrong city, ſeated on the top of a high mountain, having another as high over-againſt it, and a narrow craggy road between theſe two. This paſs the *Telmiſſeans* had ſeized, and if they had defended it as they ought, might in all probability have compelled the king to look for another road. But *Alexander* rightly judging that the terror c
of an attack would oblige them to withdraw, encamped his forces at the very entrance of the paſſage, at the cloſe of the evening, and in the morning, as he had rightly conjectured, it was perceived, that the *Telmiſſeans* were retired into their city, the ſiege of which on account of its ſtrong ſituation the king declined for the preſent, and continued his march through *Phrygia*, intending to reaſſemble all his troops at *Gordium*, whither he ſent his orders to *Parmenio* to march, as he did alſo to *Ptolemy* and his collegues, who with the new-married men and recruits were now returned from *Macedonia* [b]. On his march he met with deputies from *Athens*, who in very ſubmiſſive terms beſought him to diſmiſs ſuch of their citizens as he had taken fighting in the ſervice of the *Perſians*; but from this the king deſired to be d
excuſed till the war was over, and then told them he would be content to hear them what they could ſay in favour of their citizens [c].

Darius *puts* Charidemus *to death.*

Darius was all this time fighting for *Alexander* at home; for upon the death of *Memnon* his admiral, who had begun with great ſucceſs to reduce the *Greek* iſlands again under his obedience, and was on the very point of invading *Eubœa*, he was quite at a ſtand, not knowing whom to employ in his ſtead; and being alſo irreſolute as to the choice of a general who ſhould command the land-forces he had raiſed. There happened to be at this time of his court and council one *Charidemus* an *Athenian*, an officer of great merit, and had ſerved long and with much reputation under *Philip* of *Macedon*; this man being heartily zealous for the *Perſian* in- e
tereſt, and ſeeing it no leſs in danger from their own feeble councils than from the *Macedonian* arms, took upon him in few words to ſet the king and his miniſters right. While you, Sir, ſaid he to *Darius*, are ſafe, the empire can never be at ſtake; let me exhort you therefore never to expoſe your perſon, but to make choice of ſome able general to march againſt your enemy. One hundred thouſand men will be more than ſufficient provided a third of them be mercenaries to compel him to abandon this enterprize; and if you will honour me with this command, I will be accountable for the ſucceſs of what I adviſe. *Darius* who was a wiſe and brave man, readily acceded to *Charidemus*'s propoſal; but the *Perſian* lords who were preſent, through envy, inveighed bitterly againſt it; whereupon the *Athenian* was ſo far f
tranſported with paſſion, that he told them they were cowards, who would neither ſerve their maſter themſelves, nor ſuffer him to be ſerved by others. This moved them to charge him with treachery, and to alledge that he ſought the command merely to put all things into the hands of the *Macedonians*; which made ſuch an impreſſion on *Darius*, that he ordered him to be inſtantly bound and delivered over to execution. Thoſe who had puſhed the king upon this barbarous and unjuſt act took care not to let the thing cool, but hurried the *Athenian* to inſtant death; to which as he went, he ſaid aloud, Darius *will very ſoon repent his cruelty towards me, when by*

[b] ARRIAN. lib. i. c. 28. [c] ARRIAN. ubi ſupra. CURT. lib. iii. c. 2.

the

a *the loss of his kingdom he shall find with how much injustice he has taken away my life* [d]. Indeed *Darius* repented in a few days, but, as our author rightly observes, powerful as he was, he could not recal from death him whom a hasty word had sent from the land of the living. He was forced therefore to take the counsel of his own subjects, and pursuant to their advice determined to march against *Alexander* with an army, which as one of his predecessors emphatically said, had in it many men and few soldiers.

Alexander *unties the* Gordian *knot.*

When *Alexander* arrived at *Gordium*, and found himself under a necessity of remaining there some time, till the several corps of his army could unite, he discovered an earnest desire of seeing *Gordius*'s chariot, and the famous knot in the harness, of which such strange stories had been published to the world. This *Gordius*, as the
b tale went, was a man of slender fortune among the ancient *Phrygians*, who had a small piece of land, and two yoke of oxen, one of which he employed in the plough, and the other in the waggon; and that on a certain day, while he was ploughing, an eagle alighted on the yoke, and there rested till the evening. He, terrified at the sight, hasted to consult the *Telmissian* augurs in that case (for the art of divination was common to all that people, even to the women and children, so that it was in a manner hereditary); and when he arrived at a certain village in that country, he met a virgin going to a fountain, who foretold what should happen to him, and ordered him, as she was of the *Telmissian* progeny, to return to his field, and then offer sa-
c crifice to *Jupiter*. *Gordius* on the other hand intreated her to accompany him thither to teach him after what manner sacrifice should be performed. He, thus instructed by the virgin, took her to wife, and she bore him a son named *Midas*, who when he arrived at manhood was both beautiful and valiant. The *Phrygians* were at that time harassed with a cruel sedition, and going to consult the oracle were told, that a chariot should bring them a king who should quell their sedition. Whilst they were yet busy in offering their conjectures about this answer, *Midas* arrived with his father and mother, and appeared suddenly in his chariot before the council. They hereupon interpreting the answer to relate to him, as the man whom the god had told them should come thither in a chariot, made him their king. Their seditions he appeased, and consecrated his father's chariot to *Jupiter* the king, by hanging it up in
d his palace as an offering of thanks for the eagle, the bird of *Jupiter*, sent to his father, by which he received the kingdom. This was also reported concerning the chariot, that whosoever could untie the knot whereby it hung, should obtain the sovereignty over all *Asia*. The cord in which this knot was tied was composed of the inner rind of the corneil tree, and no eye could perceive where it had been begun or ended. *Alexander*, when he could find no possible way of untying it, and yet was unwilling to leave it tied, lest it should cause some fears to arise in the hearts of his soldiers, is said by some to have cut the cords with his sword, and affirmed that the knot was untied. But *Aristobulus* assures us, that he wrested a wooden pin out of the beam of the waggon, which being driven in across the beam, held it up, and
e so took the yoke from it [e]. *Arrian*, from whom we have taken this relation, leaves his reader at liberty to receive which story he pleases. *Curtius* on the contrary declares positively that the king cut the knot through with his sword, saying, as he struck, *It matters not how it is undone.* But what is the authority of *Curtius* compared to that of *Aristobulus*, who was an eye-witness of the thing, and who declares as expressly that the king did not cut it? to which sentiment also *Plutarch* adheres. However it was, *Arrian* informs us, that a great tempest of thunder, lightening and rain happening in the succeeding night, it was held declarative of the true solution of this knot, and that *Alexander* would become lord of *Asia* [f].

His vigilance in entering Cilicia.

On *Alexander*'s arrival at *Ancyra*, a city of *Galatia*, the province of *Paphlagonia*
f submitted to him, which he thereupon added to the government of *Calas*, proceeding instantly to reduce *Cappadocia* as far as the river *Halys*, and then marched on to possess himself of *Cilicia*. This province was bounded on the west by *Pamphylia*, on the east by *Syria*, on the south by the bay of *Issus*, and on the north by *Cappadocia*. In it were three famous streights or passes: The first at its entrance called the gate: The second called the streights of *Amanus*: The third near the bay of *Issus*. It was the first of these which *Alexander* sought to surprize by a quick march, and which, when he came to the camp of *Cyrus*, a place so called, because

[d] Diodor. Sicul. ubi supra. Curt. lib. iii. c. 5. [e] Arrian: lib. iii. c. 30. [f] Arrian. ubi supra. Plut. in vit. Alex.

Cyrus the younger had once taken poſt there with his army, he had the mortification to hear had been ſeized by the *Perſian*, who had ſent a conſiderable body of troops to defend it; this did not hinder the king's purſuing his deſign, and marching in the firſt watch of the night with his horſe and light-armed foot to the very mouth of the paſs in order to attack it as ſoon as day broke. But the enemy ſpared him the trouble, for long before day, forgetting the importance of the place, they abandoned it, and ſought their ſafety in flight; ſo that *Alexander* immediately took poſſeſſion of it, and the next day marched all his army through into *Cilicia* without ſo much as a skirmiſh [g]. a

His ſharp ſickneſs, and wonderful recovery.

As ſoon as he entered the province, he received advice that *Arſames*, whom *Darius* had made governor of *Tarſus*, was about to abandon it, and that the inhabitants were very apprehenſive he would plunder it before he withdrew. To prevent this, the king marched inceſſantly, and arrived juſt time enough to preſerve the place; but his ſaving it had well-nigh coſt him his life; for either through the exceſſive fatigue of marching, as ſome ſay, or, as others relate, by his plunging when very hot into the river *Cydnus*, which as it runs through thick ſhades hath its waters exceedingly cold, he fell into ſuch a diſtemper as threatened his immediate diſſolution. His army in a moment loſt its ſpirits; his generals, who were wont to adviſe him, knew not what to do themſelves; nay his phyſicians were ſo affrighted, that the terror of his death hindred them from taking proper methods for preſerving his life [h]. *Philip* the *Acarnanian* alone preſerved temper enough to examine the nature of the king's diſeaſe, the ſtrongeſt ſymptom of which was a continual waking, which he promiſed by the help of a draught to take off, and by compoſing his ſpirits to put him in a way of recovery. But while *Philip* was employed in preparing his medicine, the king received a letter from *Parmenio*, in which he was adviſed to be cautious of taking any thing from *Philip*, *Darius* having ſuborned him to take away his life. Having peruſed the letter, the king put it under his head; and when *Philip* brought him the potion, he took it out, and reached it to the phyſician, drinking the mixture with a ſteady and ſmiling look, while *Philip* read the letter. The compoſure of the man's countenance, and the anſwer he gave to the letter by exhorting the king to quiet his thoughts, and to diſpoſe himſelf to reſt, aſſuring him that he would recover his health, if he purſued his directions, convinced *Alexander* of the falſhood of the accuſation. When according to *Philip*'s promiſe the king began to recover his health, he not only teſtified an extraordinary gratitude towards the author of his cure, but alſo aſſured all who were about him that he had the juſteſt ſenſe imaginable of their loyalty and affection to his perſon, notwithſtanding any ſuggeſtions he might have received to their prejudice. b c d

He paſſes by Darius.

IMMEDIATELY on his recovery, he diſpatched *Parmenio* to ſeize the ſecond ſtreights, while he himſelf reduced ſuch places in the neighbourhood as had not beſought his protection. Being encamped at *Soli*, he received advice that *Ptolemy* and *Aſander* had beat the generals of *Darius*, and made great conqueſts on the *Helleſpont*; this was very grateful intelligence, and *Alexander* cauſed very magnificent feaſts and ſhews to be made in his camp on that account. A little after he was informed that *Darius* was advanced through *Syria* within two days journey of the ſtreights, upon which the king immediately marched towards him, and that with ſuch expedition, that going through the defiles, he encamped near the city of *Myriandrus*. In the mean time *Darius*, led by his ill fate in the ſhape of his flatterers, had paſſed the ſtreights of *Amanus*, and came down to *Iſſus*, where he put moſt of the *Macedonians* he found to the ſword [i]. e

Darius *returns to meet him.*

Alexander was ſo much ſurprized, when he firſt received the news that *Darius* was behind him, that he could ſcarce believe it to be true; but when he was thoroughly ſatisfied of the fact, and that *Darius* had again paſſed the river *Pinarus*, he called a council of war, wherein without asking any body advice, he only told them that he hoped they would remember their former actions, and that they, who were always conquerors, were about to fight people who were always beaten. He further obſerved, that *Darius* ſeemed to be infatuated, ſince he had with ſuch expedition quitted an open and champaign country, where his numbers might have acted with advantage, to fight in a place incloſed, where the *Macedonian* phalanx might well be f

[g] ARRIAN. lib. ii. c. 4. CURT. lib. iii. c. 9.
[h] ARRIAN. lib. ii. c. 4. CURT. lib. iii. c. 10.
[i] ARRIAN. lib. ii. c. 6. CURT. lib. iii. c. 16.

drawn

a drawn up, and where his multitudes could only incommode him. To theſe he added many other reflections on the ancient glory of the *Greeks*, and as ancient the infamy of the *Barbarians*. When he had finiſhed his oration, thoſe who were preſent ſhook hands, and commending the king's magnanimity, promiſed that they would do their duty. *Alexander* then made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for repaſſing the mountains, poſted guards where he found them neceſſary, and then commanded his troops to refreſh themſelves, and to take their reſt till morning [k].

Diſpoſitions of both armies.

A T break of day he began to repaſs the mountains, obliging his forces to move in cloſe order, where the road was narrow, and to extend themſelves as they had more room; the right wing keeping always cloſe to the mountain, and the left to
b the ſea-ſhore. On the right there was a battalion of heavy-armed troops, beſides the targeteers under the command of *Nicanor* the ſon of *Parmenio*. Next theſe extending to the phalanx were the corps of *Cænus* and *Perdiccas*. And on the left the reſpective bodies commanded by *Amyntas*, *Ptolemy*, and *Meleager*. The foot appointed to ſupport them was commanded by *Craterus*, but the whole left wing was committed to *Parmenio* with ſtrict orders not to decline from the ſea-ſhore, leſt the *Perſians* ſhould ſurround them. *Darius* ordered twenty thouſand foot and thirty thouſand horſe to paſs once again the river *Pinarus*, finding that he already wanted room to draw up the reſt. His firſt line conſiſted of thirty thouſand *Greek* mercenaries, having on their right and left ſixty thouſand heavy-armed troops, being the
c utmoſt the ground would allow. On the left towards the mountain he poſted twenty thouſand men, which from the hollow ſituation of the place were brought quite behind *Alexander*'s right wing. The reſt of his troops were formed into cloſe and uſeleſs lines behind the *Greek* mercenaries, to the number in all of ſix hundred thouſand men. When this was done, he ſuddenly recalled the horſe who had paſſed the river, ſending part of them to take poſt on his right againſt the *Macedonians* commanded by *Parmenio*, and the reſt he ordered to the left towards the mountain, but finding them unſerviceable there, he ſent the greateſt part of them to the right: And then took upon himſelf, according to the cuſtom of the *Perſian* kings, the command of the main body. As ſoon as *Alexander* perceived that the weight of the *Perſian*
d horſe was diſpoſed againſt his left wing, he diſpatched with as much ſecrecy as he could the *Theſſalian* cavalry thither, and ſupplied their places on the right by ſome brigades of horſe from the van and light-armed troops. He alſo made ſuch diſpoſitions, that notwithſtanding the mighty advantage of the hollow mountain, the *Perſians* could not ſurround him. But as theſe precautions had much weakened the centre of his army, he ordered thoſe advanced poſts on the enemy's left, of which he was moſt apprehenſive, to be attacked at the very beginning of the fight; and when they were eaſily driven from them, he recalled as many troops as were neceſſary to ſtrengthen his centre [l].

Battle of Iſſus. Year after the flood 2667. Before Chriſt 332.

WHEN all things were in order, *Alexander* gave ſtrict orders that his army ſhould
e march very ſlowly. As for *Darius*, he kept his troops fixed in their poſts, and in ſome places threw up ramparts, whence the *Macedonians* rightly obſerved, that he thought himſelf already a priſoner. *Alexander* at the head of the right wing engaged firſt, and without any difficulty broke and defeated the left wing of *Darius*. But endeavouring to paſs the river after them, his troops in ſome meaſure loſing their order, the *Greek* mercenaries fell upon them in flank, and made them fight, not only for victory, but for their lives. *Ptolemy* the ſon of *Seleucus*, and a hundred and twenty *Macedonians* of ſome rank, were killed upon the ſpot. But the foot next to *Alexander*'s right wing coming in ſeaſonably to its relief, fell upon the mercenaries in flank, amongſt whom a miſerable carnage was made; they being in a manner ſur-
f rounded by the horſe, and light-armed troops, which at firſt purſued the left wing, and the foot that had now paſſed the river. The *Perſian* horſe on the right ſtill fought gallantly; but when they were thoroughly informed of the rout of their left wing, the deſtruction of the *Greek* mercenaries, and that *Darius* himſelf was fled; they began to break, and betake themſelves to flight too. The *Theſſalian* cavalry purſued them cloſe at the heels; the narrow craggy roads incommoded them exceedingly, ſo that vaſt numbers of them periſhed. As for *Darius*, he fled ſoon after the left wing was broken in a chariot with a few of his favourites; as far as the country was plain and open he eſcaped well enough; but when the roads became rocky and nar-

[k] ARRIAN. lib. ii. c. 6. CURT. lib. iii. c. 16. [l] ARRIAN. lib. ii. c. 8, 9.

row,

row, he quitted it, and mounting a horſe, rode all the night; his chariot, in which a
was his ſhield, his cloak, and his bow, fell into the hands of *Alexander*, who carried them back to his camp. The loſs of the *Perſians* did not fall much ſhort of a hundred thouſand men, and *Ptolemy* in his relation reports, that when *Alexander*'s troops were in full purſuit of *Darius*, they filled up the ditches as oft as they were obſtructed by them with heaps of dead bodies, and ſo without farther difficulty paſſed on (I). The tent of *Darius* had been very early taken, and in it his mother, his wife, two daughters, and a little ſon; there fell at the ſame time into the hands of the *Macedonians*, the wives of the moſt conſiderable *Perſian* noblemen; as for thoſe of inferior officers, they had been with the heavy baggage and treaſure conveyed to *Damaſcus*, which precaution however did not preſerve them; for a little after all fell into the power of *Parmenio*, ſent by *Alexander* for that purpoſe. In the evening b
of the day of action, when the king returned to the camp, and went to refreſh himſelf in the tent of *Darius*, he was extremely ſurprized to hear the loud cries and groanings of many women ſo near him; whereupon demanding of ſome who were near him who theſe women were, and what the occaſion of their ſorrow, he was informed, that they were the mother, the wife, the daughters of *Darius*, and the moſt conſiderable ladies of *Perſia*, who waited upon them; that the reaſon of their lamentation was the report of an eunuch that he had ſeen in the hands of a ſoldier, the cloak of *Darius*, whence he concluded that the king was ſlain. *Alexander* is ſaid upon this occaſion to have ſhed tears. However it was, he ſent *Leonatus*, a perſon of the firſt rank amongſt his officers, to free the women from their fears by aſſuring them c
that *Darius* made his eſcape; and at the ſame time to comfort them with promiſes of honourable treatment, a permiſſion to wear royal apparel, and to be called and ſerved as if they were ſtill queens. The next day he went himſelf with *Hepheſtion*

(I) In reſpect to the battle of *Iſſus*, *Diodorus* informs us, that *Alexander* looked every-where about for *Darius*, and as ſoon as he diſcovered him with his handful of guards, attacked him, and the flower of the *Perſian* army, which was about him; being as deſirous of obtaining this victory by his perſonal valour, as of ſubduing the *Perſian* empire by the courage of his ſoldiers. But when *Oxathres* the brother *Darius* ſaw *Alexander*'s deſign, and how fiercely he ſought to accompliſh it, he threw himſelf with the horſe who were about him between his brother's chariot and the enemy, where an obſtinate fight was maintained, till the dead bodies roſe like an intrenchment about the chariot of *Darius*. Many of the *Perſian* nobility were ſlain, and *Alexander* himſelf was wounded in the thigh. At the laſt the horſes in the chariot of *Darius* ſtarted, and became ſo unruly, that the king himſelf was forced to take the reins; the enemy however preſſing ſo hard upon him, that he was conſtrained to call for another chariot, and mounted it in great danger. This was the beginning of the rout, which ſoon after became general. According to this author the *Perſians* loſt twelve hundred thouſand foot, and ten thouſand horſe; the *Macedonians* three hundred foot, and a hundred and fifty horſe. After the battle, he tells us, that *Alexander* returned to *Darius*'s tent, and there bathed, and was lodged with all the luxury and magnificence of a *Perſian* prince. He gives us alſo the ſtory of *Alexander*'s viſit to *Siſygambis* with this addition, that the king called to him the little ſon of *Darius* and kiſſed him. The boy coming readily, and ſhewing no ſort of terror, the king turning to *Hepheſtion* ſaid, *This boy of ſix years old hath a noble countenance, a high ſpirit, and is more worthy of eſteem than his father*. He then promiſed that he would take the ſame care of the child, as if he were his own; and aſſured the young ladies that he would be no leſs careful in providing matches for them, than *Darius* himſelf would have been (18). *Plutarch* aſſures us on the authority of one *Chares*, that *Darius* himſelf wounded *Alexander* in the thigh; yet *Plutarch* obſerves, that *Alexander* in his letter to *Antipater*, though he mentions his wound in his thigh, ſays nothing of his having received it from *Darius*. On his return to the camp after the purſuit, he entered *Darius*'s tent, and immediately cried out, *Come, let us cleanſe and refreſh ourſelves in* Darius's *bath*. *No*, cried one of his attendants, *call it rather* Alexander's; *for the goods of the vanquiſhed belong to the victor by the law of arms*. After bathing, participating of a fine entertainment, and being conducted into the magnificent bed-chamber of the *Perſian* king, *Alexander* could not help ſaying with an air of tranſport, *This is to be a prince indeed*. As to the reſpect ſhewn to the ladies, *Plutarch*'s account is only a little warmer, and more exalted than that of *Arrian* and *Diodorus* (19). *Juſtin* informs us, that the *Perſian* army conſiſted of four hundred thouſand foot, and a hundred thouſand horſe. He ſays, that the battle was hard fought, that both the kings were wounded, and that the *Perſians* ſtill fought gallantly when their king fled, but that they were afterwards ſpeedily and totally routed; he is very particular as to their loſs, which he ſays amounted to ſixty-one thouſand foot, ten thouſand horſe, and forty thouſand taken priſoners. Of the *Macedonians*, he ſays, there fell no more than a hundred and thirty foot, and a hundred and fifty horſe (20). *Curtius* not mentioning the armies paſſing by each other, makes the whole of his relation very confuſed. Indeed it is ſo laboured, that it appears rather an exerciſe of rhetoric than a candid narration, and the cloſe of it, which is what we have moſt to do with, exceeds all the reſt. He agrees, that of the *Perſians* there fell a hundred thouſand foot, and ten thouſand horſe. Of *Alexander*'s army five hundred and four he ſays were wounded, thirty-two foot killed, and a hundred and fifty horſe. That we may not ſuſpect any error in tranſcribers, his own obſervation nails down the fact: *Tantulo impendio ingens victoria ſtetit*, ſo ſmall was the coſt of ſo great a victory (21).

(18) *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* xvii. (19) *Plut. in vit. Alex.* (20) *Juſtin. lib.* xi. *c*, 9. (21) *Curt. lib.* iii. *c.* 20—29.

to

a to their tent, that he might farther conſole the illuſtrious captives. Their garb being much alike, *Siſygambis* the mother of *Darius*, fell down at the feet of *Hepheſtion*, being ſomewhat taller, ſuppoſing him to be the king. But when ſome of the attendants ſignified to her by motions of their heads and hands that ſhe was miſtaken, ſhe immediately went and paid her devoirs to the king himſelf. He ſeeing her in ſome confuſion, took her by the hand and raiſed her up, ſaying, *Do not be uneaſy, mother, you were not in the wrong, for he too is* Alexander [l]. This paſſage is found in *Arrian*, who confeſſes that he met with it in the works of moſt hiſtorians of thoſe times; yet he ſeems diffident of the truth of it, and contents himſelf with ſaying what ought to be always ſaid when it is mentioned; *That there is*
b *ſo much worth and beauty in the action as ought to incline us to wiſh it true at leaſt, if not to believe it.* Other hiſtorians have not been ſo nice; they found the ſtory good, inſerted it therefore in their writings, and taking occaſion from thence to extol the virtue and clemency of *Alexander*, have never troubled their readers with any ſuſpicions as to the certainty of the fact. But we in this, as in the foregoing relation of the battle, have ſtuck cloſe to *Arrian*, from whom indeed there is no ſtirring without danger of falling, not only into incertainties, but into incredibilities. As the reader will perceive from a ſhort ſpecimen of inconſiſtencies extracted from other writers, and digeſted in the foregoing note.

Alexander made the beſt uſe of this ſignal victory, encouraging the provinces and
c petty princes in the neighbourhood to come and ſubmit themſelves voluntarily, treating all that did ſo, not as new and conquered, but as old and hereditary ſubjects, neither burthening them with ſoldiers, nor oppreſſing them with tribute. *Menon*, an ancient officer of his, he appointed governor of *Cœlo Syria*, and aſſigned him ſuch a body of horſe, as he judged neceſſary for the ſafety of the province. The *Perſian* had all this time a great fleet at ſea, to which moſt of the little princes on the maritime coaſts had been forced to join all the ſhips they could furniſh, rather out of fear, than any inclination they had to concern themſelves in the preſent diſpute about the dominion of *Aſia*, which however it ended, they knew would leave them where it found them tributaries, and dependents. *Strato* the ſon of *Geroſtratus*, king
d of *Arados*, and the neighbouring iſles, took this opportunity of making peace for his father's ſubjects, who were in the utmoſt danger; their king with all their naval force being failed to join the *Perſian* fleet. *Strato* prevented *Alexander*'s march towards the dominions he held on the continent, by going of his own accord to his head-quarters, where preſenting him with a crown of gold, he ſubmitted himſelf, and all his dominions, to his pleaſure; whereby *Alexander* reaped all that he ſought, viz. *glory* and *power*, and *Strato* loſt nothing, but on the contrary avoided the *Macedonian*'s entering his territories in a hoſtile manner [m] (K).

The conduct of Alexander *in reducing* Cœloſyria.

[l] ARRIAN. lib. iii. 10, 11, 12.

[m] ARRIAN. lib. ii. c. 13.

(K) We have omitted in our text a very remarkable paſſage in *Alexander*'s life, which is atteſted by many credible authors, amongſt others by *Diodorus* and *Plutarch*, though it is not mentioned by *Arrian* at all. The reaſon however of our omitting it was, we knew not how or where certainly to place it. The ſtory is beſt told by *Curtius*, and therefore from him we ſhall take it. He ſays, that *Strato* king of *Sidon*, being cordially attached to *Darius*'s intereſt, *Alexander*, when he was in the neighbourhood of the city, gave his favourite *Hepheſtion* leave to beſtow the kingdom upon whom he would. *Hepheſtion* having lodged with two brothers, and being extreamly taken with their kindneſs towards him, offered them the kingdom; but they alledging, that by the laws of their country it was hereditary, refuſed it on account of their not being of the royal blood. *Hepheſtion*, charmed with ſo noble a diſintereſtedneſs, deſired them to name him to whom it of right belonged. The brethren readily told him, that there was one *Abdalonimus* of the blood-royal, who was ſo poor that he kept a little kitchen-garden, and wrought in it for a ſubſiſtance, in the ſuburbs; to him by the direction of *Hepheſtion* they carried the royal robes and crown; they found him weeding, and having told him their errand, made him waſh and clean himſelf, and array him as a king. He was then conducted to *Alexander*, about whom there were many who could not help inveighing againſt the raiſing ſo mean a man to a throne. *Alexander* looked on him a little, and then turning to thoſe who were near him, ſaid, *His perſon does not at all diſgrace his birth: I would be glad to know how he bore his poverty. I would to God*, cried the new king, *I may bear my proſperity as well; theſe hands have miniſtred to my neceſſities, and as I had nothing, ſo I wanted nothing.* *Alexander* was ſo well pleaſed with this anſwer, that he gave him the palace, furniture, and private eſtate of *Strato*; nay, and added part of the adjacent country to his kingdom (22). *Diodorus* inſtead of *Sidon*, lays the ſcene at *Tyre* after the reduction of that place; but in this he muſt be miſtaken, for the name of the firſt king of *Tyre* was not *Strato*, neither was he abſent when the city was taken; but on the contrary was himſelf taken in it, and as we ſhall hereafter ſee, was

(22) *Curt. lib.* iv. *c.* 4.

Embaſſadors ſent from Darius *to intreat the diſcharge of his mother, wife and children.*

Among other places belonging to *Geroſtratus* was *Marathus*, a city on the continent very conſiderable in reſpect of its extent, its wealth and beauty; thither for the ſake of better accommodation, *Alexander* marched, and remained there a conſiderable time, while he debated in his council on the propereſt means for eſtabliſhing the tranquility of his new-acquired dominions, and for carrying on the war againſt *Darius*. As for that prince, after he had a little recovered his aſtoniſhment, he collected, as well as he could, the ſcattered remains of his army, and retired with them as ſpeedily as poſſible beyond the river *Euphrates*: From thence he wrote to *Alexander* at *Marathus*, and ſent alſo embaſſadors to intreat him to ſet at liberty his mother, his wife and children. In his letter he expoſtulated pretty warmly on the injuſtice of the war commenced againſt him; he alledged, that neither he nor any of his predeceſſors had ever injured the *Macedonians*; that *Philip* had invaded them without any declaration of war; and that himſelf had proſecuted that invaſion without ſignifying what grievances he had ſuſtained, or what ſatisfaction he expected; that as to the end of the war providence would determine; but that in the interim, he who was ſtill a king requeſted of *Alexander* as a king alſo, that he would reſtore to him his mother, wife and children; and alſo name plenipotentiaries to treat of peace. *Alexander* ſent back the embaſſadors, and with them *Therſippus*, charged with a letter to *Darius*, which ran in theſe words: "Your anceſtors entering *Macedonia*, and the reſt "of *Greece*, injured us without having received the leaſt provocation. I, as the "general of the *Greeks* have invaded *Aſia*, to vindicate them againſt their ancient ene- "mies the *Perſians*, provoked by their repeated outrages. You alſo afforded aid to the "*Perinthians*, who had groſsly injured my father, and *Ochus* ſent likewiſe an army "into *Thrace*, which is part of our dominions. My father was ſlain by traitors "ſuborned by you, as you have openly publiſhed in your letters; ſo *Arſes* being "diſpatched by *Bagoas* through your contrivance, in open defiance of the *Perſian* laws, "you have aſſumed the royal dignity. You have likewiſe entered into negotiations "in *Greece* with a view to my prejudice, remitting money to the *Lacedæmonians* "and other *Greeks*, received only by the former, and rejected by all the reſt in order "to corrupt my allies, and to diſſolve the grand alliance into which we have entred. "I therefore have made war upon thee, becauſe by ſuch a variety of methods thou "haſt proved thyſelf my enemy. Having alſo beaten thy lieutenants heretofore, "and thyſelf lately with all thy army, I hold through the goodneſs of heaven this "country. Such of your ſoldiers as have fled to me remain with me, and ſerve "under me, not through conſtraint, but of their own free will. Come therefore to me, as to the lord of *Aſia*. If thou art afraid that I ſhould do any thing "harſh towards thee, ſend ſome of thy friends to me who may take my oath. "When thou art come, thy mother, thy wife, thy children, and whatever elſe "you pleaſe, ask, they ſhall be thine. As to the reſt, when you write to me again, "remember that you write to the king of *Aſia*; treat me no more as your equal; "but as to the lord of all you have, ſignify what it is you want. If you do otherwiſe, I ſhall conceive myſelf injured: If you diſpute my right, prepare to do it "in another general engagement; but do not fly, ſince it is to no purpoſe, for "where-ever you go, I am determined to follow you [n]". It is certain this letter is in a very high ſtrain, and one may almoſt pronounce that it is genuine by comparing the ſpirit it breathes with that, which at all times animated the words and actions of *Alexander*.

Parmenio, according to the inſtructions he had received, poſſeſſed himſelf entirely of the treaſure, equipage, baggage, and whatever elſe *Darius* had left at *Damaſcus*

[n] Arrian. lib. ii. c. 14. Diodor. lib. xvii. Curt. lib. iv. c. 2.

was alſo left king of *Tyre* by *Alexander*. *Diodorus* calls alſo the new king *Ballonimus*. He ſays too, that he was expreſsly recommended to the king by *Heph-eſtion*, as a perſon of his own knowledge (23). *Plutarch* is wholly ſilent in his life of *Alexander* on this ſubject, but elſewhere he tells us the ſtory. He tranſports us however to *Paphos*, where he ſays the former king being deprived for tyranny, *Alynomus*, a poor man, who had no poſſeſſion but his garden, was by *Alexander* raiſed to the kingdom, becauſe he was of the royal blood (24). But againſt this there is a material objection, which is, that *Alexander* never was at *Paphos*. As *Curtius* has told the ſtory, it is well enough, eſpecially as it is ſupported by *Juſtin* (25), yet not ſo well as to deſerve a place in the body of the hiſtory, ſince it is impoſſible to ſet this ſtory abſolutely free from all objections.

(23) *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* xvii. (24) *Orat. de Fort. in Alex.* (25) *Juſtin. Hiſt. lib.* xi. *c.* 10.

under

a under the command of *Cophenes*; all which, by the expreſs direction of the king, he carried back to the ſame city, and there took an exact account of them. Amongſt other priſoners were the *Greek* embaſſadors ſent from *Sparta*, *Athens*, and *Thebes*, to negotiate with the king the raiſing a commotion, which might oblige *Alexander* to return home. Theſe by command of the king were ſent to him as traitors; as for the two *Theban* embaſſadors, *Alexander* ſaid, as he had left them no city in *Greece*, they had ſome reaſon for what they did, and therefore *Ijmenes* being of a noble family, and *Dionyſodorus* having been victor in the *Olympic* games, he, partly out of compaſſion to their country, and partly out of reſpect to themſelves, freely ſet them at liberty. When he knew that the *Athenian* embaſſador was *Iphicrates* the ſon of *Iphicrates*, the famous general, he ſaid his family were under too many obli-
b gations to his father for his ſon to ſuffer any thing from his hands, and therefore not only diſmiſſed him, but treated him with great kindneſs. As for *Euthycles* the *Lacedæmonian*, he would hear nothing either in favour of him or his country, but ordered him to remain in cuſtody; but afterwards when affairs were better ſettled, he let him too go at large. Thus *Alexander* wiſely kept terms with all the *Grecian* ſtates, though at the ſame time he prudently pretended pity and perſonal reſpect, that it might not be at all ſuſpected his moderation was tinctured with fear; though as we ſhall hereafter hear from his own mouth, he had but a very indifferent opinion of the affection of the *Greeks*, and therefore as he truſted them little, ſo he was by no means forward to provoke them [o].

Alexander uſes the Greek embaſſadors to Darius with much moderation.

c *Tyre* was in the number of thoſe places, which within a ſhort ſpace after the battle of *Iſſus*, ſent deputies to ſubmit themſelves to the conqueror; the king whoſe name was *Azelmicus* was abſent in the *Perſian* fleet; but his ſon was of the number of the deputies, and *Alexander* received him as favourably as he had done thoſe who came from *Byblus* on the ſame errand. It is poſſible the king intended to honour *Tyre* farther, for he acquainted the citizens that he would come and ſacrifice to the *Tyrian Hercules*, the patron of their city, to whom they had erected a moſt magnificent temple. But theſe people, like moſt other trading nations, were too ſuſpicious to think of admitting ſo enterprizing a prince with his troops within their walls. They therefore ſent their deputies to him again, to inform him that they were ready to do
d whatever he ſhould command them; but as to his coming and ſacrificing in their city, they could not conſent to that, but were poſitively determined not to admit ſo much as one *Macedonian* within their gates. *Alexander* immediately diſmiſſed their deputies in great diſpleaſure. He then aſſembled a council of war, wherein he inſiſted ſtrongly on the diſaffected ſtate of *Greece*; the power of the *Perſians* at ſea, and the folly of carrying on the war in diſtant provinces, while *Tyre* was left unreduced behind them; he alſo remarked, that if this city was once ſubdued, the ſovereignty of the ſea would be immediately transferred to them, becauſe it would fix their poſſeſſion of the coaſts; and as the *Perſian* fleet was compoſed chiefly of tributary ſquadrons, thoſe tributaries would fight the battles, not of their late, but of their preſent maſters. Theſe
e reaſons having perſuaded the council to concur with them, the ſiege was immediately reſolved on. It may ſeem ſomewhat ſtrange, that *Alexander*, now in the current of his victories, an abſolute prince, and impetuous in his temper, ſhould condeſcend to explain himſelf ſo much at large, as to the nature and importance of his deſigns. But we are to conſider that his army was compoſed of veteran troops commanded by old and experienced officers; that their valour did not conſiſt in a ſhort extravagant fury, but in a cool and determined reſolution; in order to engage which, there was a neceſſity that the king ſhould ſhew them not only what he would have them do, but why he conceived it fit to be done. Nor did his authority ſuffer at all thereby; for as the *Macedonians* always held themſelves ſubjects and not ſlaves,
f ſo when once they were acquainted with the nature and expedience of the ſervice required from them, they were indefatigable, and never refuſed to ſhare any danger in the execution of an undertaking they had once reſolved on [p].

The Tyrians refuſe to admit Alexander.

THIS city was built on an iſland ſurrounded with prodigious walls, the ſea as yet was open, and the *Tyrians* themſelves had a conſiderable fleet, whereas *Alexander* had none at all. The firſt thing he projected was an artificial iſthmus, that might unite the city to the ſhore, to which end he cauſed the ſea to be ſounded, and found

Which induces the ſiege of Tyre.

[o] ARRIAN. lib. ii. c. 15. CURT. lib. iv. c. 35. [p] DIODOR. lib. xvii. CURT. lib. iv. c. 7. ARRIAN. lib. ii. c. 16.

the

the greateſt depth three fathoms; this encouraged him exceedingly, and he was ſtill the farther emboldened when he perceived that the bottom was a ſtiff clay, which ſerved inſtead of mortar, and bound whatever was ſunk into it more effectually than could have been done by art. The ruins of old *Tyre* furniſhed materials for the mole, which under the inſpection of *Alexander* was carried on with amazing vigour, till ſuch time as it approached pretty near the city, for then the *Tyrians* not only vexed the workmen with all ſorts of miſſive weapons, but alſo ſent armed barks on each ſide of the mole to haraſs them, ſo that *Alexander* was forced to build two large wooden towers covered with raw hides, whereby they were defended from fire, as the workmen were by them from the inſults of the enemy. The *Tyrians* for the deſtruction of theſe towers contrived a fire-ſhip, and on the yards thereof inſtead of ſails, they placed rows of buckets filled with ſulphureous matter, the inſide of the hulk was at the bottom, filled with dry twigs; over them were laid all ſorts of combuſtible matter, the ſtern they filled with rubbiſh, that ſinking in the water, it might raiſe the head the higher. Things thus prepared, as ſoon as they had a favourable wind they towed the hulk to ſea, and run her upon the mole directly between the towers, and then ſet it on fire; at ſuch time as the maſts began to burn, the weight with which their yards were charged broke them, whereby all the buckets fell into the fire, and greatly increaſed its fury, ſo that not only the towers, but all the materials that were on the mole were totally conſumed. *Alexander* was not at all diſcouraged; on the contrary he laid the foundation of a new mole broader than the former, and conſequently capable of holding more towers; ordered new engines to be made, and began to concert meaſures for procuring a fleet, without which he ſaw clearly that all his endeavours would be in vain [r].

a b c

The tributary princes join Alexander's fleet with their ſquadrons.

IT happened very happily for *Alexander*, that the moderation of his former conduct fully provided him for his preſent and future deſigns, for *Geroſtratus* king of *Arados*, *Enylus* king of *Byblus*, moſt of the *Cyprian* princes, as alſo the *Sidonian* ſquadron, in all a hundred and twenty ſail arrived at *Sidon*, and offered him their ſervice; the ill fate of the *Perſians* at *Iſſus* having diſcharged them their ſervice, and *Alexander*'s generous behaviour towards their ſubjects, having attached them to his. To the ſame city came *Cleander* with a ſupply of four thouſand freſh troops from *Greece*, and ſoon after a fleet from thence, ſo that after a ſhort excurſion into the neighbourhood of *Antilibanus*, he came again before *Tyre* with a new army, and a fleet of upwards of two hundred ſail. *Andromachus*, captain of the *Cyprian* navy, had the command on the left ſide, and *Alexander* himſelf commanded the blockade on the other. The citizens ſtill made a deſperate defence, and omitted nothing which either art could deviſe, or valour execute for the preſerving of the place. At laſt ſeeing themſelves reduced to ſuch great ſtreights, they reſolved to attack the *Cyprian* ſquadron poſted at the mouth of the haven, which looks towards *Sidon*, and having before that time ſpread ſails acroſs the mouth of the haven, that their ſhips, filled with ſoldiers, might not be diſcovered by the enemy; about noon (at which time the *Macedonian* ſoldiers were uſually buſied about their private affairs, and *Alexander* had retired from his fleet to his pavilion on the other ſide of the city) with five choice *Quinqueremes*, as many *Quadriremes*, and ſeven *Triremes*, filled with expert rowers, and reſolute ſoldiers, well armed for fight, and inured to the ſea, rowed out ſlowly and ſilently one by one againſt the enemy. But when they advanced within ſight of the *Cyprians*, encouraging each other with a great ſhout, and claſhing of their oars, they attacked their fleet. But it happened that day that *Alexander* having retired as uſual to his pavilion, tarried there but a ſhort time, and returned to his fleet. The *Tyrians* aſſaulted the enemies ſhips all on a ſudden, when ſome were entirely empty, and others by reaſon of the noiſe and violence of the attack were ſurprized, unprepared for reſiſtance, *Pnytagoras*'s *Quinquereme* was ſunk at the firſt onſet with another commanded by *Androcles* the *Amathuſian* and *Paſicrates* the *Thurian*: Others were forced on ſhore, and beat to pieces. *Alexander* hearing of this excurſion of the *Tyrian Triremes*, immediately ordered as many ſhips as he could ſpare, and were well armed, to block up the mouth of the haven, and thereby hinder the reſt of the *Tyrian* fleet from coming forth. He then with the *Quinqueremes* which he had ready, and five *Triremes* well prepared, ſailing round the city, haſted to attack the *Tyrians*. The beſieged ſeeing this from the wall, and perceiving *Alexander* himſelf there,

d e f

[r] ARRIAN. lib. ii. c. 17.

endeavoured

a endeavoured by loud cries to recall their men who were on board; and when their cries, by reaſon of the tumult, could not be heard, they made ſeveral ſignals for them to return, becauſe the enemy was at hand. But finding too late that *Alexander* was upon them, they turned their ſails, and haſted to the haven, yet few of them could ſave themſelves by flight; for *Alexander*'s ſhips falling in ſuddenly among them, rendered ſome unfit for ſailing, and one *Quinquereme* and a *Quadrireme* were taken at the very entrance of the port. The ſlaughter of the *Tyrians* was not great, becauſe as ſoon as they perceived it impoſſible to ſave their ſhips, they eſcaped into the harbour by ſwimming. The *Macedonians*, now knowing that the *Tyrian* fleet would be unſerviceable, moved their engines up to the walls. Thoſe which advanced
b on the ſide towards the rampart did no execution by reaſon of the firmneſs of the wall there; others moved ſome hulks with engines to that quarter of the city which looks toward *Sidon*. But when they found their endeavours there fruitleſs, ſailing along the whole ſouth part of the wall towards *Egypt*, they tried to batter it everywhere: And there indeed by the violence of their attacks, it was at firſt ſhaken, and afterwards beat down, and demoliſhed. Whereupon they immediately mounted the breach by the help of their ladders, and begun to ſtorm the place: But the *Tyrians*, without any great difficulty, repulſed them. Three days after this there happening a ſtark calm, *Alexander* reſolved to make uſe of that opportunity to ſtorm the city; to this end he gave all the neceſſary directions. Firſt he ordered a line
c of hulks, on board of which his battering engines were placed to be towed, as cloſe as poſſible to the walls, and there brought to an anchor; the engines were immediately brought to play upon the walls, and in a very ſhort ſpace made a tolerable breach. Then the firſt line of hulks weighed and ſtood to ſea, or rather were towed off, and a ſecond line having ſcaling ladders on board, took their place; a detachment of light-armed troops under the command of *Admetus* was aſſigned for the attack on one ſide, another corps of auxiliary foot conducted by *Cænus* was to attack on the other ſide. *Alexander* himſelf at the head of a greater force was preſent, ready to ſuſtain both. As the king took all this pains that the aſſault might be performed with vigour, ſo he was no leſs careful to provide that the
d enemy might not make as vigorous a defence; with this view he gave orders for ſeveral falſe attacks, and alſo commanded that a ſquadron of armed veſſels ſhould ſail continually round the city, threatening now one part of it, then another, and actually attacking any part where they found it feaſible, which ſo well anſwered his end, that the *Tyrians*, every where diſtracted, divided their forces, and knew not where to make their utmoſt efforts. However they fought very gallantly againſt *Admetus* and his *Macedonians*, who firſt mounted the walls; that valiant officer being killed as ſoon almoſt as he had ſet foot on the wall, by a ſpear; but *Alexander* with freſh forces coming to the ſupport of thoſe who had firſt taken poſt on the wall, quickly drove the *Tyrians* from thence, and purſued them to the royal palace. In
e the interim *Alexander*'s fleet broke into the haven on one ſide, and began to burn and ſink the ſhips that were there: On the other, the *Cyprians* forced the haven, which they had hitherto blocked up, and, flushed with ſucceſs, attacked and entered the city on that ſide. The *Tyrians* ſeeing it would be to no purpoſe longer to defend their walls, retired in a body to a ſtrong part of the place, which they hoped yet to hold out; but *Alexander* following them, fell upon them there with ſuch fury, that they were unable to reſiſt, ſo that after great effuſion of blood, they betook themſelves to flight, and ſought a ſhelter in different parts of the city. A great ſlaughter alſo happened at the haven, where *Cænus* and his forces entered the city; for the *Macedonians* were vehemently enraged at the citizens, partly for holding out
f the place ſo long, and partly becauſe they having ſeized ſome of their men ſailing from *Sidon*, firſt hoiſted them up aloft upon their walls in ſight of their friends, and afterwards ſtabbed them, and threw their bodies into the ſea. About eight thouſand *Tyrians* were ſlain. Of the *Macedonians*, beſides *Admetus*, who firſt entered the breach, and took poſſeſſion of the wall, about twenty targeteers fell in that aſſault, and during the whole ſiege about four hundred. They who had fled to the temple of *Hercules*, (being ſome of the chief *Tyrian* nobility, beſides king *Azelmicus*, and ſome *Carthaginian* prieſts, who according to ancient cuſtom were ſent to their mother city to offer ſacrifice to *Hercules*) had the benefit of a free pardon. The reſt, to the number of thirty thouſand, including ſtrangers, were ſold for ſlaves. *Alexander* after this offered ſacrifice to *Hercules*, at which his whole army aſſiſted; the navy

alſo performed a part in the ſolemnity. He moreover appointed *Gymnic* ſports a
in *Hercules*'s temple, which was then finely illuminated. The engine wherewith
the wall was demoliſhed, he placed there as an eternal monument of his victory.
And the *Tyrian* ſhip conſecrated to *Hercules*, which he had taken in a ſea-fight,
he cauſed to be hung up there [s] (L).

Alexander *reſettles* Tyre.

THE uſage the *Tyrians* received was certainly very ſevere, and ſeemed very little
reconcileable either to the politeneſs of a *Grecian* prince, or to that grandeur of ſoul
which *Alexander* affected upon other occaſions. However, as he was a prince of
great parts and learning, he knew how to find out very plauſible excuſes for the
worſt things he did; and in regard to the fact before us, beſides the cruelties which
they had done to the *Macedonians*, which were revenged by the execution of ſuch mul- b.
titudes, he alledged, that the ſelling them for ſlaves was an act of natural juſtice, the
anceſtors of theſe *Tyrians* being no other than ſlaves, who entering among themſelves
into a conſpiracy, ſlew all their maſters in one night, then took their wives and
became lords of the city, excepting only one *Strato*, who was preſerved by the fide-
lity of his ſlave; his family *Alexander* alſo preſerved, though *Azelmicus* king of
Tyre was deſcended therefrom. To him therefore, as if his quarrel had been with
the people, he left the ſovereignty without diminution, and took great pains by
draughts from other places to reſtore the city, and reſettle its principality. Thus
Alexander gratified his reſentment againſt the *Tyrians* by deſtroying their city, and
ſelling them for ſlaves; and when he had ſo done, he raiſed a high reputation of c
clemency by his generoſity towards the king, and the care he took of rebuilding
the city [t].

He rejects the propoſitions made by Darius

WHILE he was employed in this long ſiege, embaſſadors came again from *Da-
rius* with theſe propoſals: That he would pay ten thouſand talents of ſilver for the
ranſom of his mother, wife, and children; that he would reſign to him all the coun-
tries between the *Helleſpont* and the river *Euphrates*; that he would conſent to the
marriage of his daughter, and forgetting all that was paſt, would acknowledge him

[s] ARRIAN. lib. ii. c. 24. DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xvii. PLUT. in vit. Alex. JUSTIN. lib. xi. c. 10. CURT. lib. iv. [t] JUSTIN. lib. xviii. c. 3.

(L) The taking of *Tyre* was foreſhewn by a multitude of omens, if any credit is to be given to the hiſtorians who have recorded them; we have reſerved them for a note, that they might not perplex the hiſtory; we ſhall mention only ſuch as are moſt remarkable, that we may not tire the reader; and we ſhall leave him to make what judgment of them he pleaſes, without pretending to regulate his ſentiments by our own. *Arrian* aſſures us, that the very night after *Alexander* had taken the reſolution of beſieging the place, he had a dream or viſion, wherein he ſeemed to be ſcaling the walls of *Tyre*, in which he was aſſiſted by *Hercules*, who gave him his hand to raiſe him up. *Ariſtander* explained this to be an infallible ſign of the taking the city, but he declared that it was a ſign likewiſe the ſiege would prove an *Herculean* labour (26). *Plutarch* ſays, that there is a well in the neighbourhood of *Tyre*, which the inhabitants ſhewed, affirming, that *Alexander* ſlept near it when the place was firſt beſieged, and that ſleeping there, he dreamed that a ſatyr came and mocked him; that he ran after him a long time in vain; but that at laſt, and with much ado, he got hold of him. The diviners gave him an eaſy and elegant explanation of this viſion; for dividing the *Greek* word *Satyros*; they ſhewed its ſignification to be, *Thine is Tyre* (27). In the city a man ſaw in a dream *Apollo* flying away; when he reported this before the people, they would have ſtoned him, ſuppoſing that he did it to intimidate them; on which the poor man was forced to fly to the temple of *Hercules*, but the magiſtrates having beter conſidered it, fixed one end of a gold chain to the ſtatue of *Apollo*, and the other to the altar of *Hercules*. A ſtrange expedient this, and a pregnant inſtance of epidemic madneſs and ſuperſtition; however, when *Alexander* took the place, he ſet *Apollo* at liberty, and ordered him to be ſtiled *Philaxandrus*, that is, a lover of *Alexander* (28). *Diodorus* is very particular in the account he gives of all the methods practiſed by *Alexander*'s engineers, and thoſe of the town. It is too long to tranſcribe, but may be read by thoſe who are skilled in ſuch matters to very good purpoſe, as well as *Arrian*'s accurate detail of the ſame ſiege; for it is certain, that the *Tyrians* did as much to defend themſelves, as the wit or courage of man at that time would allow; neither was it altogether in vain, ſince it coſt *Alexander* ſeveral months, and put all the force he had to the utmoſt ſtretch before they were reduced. *Plutarch* tells us, that *Ariſtander* having from the intrails of a ſacrifice offered at the beginning of the ſeventh month, predicted, that it would be taken therein, the ſoldiers, when the general ſtorm was protracted to the very laſt day of that month, began to deride him; but *Alexander*, to ſave the prophet's credit, ordered it to be called the twenty-eighth day of the month, inſtead of the thirtieth, which however was needleſs, for the place was taken the ſame day (29). *Curtius*'s account of the ſiege ſwells with miraculous mounts, and wonderful triumphs over the ſea. He exhauſts whole provinces for timber, and makes free with mount *Libanus*, though *Alexander* never went near it (30). It is certain that *Alexander* did great things here, but *Nebuchadnezzar* had done as much before when he took the ſame place (31).

(26) *Arrian. lib.* ii. (27) *Plut. in vit. Alex.* (28) *Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra.* (29) *Plut. ubi ſupra.* (30) *Curt. lib.* iv. (31) *Ezech.* xxi. 18.

for

a for his friend and confederate. When theſe terms came to be explained to the *Macedonian* council, *Parmenio*, who always ſpoke very freely, delivered it as his ſentiment, that when the ends of the war were gained, it was unreaſonable to abide its hazard; adding, *If I was* Alexander, *I would accept theſe conditions.* To which the king replied, *So would I, if I was* Parmenio. However, in his own name, he anſwered the embaſſadors, *That he did not want* Darius's *money: That he would not accept of a part of his empire inſtead of the whole: That he would take from him by force his country, his palaces, and treaſure: That he would marry his daughter, if he pleaſed, without his conſent; but that if* Darius *had a mind to try his humanity, he might come to him if he thought fit.* This anſwer, how much ſoever it might have of the hero, had
b certainly not much of the politician. Had he accepted theſe propoſitions, he would have become the peaceable poſſeſſor of an extenſive, rich, and powerful empire, and might have retained his hereditary kingdom of *Macedonia*, and his authority over the *Greeks*, and in that condition have tranſmitted it to his poſterity. But his boundleſs ambition hurried him on to a wild purſuit of conqueſts without end, as if all the nations of the earth had been created to pay him obedience, or to be made examples of his vengeance. *Parmenio* ſpoke the language of *Philip*, who could certainly have taken his advice on the ſame occaſion, or rather would not have needed it [u].

Tyre thus ſubdued, *Alexander* notwithſtanding the advanced ſeaſon of the year, re- *He marches to*
c ſolved to make an expedition into *Syria*, and in his way thither purpoſed to chaſtiſe Jeruſalem, *and treats the high-prieſt reſpectfully.* the *Jews*, who had highly offended him during the ſiege of *Tyre*; for when he ſent to demand of them proviſions for the ſubſiſtance of his ſoldiers, they anſwered, that they were the ſubjects of *Darius*, bound by oath not to ſupply his enemies. When theſe people knew of the king's march towards them, they were under the greateſt terror, and, as their laſt reſource, had recourſe to ſolemn acts of devotion, to prayers, proceſſions, and particular faſts, till at length God was pleaſed to anſwer their petitions, by commanding *Jaddua* the *High-Prieſt* in a viſion to array himſelf in his pontifical habit, to direct the prieſts to put on their proper garments, and with the people cloathed in white to advance in ſlow and ſolemn order to meet the
d *Grecian* prince. *Jaddua* and the reſt did as they were commanded, and iſſuing out of the gates of *Jeruſalem*, advanced as far as *Sapha*, an eminence at a ſmall diſtance from the city, from whence, as ſoon as they diſcerned *Alexander*'s approach, they went to meet him. The king, when the high-prieſt drew near, haſted towards him, bowed himſelf before him, and ſaluted him with religious veneration. This ſcene which amazed the *Macedonians*, ſtruck the *Phœnicians* and *Syrians*, not only with ſurprize, but with ſorrow and diſcontent, for out of mere hatred to the *Jews*, they had taken part in this expedition. *Parmenio* being near him, took the liberty of asking the king, Why he had adored the *Jewiſh* high-prieſt? To whom the king readily anſwered, He did not adore the prieſt, but God, whoſe miniſter he was.
e But when he was at *Dium* in *Macedonia*, and much troubled in his mind about the preparations neceſſary for his paſſing into *Aſia*, he had a dream, wherein he ſaw this very perſon in his pontifical habit, and commanded him to lay aſide doubts and fears, and paſs boldly into *Aſia*, for that God would be his guide, and give him the empire of the *Perſians*. On ſeeing therefore this perſon, he was convinced, that what he did was by the expreſs aſſiſtance of the deity, who he alſo doubted not would protect him in all his future expeditions; wherefore in gratitude for former victories, and to teſtify his truſt in the divine power, he had humbled himſelf before the prieſt. He afterwards accompanied *Jaddua* to *Jeruſalem*, which he entered in a friendly manner, and offered ſacrifices in the temple; the high-prieſt ſhewed him
f alſo the prophecies of *Daniel*, wherein the deſtruction of the *Perſian* empire by himſelf is ſet forth, not in dark obſcure terms, in equivocal or unintelligible verſes, but graphically, as if the prophet had ſeen the whole tranſaction, and every circumſtance attending it; whence it came to paſs that the king went away extremely well ſatisfied, and at his departure, asked, if there was nothing in which he might gratify himſelf or his people. *Jaddua* then told him, that according to the *Moſaic* law, they neither ſowed nor ploughed on the ſeventh year, therefore would eſteem it a high favour, if the king would be pleaſed to remit their tribute in that year. To this requeſt the king readily yielded, and having confirmed them in the enjoyment

[u] Arrian. lib. ii. c. 25. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvii. Curt. lib. iv.

of

of all their privileges, particularly that of living under and according to their own laws, he then departed. In his march, the *Samaritans*, who on the refuſal of the *Jews*, had furniſhed him with proviſions before *Tyre*, applied themſelves to him, in hopes of receiving from him ſtill greater matters than the *Jews* had done; but though *Alexander* received them civilly, and afforded a patient hearing of their requeſt, yet he diſmiſſed them with an unavailing anſwer, *viz.* That he had now many great affairs upon his hand, but that when he ſhould return from his *Egyptian* expedition, he would examine into, and, provided they were reaſonable, comply with their demands. Having thus removed all difficulties ſo far, he advanced towards *Gaza*, the only place in this part of the world, which was ſtill held for *Darius* [w]. a

Gaza beſieged, and after two months taken.

Gaza was a very large and ſtrong city, ſeated about five miles from the ſea-ſhore on a high hill, ſurrounded with ſtrong walls. One *Batis* or *Betis*, a eunuch, had the government thereof committed to him by *Darius*, who foreſeeing what would come to paſs, took care to provide all things neceſſary for a long and obſtinate defence, cauſing all the fortifications to be repaired, magazines to be well furniſhed, and fearing his gariſon might be too ſmall, he hired certain *Arabian* troops to ſerve in the place. All this did he, knowing of what importance *Gaza* was to his maſter, ſtanding as it did in the entrance to *Egypt*, and being at the ſame a bridle to *Paleſtine*. When *Alexander* ſummoned him, *Betis* returned a reſolute anſwer, that he would defend it as long as he was able. Many of the king's council looking on the place as impregnable, diſſuaded him from meddling with it; but he was not eaſily diverted from any thing he had once reſolved on; *Gaza* therefore was inſtantly inveſted, and where he thought the walls were weakeſt, he cauſed a mount to be thrown up, and from thence brought his engines to play upon the city. At the beginning of this ſiege a very extraordinary accident happened: The king being about to ſacrifice, and having a crown of gold on his head, a bird of prey hovering ſome time over him, let fall at laſt a ſtone from between his claws upon his head, and ſoon after flying to the engines, was there taken, his feet being entangled in the nets, which covered the ropes wherewith they were wrought. Upon this *Ariſtander* was immediately conſulted, and his anſwer was, that the city would certainly be taken; but at the ſame time, he cautioned the king not to be ſo adventurous as he was wont, becauſe ſome great danger was threatened to himſelf. The king accepted this advice very kindly, and did not expoſe himſelf for ſome time; but one day, when the *Arabians* made a furious ſally, and ſet fire to his engines, and had well-nigh driven the troops from the mount, he forgot the caution he had received, and advancing with a body of targeteers, regained the poſt which had been loſt, and drove the enemy into the place. But in the heat of the engagement, he was wounded by an arrow, which piercing his ſhield and breaſt-plate, lodged in his ſhoulder. Far from being concerned at this accident, he expreſſed no ſmall ſatisfaction therein, for one part of the prediction being fulfilled, he queſtioned not but the other would come to paſs. As ſoon as the great engines he had made uſe of at *Tyre* arrived by ſea, he carried his works quite round the city, and battered the walls in ſeveral places at once. In the mean time, where the battering engines were not at work, he employed miners, who working ſecretly under the foundation of the walls, they ſuddenly fell down, to the great ſurprize of the citizens. When through theſe ſeveral methods a breach was practicable, three ſeveral attacks were made by the *Macedonians* with great reſolution, in which notwithſtanding they were repulſed with great effuſion of blood. In the fourth the citizens had not ſuch fortune, for the place was taken by ſtorm, and they valiantly fighting, were ſlain to a man [x]. *Arrian* ſays nothing of *Betis* the governor, neither doth *Diodorus*. *Plutarch* alſo is ſilent, and ſo is *Juſtin* [y]; but *Curtius* tells us a very ſtrange ſtory, and has had the good luck to be believed. He ſays that he was brought to the king half dead with wounds, to whom *Alexander* addreſſed himſelf in theſe words: *Thou ſhalt not*, Betis, *die, as thou fancieſt, in an honourable way, but ſhalt feel in captivity all the torments that can be deviſed for thee.* To which the valiant eunuch gave no reply, but looked on the conqueror with a contemptuous ſmile. *What*, ſaid Alexander, *doſt thou neither ſpeak, kneel, nor intreat? I will find a way to vanquiſh thy ſilence, and force thee at leaſt to groan.* Having ſaid this, he in a rage commanded his heels to be bored, and putting cords through them, bound him to b c d e f

[w] JOSEPH. Antiq. Jud. lib. xi. [x] ARRIAN. lib. ii. cap. ult. [y] DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xvii. PLUT. in vit. Alex. JUSTIN. lib. xi.

his

a his chariot, dragging him round the city till he died, boaſting, that in this he imitated *Achilles*, who dragged the body of *Hector* in the ſame manner [1]. *Arrian* indeed tells us, that he ſold the wives and children of the citizens for ſlaves; which is conſiſtent enough with his practice upon other occaſions; and one would think, that if *Bætis* had been put to death in this manner, it could not have eſcaped the knowledge of *Ariſtobulus* and *Ptolemy*, from whoſe memoirs *Arrian* collected his hiſtory. Theſe obſtacles removed, and a gariſon left in *Gaza*, there was nothing now to hinder his ſo earneſtly deſired expedition into *Egypt* (M).

The ſtate of Egypt at that time.

As ſoon as his ſoldiers had refreſhed themſelves, and he had received a body of recruits from *Greece*, *Alexander* marched from *Gaza*, and, in the ſpace of ſeven days, reached *Peluſium*. Here he found no reſiſtance; for *Mazaces* the *Perſian* governor
b was able to make none [2]. He was diſpirited with the continual misfortunes which had befallen his maſter's arms; he had a very indifferent army, and, which was ſtill worſe, he had the hearts of the moſt numerous nation in the world againſt him. It will afford much help to the ſubſequent narration, and yet take up very little room, to ſet this matter in a proper light. Moſt of the provinces of the *Perſian* empire ſhewed a great deal of loyalty to *Darius*; but *Egypt*, as it had never been faithful to any of his predeceſſors, ſo it was now very impatient of throwing off his yoke, without regarding what other yoke it put on. The chief reaſon of this was the great diverſity between the religion of the *Perſians* and that of the *Egyptians*.
c Not only *Cambyſes*, who was a tyrant, but *Ochus*, who was a voluptuous prince, had ſlain their conſecrated *Apis*, and profaned the moſt ſacred rites of their religion. The *Perſian* governors, and their under-officers, ran all into the ſame humour; and thus the whole body of the people were exaſperated in the higheſt degree againſt the government they ſhould have defended, from principles, which, of all others, make men the moſt furious, *viz.* thoſe of religion. The *Egyptians* had but a little before ſhewn the exceſs of their rancour, by joining with *Amyntas*, who, with four thouſand mercenaries, fled hither from the battle of *Iſſus*, and thought to have ſet up for himſelf; in which the *Egyptians* furthered him all they could [b]. *Mazaces* therefore reflecting on all theſe things, and terrified perhaps with the examples of *Tyre* and *Gaza*, determined to admit *Alexander* peaceably. The king having entered
d ſo eaſily, ſailed up the *Nile*, after leaving a gariſon in *Peluſium*, and when he was come to a convenient height, he landed, and, leaving the river on his right hand, marched through the deſarts to *Heliopolis*, then, croſſing the river, he came to *Memphis*, where he offered pompous ſacrifices, not only to the *Grecian* gods, but alſo to the *Egyptian Apis*. He likewiſe celebrated magnificent games, whereat aſſiſted the moſt famous champions in *Greece*. From *Memphis* he ſailed down the river to the ſea; having paſſed round the city *Canopus*, he fixed on the place where the village of *Scandria* or *Alexandretta* now ſtands, as a convenient ſituation for a fine port, and magnificent city. *Alexander* himſelf directed where every public ſtructure ſhould be erected. He alſo fixed the number of temples, the deities to whom they ſhould
e be dedicated, and aſſigned particularly a large and eminent ſcite for a temple to the *Egyptian Iſis*. There was nothing now wanting but to trace, according to the

[1] Curt. l. iv. c. 26. [2] Arrian. l. iii. c. 1. Plut. in vit. Alex. Curt. l. iv. c. 27. [b] Diodor. l. xvii. Curt. ubi ſupra.

(M) If *Darius* had always choſen ſuch governors as this *Bætis*, *Alexander*, with all the power of *Greece*, would not have triumphed ſo eaſily; for tho' this ſiege laſted but two months, yet it coſt him ſuch a number of men, that he ſent *Amyntas* into *Macedonia* for recruits, and took pains to increaſe his army while it was in *Egypt*. *Curtius* has a very ſtrange ſtory in his account of this ſiege, and is ſingular in it; for there is not a word mentioned of any ſuch thing elſewhere, if we except one legendary writer, whoſe credit is ſcarce on a par with his own. The ſtory is this; An *Arabian* ſoldier pretending to deſert, came to *Alexander*, and fell at his feet. The king put out his hand to raiſe him up, ordering that he ſhould be kindly received; but as he aroſe, he, with a ſword that was concealed under his ſhield, ſtruck at the king's throat. *Alexander* avoided the blow, by a gentle inclination of his body, and immediately after cut off the villain's head with his own ſword (32). It was *Neoptolemus*, a near relation of *Alexander* by the mother's ſide, who firſt mounted the walls of *Gaza*. *Plutarch* does not tell us any thing of the number of the ſlain. *Curtius* ſays, there fell of the citizens ten thouſand. Another author reduces this to ſix thouſand (33). As to the *Macedonians*, we know nothing of their loſs at all; and indeed whenever we have any accounts of their loſſes, they are ſet ſo very low, that it is difficult to give credit to them; eſpecially when, as in the preſent caſe, there are concurring circumſtances, which amount to a proof, that their loſſes muſt have been very great.

(32) *Curt. l.* iv. (33) *Hegeſias Magneſ.*

cuſtom of thoſe times, the walls of the city; for doing this they had no materials at hand, this project of building a city being ſudden; however, a workman adviſed the king to collect what meal there was among the ſoldiers, and to ſift it in lines upon the ground, whereby the circuit of the walls would be well enough marked out. *Alexander* followed this advice, which anſwered very well; and *Ariſtander* having conſidered it attentively, told the king, that it was an omen of the new city's abounding with all the neceſſaries of life [c]. Some ſay, that the bounds were no ſooner marked out, than great numbers of birds came and pecked up the meal, and then flew away; which when the reſt of the *ſoothſayers* held for an ill omen, *Ariſtander* alone held it to be a good one, affirming its meaning to be, that the city built in that place ſhould become ſo populous as to ſend out colonies, as they had ſeen birds feed and riſe from it [d]. He was certainly an excellent ſervant to his maſter; for he was never at a loſs either for expedients or expoſitions, and perhaps digreſſed as little from the rules of his art as any of his cotemporaries. Certain it is, that *Alexander* paid great deference to his deciſions; for that prince affected all things which tended to render him popular. At this time he was eſpecially careful to gain the affections of the *Egyptians*, which he did to ſuch a degree, that they were ready to adore him; for till proſperity rendered his pride too powerful for his reaſon, never any prince acted ſo ſteadily on the maxims of philoſophic policy as he. We never find him graſping treaſure, in order to gratify either a covetous or extravagant diſpoſition. The richeſt ſpoils he gave to his friends; the moſt curious he ſent home to his mother, and the *Macedonian* ladies; little he reſerved to himſelf. In point of women he was irreproachable, and for thoſe vices which ſo foully tarniſh the virtue of the *Greeks*, they ſerved only as a foil to him; ſo ſignal was his abhorrence of them. As to government, he was truly a friend to liberty, reſtored it where-ever he came, and ſhewed it as a wonder to thoſe who had no idea of it before. It is true, that, with all this, he required ſubmiſſion to himſelf; but it was a ſubmiſſion no way inconſiſtent with liberty, but that civil reſpect which is always due to a great captain in war, and a juſt and temperate ruler in peace. The reader may expect ſome reaſon for inſerting this character here; and we ſhall give it in few words: *Alexander* had been hitherto what we repreſent him; we are now going to ſhew him in quite another light, intoxicated with vanity, and fooliſhly ſeeking to cover the foibles which diſgraced him as a man, by pretending to be more than man, as painters uſe flowing robes and magnificent drapery to conceal defects of ſhape. It is not to be ſuppoſed, that, from this period, he did nothing that was virtuous or praiſe-worthy; all that we mean is, that as hitherto he had acted with ſuch prudence as to commit very few, and thoſe trivial miſtakes, ſo henceforward he loſt that moderation and magnanimity, which had made him ſo much loved and revered, and by attempting to exchange reſpect for adoration, and to extort a blind ſubmiſſion inſtead of a chearful and a rational obedience, he, in a great meaſure, extinguiſhed the luſtre of his former glory, and that authority derived therefrom, owing that affection and regard which the *Macedonians* ſtill retained for him, to the memory of his former conduct, and to thoſe intervals of humanity, in which he laid aſide the ridiculous notion of his being allied to the divinity. But it is time to proceed to the ſource of theſe diſorders (N).

[c] Arrian. l. iii. c. 1, 2. [d] Curt. l. iv. c. 32. Diodor. ubi ſupra.

(N) We follow the authority of *Arrian* in placing *Alexander*'s directing the building of the city honoured with his name before he went to viſit the oracle of *Jupiter Hammon*; *Diodorus* and other authors placing it afterwards, alledging that it ſo happened. The laſt-mentioned hiſtorian ſays, that it was ſeated very commodiouſly by the haven of *Pharos*; that the ſtreets were wiſely contrived, ſo as to admit the cooling breezes, which mightily refreſhed the air. In point of ſtrength, he ordered a broad and high wall to be drawn round it, ſo as to have the ſea cloſe on one ſide, and a great lake on the other, and a narrow paſs at each end. Its form reſembled that of a ſoldier's coat. One large beautiful ſtreet paſſed from gate to gate, being in breadth a hundred feet, in length forty furlongs, or five miles. It became in after-times ſo rich and famous, that our author tells us, in his time there were on its rolls three hundred thouſand freemen. *Plutarch* affirms, that he was directed to the choice of this ſituation by *Horus* in a viſion; and according to his account of the matter, a more pleaſant, or more convenient place, could not have been choſen (34). *Alexander* himſelf was a prince of great taſte; he looked upon works of this kind as the nobleſt monuments, and therefore ſpared neither pains nor coſt in completing them. The architect he employed here was the celebrated *Dinocrates*, who had raiſed himſelf an immortal reputation by rebuilding the temple of *Diana* at *Epheſus*; to him he conſigned the care of this work, which did the higheſt honour in ſucceeding times to its founder and his architect (35).

(34) *Diodor. ubi ſupra.* (35) *Plin. l. v. c. 10. Ammian. Marcel. l. xxii. c. 16. Strab. l. xvii. p. 590.*

At

a AT this time *Alexander* formed his extraordinary deſign of viſiting the temple of *Jupiter Hammon*. As to the motives which induced him thereto, *Arrian* tells us, that they were chiefly founded in the imitation of *Perſeus* and *Hercules*, the former of whom had conſulted that oracle, when he was diſpatched againſt the *Gorgons*; and the latter twice, *viz.* when he went into *Libya* againſt *Antæus*, and when he paſſed into *Egypt* againſt *Buſiris*. Now, as theſe heroes, *viz. Perſeus* and *Hercules* gave themſelves out to be the ſons of the *Grecian Jupiter*, ſo the *Macedonian* prince had a mind to take for his father *Jupiter Hammon* [e]. *Maximus Tyrius* informs us, that he went to diſcover the fountains of the *Nile* [f]. *Diodorus* tells us in few words, that he went to conſult the oracle [g]. *Plutarch* is as conciſe [h]. *Juſtin* aſſigns a very ſingu- b lar reaſon; he ſays there had been always great jealouſies about *Alexander*'s birth; that *Philip* was never thoroughly convinced of his being his ſon; that, a little before his death, he had openly declared, that he was ſatisfied he was not; that *Olympias* herſelf had confeſſed as much, pretending that ſhe conceived him by a monſtrous large dragon. To ſilence all theſe reports, to clear up his mother's character, and to get himſelf the reputation of being the ſon of a god, were his motives, if we may believe this author [i]. Whatever they were, certain it is, that he hazarded himſelf and his troops in the higheſt degree, there being two dangers in this march; which, with the example of *Cambyſes*, who loſt the greateſt part of his army in it, might have terrified any body but *Alexander*. The firſt was the want of water, which, in c the ſandy deſarts ſurrounding the temple, is no-where found; the other, the uncertainty of the road from the fluctuation of the ſands, which, changing their ſituation every moment, leave the traveller neither track to march in, nor mark to march by. From theſe impending miſchiefs, all authors agree, that *Alexander* was miraculouſly delivered; for when the water brought on camels backs was ſpent, there fell a prodigious ſhower of rain, wherewith they filled all their veſſels; and when their guides could no longer diſtinguiſh the road, they were directed by ſupernatural harbingers; tho' as to them authors do not agree. *Ptolemy* the ſon of *Lagus* affirmed they were two monſtrous dragons, which went with a mighty noiſe before them, *Alexander* giving ſtrict orders to his officers to follow theſe leaders. But *Ariſtobulus*, d with whom the current of hiſtorians go, aſſerts, that they were led by crows, who, as often as they deviated from the way, by their croaking and fluttering before them, ſet them right. Theſe are certainly ſtrange ſtories, yet there is all imaginable authority for them, which made ſo ſtrong an impreſſion on *Arrian*, that he gives us his judgment of the matter in theſe words: *I am fully convinced, that* Alexander *was conducted by ſome divine power, from the teſtimony of all who ſpeak of his journey, notwithſtanding the diverſity of ſentiments among theſe authors, have greatly obſcured the truth of this ſtory* [k].

Alexander viſits the temple of Jupiter Hammon.

THIS arduous march once over, *Alexander* arrived at the temple of *Hammon*, ſeated in the midſt of a barren, thirſty waſte, in a narrow ſpot of ground, the utmoſt e extent of which exceeds not forty furlongs, curiouſly planted with olive-trees and palm-trees, and watered with dews, which fall no-where elſe in all that country. A fountain alſo has its riſe here, different in its nature and properties from all the fountains upon earth; for at mid-day it is cool to the taſte, but to the touch intenſely cold; towards evening it begins to be warm, which warmth increaſeth by degrees from thence till midnight; after midnight it waxes cool by little and little; in the morning it is chilly, at noon exceſſive cold; and it receives all theſe various alterations regularly every day. This country naturally produces a kind of foſſile ſalt, which being put into little boxes of palm-tree, ſome of the prieſts of *Hammon* carry into *Egypt*, and beſtow on the king, or ſome great men as a preſent. It is dug out f of the earth in large oblong pieces, ſome above three fingers in length, tranſparent like cryſtal. This kind of ſalt the *Egyptians* and other nations, who are curious in their worſhip, uſe in their ſacrifices, it being much purer than that produced from ſea-water. *Arrian* tells us, that *Alexander* himſelf conſulted the oracle, and was well ſatisfied with its anſwer; but as to what he conſulted it upon, or what the anſwer was that he received, that author is ſilent. *Strabo* concurs with him, aſſerting, that the king entered in his royal robes, conſulted the oracle, and received its anſwer, none being let into the ſecret. *Diodorus* diſtinguiſhes three things which paſſed at this meeting [l]. *Firſt*, the *ſalutation* of the *prieſt*, whereby *Alexander* was acknow-

Where he conſults the oracle.

[e] ARRIAN. l. iii. c. 3. [f] Serm. xxv. [g] DIODOR. l. xvii. [h] In vit. Alex. [i] JUSTIN. l. xi. c. 11.
[k] ARRIAN. l. iii. c. 3. DIODOR. l. xvii. CURT. l. iv. [l] ARRIAN. l. iii. c. 4.

ledged

ledged for the ſon of *Jupiter Hammon*. The *ſecond*, a promiſe to the king, that he ſhould ſubdue the whole world. The *third*, an aſſurance that he had fully puniſhed the murderers of *Philip* [m]. *Plutarch*'s account correſponds pretty well with this, and he tells us beſides, that *Alexander*, highly pleaſed with what had paſſed, made mighty preſents to the prieſts. He likewiſe acquaints us, that ſome were of opinion *Alexander*'s title to divinity was founded in a blunder of the high-prieſt, who being deſirous to ſalute him in *Greek* with theſe words, *my ſon*, inſtead of *paidion*, pronounced *paidios*, which the *Greek* flatterers underſtood *pai dios*, i. e. *ſon of* Jupiter. The ſame author adds, that *Alexander*, in a letter to his mother *Olympias*, told her, he had received ſome ſecret anſwer from the *god*, which he would reveal to her at his return [n]. But *Olympias*, who was a woman of ſpirit and ſenſe, was ſo little pleaſed with the king's propagating theſe vain ſtories, that ſhe ſent to deſire him to forbear embroiling her with *Juno*. As to *Alexander*'s return there is alſo a good deal of uncertainty, *Ariſtobulus* affirming he came back the ſame way he went; and *Ptolemy* aſſerting, that he returned a nearer, which brought him directly to *Memphis*.

He ſettles the government of Egypt.

Alexander, on his return to *Memphis*, received there embaſſadors with congratulations from moſt of the ſtates of *Greece*, as alſo recruits both of horſe and foot; all which was very acceptable to him, as he teſtified by his kind reception of every body, by his making great feaſts, and exhibiting pompous ſhews. Theſe ſolemnities over, he began to think of ſettling the province, and of returning to the proſecution of the war. As he intended the *Egyptians* ſhould live under their own laws, he made choice of *Doloaſpis* and *Petiſis*, eminent *Egyptians*, to be joint preſidents of the province; but *Petiſis* deſiring to be excuſed from ſuch a burden, *Doloaſpis* was made ſole preſident. Into all the places of ſtrength however he put gariſons, and thoſe gariſons were under the command of ſuch officers as he thought he could confide in. Thus *Memphis* was committed to the care of *Pantaleon*, *Peluſium* to *Polemon*; the troops were under *Lycidas*, that is, the foreign troops; for as to the reſt, they were commanded by *Peuceſtas* and *Balacrus*. The fleet had for its admiral another *Polemon*. Thus he eſtabliſhed ſeveral independent commanders in *Egypt*; a policy imitated by the *Romans*: For conſidering the nature of the people, the ſituation of the ſtrong places, and the vaſt conſequence of the province, it was thought too great a charge to be committed to a ſingle perſon, or to be truſted in the hands of men of high quality, it being always held a mark of ſuperior policy to prevent inſurrections, rather than be obliged, with the hazard of war, to quell them. *Alexander*, as we have ſhewn, was not only aware of this, but in his conduct ſet an example to others. Theſe regulations took up a good deal of time; ſo that the winter was ſpun out before all things were compleated; and then *Alexander* made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for marching with his army into *Phœnicia*, that he might open the campaign in good time [o].

Samaritans *puniſhed.*

Tyre was the place appointed for the general rendezvous of the forces, and thither *Alexander* with all convenient ſpeed ſhaped his march. In the way he received an account of a very unhappy accident, which gave him much concern. *Andromachus*, a great favourite of his, and a deſerving man, had been appointed ſuperintendant of *Syria* and *Paleſtine*. This officer going to *Samaria* to collect the tribute, was not only oppoſed in the execution of his office, but a mighty tumult ſuddenly ariſing, the people ſet fire to the houſe wherein he lodged, and burnt him and his retinue. To avenge ſo horrid a fact, the king ordered a ſtrict inquiſition to be made after the murderers, directing, that all who were any ways concerned ſhould, without mercy, be put to death; but this was not all, he eſtabliſhed a colony of *Macedonians* in their city, and gave part of its territories to the *Jews*. Such of the *Samaritans* as eſcaped this ſlaughter, repaired to *Sechem*, which has been ever ſince, and ſtill is, their capital. The ground of this quarrel in all probability was *Alexander*'s ſlighting their requeſt at the time he ſo highly favoured the *Jews*; a thing which ſunk deep into their breaſts, and, if poſſible, heightened that implacable averſion they had conceived againſt the *Jews*. From this fact of theirs *Alexander* took ſuch a diſtaſte to this people, that he diſmiſſed eight thouſand of them who had ſerved in his troops ever ſince the ſiege of *Tyre*, ſending them as far as the *Upper Egypt*, where he commanded they ſhould have certain lands divided amongſt them [p].

[m] DIODOR. l. xvii. [n] In vit. Alex. [o] ARRIAN. l. iii. c. 5. [p] JOSEPH. Antiq. Jud. l. xi.

WHEN

a When he arrived at *Tyre*, he there met with *Athenian* embaſſadors, who came to renew the requeſt formerly made him to pardon ſuch of their citizens as he had found ſerving the enemy. The king, being deſirous to oblige ſo famous a ſtate, yielded to their requeſt, and ſent alſo a fleet to the coaſt of *Greece*, to prevent the effects of ſome commotions which had lately happened in *Peloponneſus*. Theſe, with ſome private affairs, once ſettled, he directed his march to *Thapſacus*, a city on the *Euphrates*. There he found a broken bridge, which *Darius* had made uſe of in his flight, after the battle of *Iſſus*; as alſo a great body of horſe, under the command of *Mazæus*, who had orders to obſtruct his paſſage; but ſo it was, that either from a notion of policy, or through downright cowardice, *Mazæus* having burnt b the country, ſlighted the poſt, and retired; whereupon the king having repaired the broken bridge, paſſed the *Euphrates*, marching on to ſeek *Darius*. A little before that, the wife of the laſt-mentioned prince paid her laſt debt to nature in child-bed. *Alexander* cauſed her to be buried at a prodigious expence, tho' he had been ſo cautious of injuring either her reputation or his own, as not only to forbear ſeeing her, but alſo forbid the commending her beauty in his preſence. *Tyræus* an eunuch, who attended on her perſon, eſcaped ſoon after, and carried *Darius* the tidings of his queen *Statira*'s death. He was extremely moved at the news, and no leſs ſo at the recital of the honours paid her by *Alexander* when living, and the mighty reſpect ſhewn her at her death; which, on account of the youth of *Alexan-* c *der*, he attributed in his mind to ſome ſiniſter cauſe; but when the eunuch, with moſt ſolemn aſſeverations, had convinced him that there was not the leaſt colour for his ſuſpicions, he, in a great tranſport of mind, prayed to God to reſtore the kingdom of *Perſia* to its ancient glory, that he might thereby be enabled to teſtify his gratitude to *Alexander*; or, if its fatal period was come, he prayed, that this generous victor might ſit next on the throne of *Cyrus* [q]. After paſſing the *Euphrates*, the *Macedonians* marched through *Meſopotamia*, having the river on their left, and by a round-about road, which they took to avoid defilees, and for the eaſier procuring of proviſion, arrived at length at *Babylon*. On the road *Alexander* was informed, that *Darius*, with all his army, lay encamped on the river *Tigris*, in order to diſ- d pute his paſſage. The current of this river is ſo rapid, that nothing can be imagined more difficult than attempting to paſs it with an army, even without an enemy in view. If *Darius* therefore had really drawn his troops down to the banks of this river, we may be confident that *Alexander* never could have paſſed it; but he had committed the care of defending it to *Mazæus*, who, it ſeems, did not love fighting; for he burnt the forage here too, and then withdrew; however, *Alexander* paſſed it, tho' not without great difficulty, many of his ſoldiers being borne off their feet, and carried down with the ſtream; ſo that at laſt he commanded them to march in cloſe order, ſo that they reſiſted the water like a wall; notwithſtanding which expedient a great deal of time was ſpent in getting them over, and they were ſo much e fatigued with the paſſage, that he was forced to let them reſt a whole day. If therefore, as we ſaid before, *Darius*, or any general of his, with a competent body of troops, had been poſſeſſed of the oppoſite ſhore, how is it poſſible they ſhould have got over at all [r]? But theſe precautions being wanting, and *Alexander* once on the other ſide, there remained nothing now but a battle to decide the iſſue of the war, and to determine who ſhould be lord of *Aſia*.

Statira *the wife of* Darius *dies.*

As the king continued his march directly towards the enemy, an accident hap- *An eclipſe of the moon aſtoniſhes the* Macedonians. pened that cauſed ſome confuſion in the army. This was no more than an eclipſe of the moon. If we were to believe *Curtius*, we muſt ſuppoſe, that the *Macedonians* were on the very point of breaking out into rebellion, taking this for an evident f ſign that heaven was againſt them; but it is ſo much that author's cuſtom to exaggerate, and the account he gives us of this eclipſe ſhews him to have written after ſuch indifferent memoirs, that we may very well juſtify our preferring *Arrian*'s account; which as it is more moderate, ſo it is alſo much more probable. He ſays, the king cauſed ſacrifices to be offered to the ſun, moon and earth, as the authors of eclipſes; and that *Ariſtander* having inſpected the intrails, had declared, that all things would be fortunate to the *Macedonians*; that a battle would happen within the month, and that they would carry the victory [s]. *Curtius* ſays, that the king called for *Egyptian* aſtronomers, who, concealing the cauſes of eclipſes from the vulgar, of

[q] Diodor. ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit. Alex. [r] Arrian. l. iii. c. 7. Diodor. ubi ſupra. [s] Arrian. ubi ſupra.

which cauſes, by the way, *Curtius* himſelf knew very little or nothing, told the ſoldiers, that the *Macedonians* were under the government of the *ſun*, the *Perſians* of the *moon*; and therefore, that a diminution of light in the latter, ſhewed, that thoſe who were under her dominion ſhould ſhortly be deſtroyed. This is certainly improbable; for nothing is more notorious, than that the *Perſians* were held to be under the dominion of the *ſun*, and not the *moon*; beſides, there can be no reaſon ſhewn why the king ſhould have recourſe to the *Egyptian* ſages, and not to *Ariſtander*[t]. On the whole therefore we may juſtly conclude, that having, by a proper compliance with their notions, re-ſettled the minds of his ſoldiers, and filled them with the hopes of victory, *Alexander* made them continue their march, that they might fight while they remained full of this perſuaſion. a b

The armies meet.

IT is unneceſſary to detain the reader here with a long account of the ſtrength of the *Perſian* army; we ſhall content ourſelves with obſerving, that it is hardly poſſible to gueſs at its real ſtrength. *Arrian* himſelf ſeems to have been miſled, if his text is not corrupted in this paſſage, wherein he tells us, that *Darius* had forty thouſand horſe, and a million of foot. *Diodorus* ſays, there were two hundred thouſand horſe, and eight hundred thouſand foot. *Plutarch*, that the horſe and foot made up together a million. *Juſtin* gives us exactly half of *Diodorus*'s number. With this vaſt army he remained encamped near the village *Guagamela*. *Alexander* choſe a ſtrong camp within about fifteen miles of the ſame place, where he left his baggage, with his ſick and wounded ſoldiers, and with the reſt marched on till he was within ſight of the enemy [u]. Then a council of war was called, wherein it was debated, whether it would be more adviſeable to fight that evening, or to encamp where they were that night. Moſt of the members of that council were for the firſt, *Parmenio* almoſt alone for the ſecond; but when the king had heard his reaſons, he gave orders that the troops ſhould encamp. *Alexander* then, with a choſen party of horſe, went and viewed the field of battle, examining every part thereof with the greateſt diligence; and, when he had done this, he returned to the camp, where, in a ſecond council, he gave the neceſſary directions for the engagement, encouraged all who were preſent to do their duty, and, above all, exhorted them to be extremely careful in preſerving order; after which he diſmiſſed them to their reſt. When all things were quiet, *Parmenio* came again to the king's pavilion, and earneſtly intreated him to attack the enemy in the dark, aſſuring him, that it would be the beſt way to prevent his ſoldiers from being diſcouraged by the diſparity between themſelves and the *Perſian* troops. To which *Alexander* calmly replied, *I will never ſteal a victory*; which has been by ſome cried down as a puerile expreſſion; by others as unreaſonably extolled as a mark of *Alexander*'s grandeur of mind; whereas it was in truth no more than the wiſe reſolution of a conſummate general, who ſuffered not himſelf to be dazzled by appearances, penetrating all things to the bottom, and choſe, without heſitation, that meaſure which was beſt. The reader will eaſily diſcern this, if he will be pleaſed to conſider on what the two kings relied. *Darius* plainly placed his hopes in numbers; for this reaſon he choſe a plain country, every mole-hill of which, in compariſon, he cauſed to be demoliſhed. *Alexander* depended on the valour and military skill of his veteran troops. In the dark then numbers would ſtill have been numbers, valour would have ſignified little, and military skill would have been loſt; beſides, a hundred accidents might have ſnatched a victory from *Alexander*, conſidering the diſproportion between his army and that of *Darius*; whereas we can ſcarce figure to ourſelves an accident which would have been favourable to him. More than all this, *Darius* was now of opinion, that his laſt defeat was wholly owing to the diſadvantage of the ground; had he been beaten again in the night, he would have imputed that to the darkneſs, and ſtill have entertained hopes; whereas *Alexander* fought to convince the *Perſians*, that their fighting was to no purpoſe: He anſwered therefore wiſely, and like a great captain, as he really was, *I will not ſteal a victory*; an expreſſion which ought not to ſurprize us as ſublime; but ought to convince us, that he who ſpoke it was a ſoldier, and knew well what he ſaid and did [x]. c d e f

The battle of Guagamila. *Year after the flood* 2668. *Year before Chriſt* 331.

THE vaſt army of *Darius* continued all night under arms, which muſt have fatigued them very much, and have given great opportunity for their fear to work upon them. Their king, it ſeems, was apprehenſive that *Alexander* would attack

[t] CURT. l. iv. [u] ARRIAN. l. iii. c. 8. [x] ARRIAN. ubi ſupra. DIODOR. PLUT. &c.

him

a him in the night, which was the reaſon that he kept his troops upon ſo hard a duty. They were drawn up in very exact order, as appeared by many memoirs of their diſpoſition, which, after the battle was over, were found in their camp, and which doubtleſs had been diſtributed to their principal officers, to prevent confuſion and miſtakes. *Darius* himſelf was in the main body, ſurrounded by his relations, ſome choice troops of horſe, certain chariots and elephants, and round all theſe were poſted the *Greek* mercenaries, on whoſe courage and skill he chiefly depended. When *Alexander* marched to the engagement, his *right wing* was compoſed of his royal brigade of horſe, commanded by *Clytus*, of ſeveral other corps of cavalry, beſides a large body of auxiliary horſe, commanded by *Philotas* the ſon of *Parme-*
b *nio*. The *firſt* line of the phalanx which joined theſe, was commanded by *Nicanor* the ſon of *Parmenio*. The *next* by *Cœnus* the ſon of *Polemocrates*. The *third* corps was under *Perdiccas*. The *fourth* was commanded by *Meleager*. The *fifth* by *Polyſperchon*. The *laſt* was the battalion of *Amyntas*, commanded by his brother *Simmias*, *Amyntas* being gone into *Macedonia* to raiſe recruits. On the *left* were the troops commanded by *Craterus*, conſiſting of ſeveral battalions of foot; a *body* of auxiliary horſe commanded by *Erigyus*; the *Theſſalian* horſe under the command of *Philip*. The whole *wing* was commanded by *Parmenio*. This was the diſpoſition of the middle line of the army; for before both *wings* and the *centre* there were light armed troops for *forlorns*, and behind each diviſion of the army there was a corps
c of reſerve. To the battalions of foot that compoſed theſe, *Alexander* gave orders, that they ſhould bear their ſpears ſo as to face about immediately, in caſe the enemy ſhould ſurround any part of his army. He likewiſe ordered, that they ſhould open when-ever the armed chariots were driven upon them, ſo as to give them a clear paſſage; which diſpoſitions and directions proved of the higheſt conſequence. The forces brought at preſent into the field, are computed by *Arrian* at ſeven thouſand horſe, and forty thouſand foot. *Alexander*'s right wing charged firſt upon the *Scythian* horſe, who, as they were well armed, and very robuſt men, behaved at the beginning very well, making a vigorous reſiſtance; and that this might anſwer the more effectually, the chariots placed upon the left wing bore down upon the *Macedonians*.
d Their appearance was very terrible, and threatned intire deſtruction; but *Alexander*'s light-armed troops, by their darts, arrows and ſtones, killed many of the drivers, and more of the horſes, ſo that few reached the *Macedonian* line; which opening, as *Alexander* had directed, they only paſſed through, and were then either taken or diſabled by his bodies of reſerve. The horſe continued ſtill engaged, and before any thing deciſive happened there, the *Perſian* foot near their left wing began to move, in hopes of falling on the flank of the *Macedonian* right wing, or of penetrating ſo far as to divide it from its centre. *Alexander*, perceiving this, ſent *Aretas* with a corps of troops to charge them, and thereby compel them to keep their poſts.
e In the mean time he remained where he was, and proſecuting his firſt deſign, broke their left wing, and purſued it till it was fully routed. He then charged the *Perſian* foot in flank, and they being intimidated, made but a feeble reſiſtance. *Darius* perceiving this, gave up all for loſt, and fled himſelf. Then the *Macedonians* following their victorious monarch, made a vigorous purſuit. The battalion commanded by *Simmias* only did not ſtir, that officer being informed, that not only the left wing was in great danger, but that a great body of *Perſian* and *Indian* horſe, taking the advantage of the king's abſence, had penetrated through the centre, and were fallen in upon the *Macedonian* baggage. This misfortune was quickly followed by another; the barbarian priſoners mutinied thereupon, and fell on the *Macedo-*
f *nians* in their camp; but the corps of reſerve facing about, and being ſupported by *Simmias*'s battalion, the *Perſians*, after a ſmart engagement, were routed, and great numbers ſlain. *Parmenio*, on the left wing, in the mean time, was almoſt inveloped, the cavalry in the *Perſian* right being both excellent and very numerous, in all probability the *Macedonians*, notwithſtanding their courage and military skill, would have been overborne at laſt, and totally deſtroyed, if *Alexander*, on the firſt intelligence of this misfortune, had not immediately returned from the purſuit, and charged the enemy in flank and rear; yet did they not then fly, but facing about, continued to defend themſelves againſt *Alexander*, and preſſed hard upon *Parmenio* at the ſame time. *Heſtheſtion*, *Cœnus* and *Menidas* were wounded in this conflict, which was very long and bloody, but ended at laſt in the total defeat of the *Perſians*; whereupon *Alexander* continued the purſuit of *Darius* about ten miles, and then

then paſſing the river *Lycus*, encamped them, that they might take ſome repoſe. a
Parmenio in the mean time, and the troops under his command, ſecured the enemy's tents, baggage, elephants and camels. Such was the end of this battle, which decided the fate of *Aſia* [u].

The loſs ſuſtained in this battle.

According to *Arrian*, the *Perſians* loſt here three hundred thouſand men, and the field of battle, and much more than that number taken priſoners [w]; but how this ſhould be done by an army ſhort of fifty thouſand men, is not eaſy to be conceived, and therefore, not without reaſon, ſome corruption hath been ſuſpected in the number. *Diodorus* is more moderate; for he ſays there were only ninety thouſand killed. Priſoners, to be ſure, there were at leaſt as many as *Alexander*'s army knew what to do with. With reſpect to the loſs of the *Macedonians*, *Arrian* puts it b
at one hundred horſemen, and a thouſand horſes; which is ſurely beyond all bounds of belief, if we conſider how hardly this battle was fought, and that the *Perſians* were once maſters of the *Macedonian* camp. About midnight *Alexander* obliged his ſoldiers to continue the purſuit, in hopes of overtaking *Darius*; but tho' he failed in this, yet at *Arbela* he took all the heavy baggage, and all the rich equipage of that monarch. This great victory, as *Arrian* obſerves, was obtained within the ſpace of time fixed by *Ariſtander*, which gave him great reputation [x] (O).

Ale-

[u] Arrian. l. iii. c. 13, 14, 15. Diodor. ubi ſupra. Curt. l. iv. c. 46, & ſeq. [w] Arrian. ubi ſupra
[x] Idem ibid.

(O) *Diodorus*, in his account of the battle of *Arbela*, (for ſo moſt hiſtorians call it, tho' it was fought near *Guagamela*) differs in ſome circumſtances from *Arrian* in the account he gives us of the order of battle; but if we conſider, that *Arrian* wrote from the memoirs of eye-witneſſes, and perſons of great quality, we cannot but ſuppoſe, that in theſe particulars he muſt have been well informed. In other reſpects it is fit that we ſhould ſet down what *Diodorus* hath recorded. By him then we find that ſucceſs which for a time attended the *Perſian* troops, intirely aſcribed to the conduct and valour of *Darius*. It unfortunately happened, that *Alexander* attacking his guards, threw a dart at *Darius*, which, tho' it miſſed him, ſtruck the charioteer who ſat at his feet dead; and he tumbling forwards, ſome of the guards raiſed a loud cry, whence thoſe behind them conjectured, that the king was ſlain, and thereupon fled without looking behind them, which created ſuch a confuſion, that *Darius* found himſelf obliged to follow their example. The duſt raiſed by the flight of ſo vaſt a multitude, gave *Darius* room and leiſure to retire to a place of ſafety; for he knowing well that the *Macedonians* could not perceive what rout he took, turned off immediately with the troops under his command, and marching with convenient ſpeed, took poſt in ſome villages that were directly behind the *Macedonian* army; from whence he ſafely departed, while *Alexander* by forced marches endeavoured to overtake him, on a vain preſumption that he fled ſtraight forwards. According to this author, the *Perſians* loſt ninety thouſand, and the *Macedonians* five hundred men; however he owns, that a great number of the latter were wounded (36). *Plutarch*, *Diodorus*, and many other authors agree, that the evening before the battle, when *Alexander* had given the neceſſary directions, he went to bed, and ſlept ſo ſoundly, that *Parmenio* and the reſt of the generals were forced to do many things in the morning according to their own ſentiments, becauſe they did not care to awake him. At laſt *Parmenio* was conſtrained to go to his bed-ſide, where he called him ſeveral times before he anſwered. At length he roſe, and dreſſed himſelf with great ſerenity; while he was doing this, *Parmenio* could not help ſaying, *I wonder, Sir, conſidering you are to fight the moſt important of all your battles, that you could ſleep as ſoundly as if you were already victorious. Why, ſo I am, my good friend,* returned the king, *ſince I ſhall no more be obliged to follow* Darius *hither and thither, through a country already deſtroyed by the length of the war* (37). We have another inſtance in *Plutarch* of the wonderful coolneſs and penetration of this great prince. When *Parmenio* perceived that the *Macedonian* camp was in danger, he ſent to recal the king from his purſuit. When *Alexander* heard the meſſage. *Parmenio*, ſaid he, *is certainly beſide himſelf; if I am victorious over theſe enemies, we ſhall have their baggage and our own too; whereas if I loſe this advantage, we ſhall have nothing to fight for but our lives* But when *Parmenio* ſent again, to inform him, that himſelf, and the troops under his command, were in the utmoſt danger, the king came immediately to his relief; but, ſays our author, ſuſpicions began to ariſe, that either the vigour of *Parmenio* was diminiſhed by his age, or, that out of envy he ſought to diminiſh his maſter's greatneſs (38). The truth ſeems to be, that *Parmenio* had too much concern for him. *Philip* of *Macedon* confeſſed him the only general he knew; and we find nothing recorded of him in hiſtory, which doth not ſpeak him a moſt conſummate, tho', at the ſame time, a very cautious commander. If the wing under his command had been beaten, that corps of *Perſians* would have been able to keep the field, and would have been quickly joined by moſt of thoſe who fled before. Such a multitude, encouraged by a taſte of ſucceſs, would have quickly ſwallowed up the *Greeks*, and recovered all they had conquered. *Alexander*, who fancied himſelf the ſon of a god, had his head full of nothing but victory where-ever he appeared; but to *Parmenio*, who was a mere man, conduct ſeemed as neceſſary as courage, and the preſervation of half the army eſſential to the whole. It is true, we are not, properly ſpeaking, bound to enter into the characters of thoſe whoſe hiſtory we write, yet ſometimes it is neceſſary; for what is hiſtory without truth? Or, to what end do we read, but to be acquainted with things as they were? There were in the court of *Alexander* many who hated *Parmenio* and his family; of theſe ſome wrote, and from the memoirs of theſe writers *Plutarch* had his informations: We do not therefore preſume to blame

(36) *Diodor. Sicul. l.* xvii. *in Alexand.* (37) *Plutarch. in Alex. Juſtin. Hiſt. l.* xi. *c.* 13. (38) *Plut.*

a *Alexander* receiving certain intelligence, that *Darius* was retired into *Media*, thought it at that time unneceſſary, and indeed impracticable, to follow him. He determined to march directly to *Babylon*, which accordingly he did. *Mazæus* commanded there in chief, the ſame perſon who had been intruſted to defend the paſſages of the rivers *Euphrates* and *Tigris*. He acted here juſt as he had done there; that is, at the ſight of *Alexander*'s army, he put the place into his hands [y]. The *Babylonians* were very glad of this revolution, and therefore, with great joy, came out to meet *Alexander*, with preſents of great value. This joy of theirs proceeded from their exceſſive hatred of the *Perſians*, as again that exceſſive hatred took birth from their principles of religion; for the *Perſians* being *deiſts*, had pulled down all their temples, and in every other reſpect curbed that propenſity to idolatry, which b was ſo extravagantly warm in this nation. *Alexander*, on the other hand, anſwered all their expectations; for he immediately commanded, that every one of their temples ſhould be rebuilt, particularly the famous temple of *Belus*. He ſent alſo for their prieſts, converſed with them, and left to their care the decree he had made in favour of their religion [z]. He offered ſacrifices himſelf to *Belus*, left *Mazæus* in poſſeſſion of the government; but removed *Bagophanes*, who had put the citadel and the royal treaſures into his hands, yet he entertained him in his court, and treated him with marks of confidence and eſteem [a]. As he was a prince of great learning, he enquired after the aſtronomical memoirs of the obſervations which were ſaid to c have been made in that city for a long tract of time, and he cauſed the beſt account that could be got of them to be tranſmitted to his tutor *Ariſtotle*; ſo deſirous he was that the republic of letters ſhould reap ſome advantage from his labours and victories [b]. On the whole however his ſtay at *Babylon* did him no good; for he and his officers began there firſt to taſte of luxury, and to fall in love with that magnificence and delicacy, which had enervated and deſtroyed the *Perſians* [c].

Alexander enters Babylon.

IT is now time for us to turn our eyes a little towards *Greece*; for tho' the main hopes of the *Macedonians* followed their royal leader thro' the great continent of *Aſia*, yet were they not aſleep as to their intereſts in *Europe*, where ſeveral attempts were made to leſſen their power. While *Memnon* lived, the *Perſians* were not only lords of the ſea in name, but in reality alſo. He retook many of the iſlands which had d fallen under the power of *Alexander*; he ſent ſhips of war to cruize on the coaſts of *Macedonia*; and, if he had lived, he would have made a deſcent on *Eubœa*, where queſtionleſs he would have been joined by a great number of the *Greeks*. After his death, things were in a languiſhing condition till the battle of *Iſſus*, when new efforts were made to ſtir up troubles in *Greece*. Thoſe however were rendered abortive by *Antipater*, who kept ſuch a fleet at ſea, and made ſuch diſpoſitions of his land-forces, as rendered it not ſafe for any of the *Greek* ſtates to declare againſt his maſter [d]. However, when advice arrived of this laſt victory, theſe ſmothered diſſenſions broke out into an open flame. The *Greeks* in general began to be afraid, that if they made no attempt before the *Perſian* empire was abſolutely deſtroyed, e all they could do afterwards would be to no purpoſe. As ſoon therefore as they had

The conduct of Antipater *in* Greece.

[y] ARRIAN. DIODOR. CURT. ubi ſupra. [z] DIODOR. ubi ſupra. [a] ARRIAN. l. iii. c. 16. [b] PORPHYR. ap. Simplic. l. ii. de cælo. [c] DIODOR. ubi ſupra. [d] ARRIAN. l. ii. DIODOR. ubi ſupra. PLUT. in vit. Demoſt.

blame him for tranſmitting what he read to poſterity; but we take the liberty of doing the ſame thing: And becauſe *Arrian*, who copied *Ariſtobulus* and *Ptolemy*, ſays nothing of *Parmenio*'s envy, we report the ſuggeſtion as doubtful, that a character, which ſeems to have the faireſt title to honour, may not, at this diſtance of time, be ſullied by inſinuations once thought too idle to deſerve mention. *Ariſtander*, during the battle, rode by his maſter's ſide, covered with a white mantle, and with a crown of gold upon his head. He it was, who, in a great meaſure, contributed to fix the victory, by ſhewing the *Macedonians* an eagle hovering over the king's head. After the battle, the king ſacrificed in a magnificent manner, and ſent preſents of the ſpoils to all the *Grecian* ſtates (39). *Juſtin* ſays, that few battles had been ſo bloody as this; that *Darius*, when he ſaw the battle was loſt, endeavoured to throw himſelf into the thickeſt of the fight, that there he might be ſlain; but, againſt his will, was forced to fly by thoſe who were about him. Being perſuaded by theſe to break down the bridge on the river over which he paſſed, that it might prevent the enemy's paſſage, he anſwered, *I will never purchaſe ſafety to myſelf, at the expence of ſo many thouſands of my ſubjects as muſt, by this means, be loſt; or take from them that paſſage which has preſerved me* (40). Indeed all authors agree, that *Darius* behaved very honourably in this action; and we ſhall ſee hereafter, that he loved his ſubjects ſo well, as to be ſatisfied with dying by their hands, rather than to owe his ſafety to the fidelity of ſtrangers.

(39) *Idem ibid.* (40) *Juſtin. Hiſt. l.* xi. *c.* 14.

news that *Memnon* governor of *Thrace* had rebelled, and that *Antipater* was making great preparations to march againſt him, they took arms, *Agis* king of *Lacedæmon* being declared their general. *Antipater* being informed of this, immediately drew together an army, and having compoſed matters in *Thrace*, marched into *Greece*. It was not long before the armies met; that of *Agis* conſiſted of twenty-two thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe; *Antipater* had about forty thouſand men; for when he came with a well-diſciplined army out of *Macedonia*, many of the *Greeks* joined him out of fear, who would otherwiſe have been neuters, or have fought againſt him. The engagement that enſued was very obſtinate and bloody; but at laſt *Agis* was killed, and the army he commanded routed, with the loſs of five thouſand three hundred men. *Antipater* himſelf loſt three thouſand five hundred; but it put an end to the war, for the *Greeks* ſeeing the fatal iſſue of this buſineſs, and that the *Athenians* ſided with the conqueror, they were conſtrained to forget their reſentments, and to implore mercy [c]. Such was the ſtate of *Greece*.

Alexander *takes poſſeſſion of* Suſa.

AFTER thirty days ſtay at *Babylon*, *Alexander* continued his march to *Suſa*, which had been already rendered into the hands of *Philoxenes*. Here the king received the treaſures of *Darius*, amounting to fifty thouſand talents, or upwards of nine millions ſterling, as alſo curioſities and furniture of an immenſe value [f]. It was delivered up to him by *Abuletes*, to whoſe care *Darius* had committed it; yet it is ſaid, that what the *Perſian* did was by order of his maſter, who was in hopes, that while *Alexander* was employed in taking great cities, and heaping up riches, he would not march ſo ſpeedily as hitherto he had done, but afford him time to collect a freſh army [g]. Among other things that were found in the treaſury of *Suſa*, were the brazen ſtatues of *Harmodius* and *Ariſtogiton*, which *Xerxes* had carried away when he plundered *Athens*. Theſe *Alexander* very carefully ſent back, and having taken a view of the fair palace and other things of note at *Suſa*, he began to think of quitting the province. *Abulites* he left in poſſeſſion of his command as governor of *Suſa*; but the care of the citadel he committed to *Mazæus*. The command of the forces he left for the defence of the province he gave to *Archelaus*. *Menetes* he conſtituted preſident of *Syria*, *Phœnicia* and *Cilicia*, to whom, at his departure, he gave three thouſand talents of ſilver, with orders to ſend over as much of it as ſhould be neceſſary to *Antipater*, that he might the better preſerve the peace of *Greece*, and carry on his deſigns there. About this time arrived the recruits under the command of *Amyntas*. They conſiſted of five hundred horſe, and ſix thouſand foot, all *Macedonians*; ſix hundred *Thracian* horſe, and three thouſand five hundred *Trallian* foot; about a thouſand horſe, and four thouſand foot from *Peloponneſus*; in all about two thouſand horſe, and thirteen thouſand five hundred foot. Theſe he incorporated into his veteran army, without forming any new corps. He dealt alſo very kindly by them all, taking care to let them have pay in advance, procuring for them good quarters, and being preſent himſelf at the reviews, and as often as they were exerciſed [h] (P).

AT

[c] DIODOR. ubi ſupra. [f] ARRIAN. ubi ſupra. [g] DIODOR. ubi ſupra. [h] CURT. l. v.

(P) Authors vary a little as to the money which *Alexander* ſeized at *Suſa*. *Arrian* ſays it was fifty thouſand talents (41); with him *Curtius* agrees (42). *Diodorus Siculus* ſays there were forty thouſand talents in bullion, and nine thouſand coined; ſo that he comes within a thouſand talents of the ſum (43). *Plutarch* tells us there were but forty thouſand talents; yet his account riſes higher than any other hiſtorian's, which ſeems not to have been well obſerved; for theſe forty thouſand talents, he ſays, were in coined gold, and diſtinguiſhes it from the reſt of the treaſure, of which he does not give us the particulars; only he ſays, there was purple to the value of five thouſand talents, which was freſh and lively, tho' it had been laid up a hundred and ninety years. He ſays too, on the authority of *Dinon*, that veſſels filled with water from the *Nile* and the *Danube*, were ſet in this treaſury, as monuments of the mighty extent of the *Perſian* empire (44). *Juſtin* ſays expreſly there were but forty thouſand talents; which agrees well enough with *Diodorus*, whoſe ſteps he is obſerved to follow; yet this author hath a very curious paſſage, which, for the ſake of brevity, probably *Juſtin* omitted (45). *Alexander*, as he informs us, coming in perſon to take an account of theſe treaſures, ſat down on the royal throne, which, it ſeems, was ſo high, that his feet did not come near the foot-ſtool. One of his pages obſerving this, took up *Darius*'s table, and placed it upon the foot-ſtool, for which *Alexander*, who now ſat at eaſe, commended him; but one of the eunuchs of the old court fixing his eyes on the table, fell a weeping. *Tell me, friend*, ſaid *Alexander, what it is you ſee here that moves you to grieve ſo much?* *O king*, anſwered the eunuch, *I was once* Darius's *ſervant, as I am now thine. As I loved and honoured*

(41) *Arrian. l.* iii. *c.* 16. (42) *Curt. l.* v. *c.* 2. (43) *Diodor. Sicul. l.* xvii. (44) *Plut. in vit. Alex.* (45) *Juſtin. l.* xi. *c.* 15.

a At laſt he thought of proſecuting the war; and ſo moving from *Suſa*, he paſſed the *Paſitigris*, and entered the country of the *Uxians*. Thoſe who inhabited the plain country, ſubmitted without giving him any trouble; but the mountaineers were fooliſh enough to ſend a deputation, to inform him they expected a ſum of money by way of tribute for paſſing thro' their country, pretending, that the *Perſian* monarchs had always paid it them. *Alexander* anſwered coldly, That they would do well to come to the paſſage to receive it [i]. As ſoon as they were gone, he diſpatched *Craterus* to ſeize the tops of the mountains, while he, in the mean time, with a body of horſe and light-armed troops, entered the country by night, through private and troubleſome roads; ſo that he was in the midſt of the *Uxian* b villages before the inhabitants knew any thing of the matter. Theſe he plundered and burnt, and continuing his march, ſeized the paſs, whither numbers of people were crowded, in hopes of receiving the money. They pretended at firſt to make ſome defence; but before they could form themſelves into any order, *Craterus*, with his ſoldiers, appeared over their heads, and began to puſh them in cluſters over the precipices. They then fell into confuſion, and fled into holes and caverns; however, *Siſygambis* interpoſing, and ſending to intreat *Alexander* to pardon them, he readily acquieſced on the following terms, *viz.* that they provided for the army a hundred horſes of war, five hundred baggage horſes, and thirty thouſand head of cattle [k]. *He reduces the* Uxians.

c As we have mentioned the mother of *Darius*, we will take this opportunity of ſpeaking of *Alexander*'s conduct towards her, and of her behaviour towards him. From the time ſhe was taken at the battle of *Iſſus*, *Alexander* afforded her not only the title, but the obedience due to a mother, left the children of *Darius* under her care, and omitted nothing which might contribute to leſſen, or even to obliterate her misfortunes. In the late engagement, it is ſaid, that when the *Perſian* horſe broke into *Alexander*'s camp, they came to the tent where ſhe was, and would have perſuaded her to make her eſcape; but ſhe conſtantly refuſed, ſaying, *That ſhe would not quit* Alexander *with his fortune* [l]. The king, when he purpoſed to purſue the war, left her at *Suſa*, having aſſigned her and her grand-children a tutor, d that he might have the pleaſure of converſing with them without an interpreter; and hence it was that ſhe ſent to intreat him to pity and ſpare the *Uxians*, who, through raſhneſs and folly, had incurred his diſpleaſure. And we have ſeen what deference *Alexander* paid to her mediation [m] (Q). *Alexander's reſpect towards the family of* Darius.

AFTER

[i] ARRIAN. l. iii. c. 17. DIODOR. ubi ſupra. [k] ARRIAN. ubi ſupra. [l] DIODOR. ubi ſupra.
[m] ARRIAN. ubi ſupra.

honoured my maſter while I ſerved him; ſo I cannot even now behold, without extreme diſquiet, that table at which he ſat, placed under thy feet. Alexander, moved at the blunt honeſty of the man, commended him, and ordered it to be taken away. But *Philotas* interpoſed; *As this table, Sir*, ſaid he, *was not placed here by your command, there is nothing of inſolence in the uſe you have put it to. To me it appears to be a thing ordained by providence, to ſhew the mutability of empire.* The king then ordered it to remain where it was (46). This *Philotas* was the ſon of *Parmenio*; and we ſhall hear quickly of his being tortured and put to death, on a ſuſpicion that he bore no good-will to the glory of his maſter.

(Q) There is nothing in the life of *Alexander* which hath afforded the rhetoricians, who have made his actions their theme, ſo happy an opportunity of exerting their genii, as his tenderneſs to the family of *Darius*. *Plutarch* and *Curtius* are particularly fond of theſe paſſages, and have taken all poſſible care to ſet them out to the beſt advantage. The laſt-mentioned author hath inſerted in his work a very extraordinary relation of an interview between *Alexander* and *Siſygambis* at *Suſa*. We were afraid of ſwelling the text too much, otherwiſe it had been inſerted there; yet, conſidering the manner in which it is told, perhaps it will appear with greater propriety in a note, by way of appendix. *Alexander* having received from *Macedon* ſeveral pieces of purple, and other rich veſtures, he ordered them to be ſent to *Siſygambis*, together with the perſons who had wrought them, with a compliment, as he intended it, that if the fabricature of theſe garments pleaſed her, ſhe might let her grand-children be taught how to make them for their diverſion; but working in wool being then held in *Perſia* a very mean and diſhonourable thing, *Siſygambis* ſhed tears when ſhe heard the meſſage. The perſon who carried it, returned therefore in haſte to *Alexander*, and acquainted him, that *Siſygambis* was much diſpleaſed; whereupon the king went inſtantly unto her apartment, in order to conſole her, and to remove any miſconſtruction ſhe might have put on his meſſage. "Dear mother, ſaid he, "the robe in which you ſee me arrayed, was not "only preſented me by my ſiſters, but is alſo the "work of their hands; be convinced, madam, from "thence, that I meant not to offend you, but as I "was led into an error through the cuſtom of my "country, impute what is amiſs to my ignorance, "and not to any fault in my will. Hitherto I have "made it my ſtudy never to tranſgreſs any of your "cuſtoms. As ſoon as I was informed, that it "was held diſreſpectful in *Perſia* for a ſon to ſit "before

(46) *Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra.*

He forces a paſſage to Perſepolis, and deſtroys it.

AFTER chaſtiſing the *Uxians*, *Alexander* ordered *Parmenio* to march with the *Theſſalian* horſe, the royal brigade, the mercenary foot, with the carriages and baggage, through the ordinary open road againſt the enemy. In the mean time, he with the *Macedonian* foot, and the light-armed troops, and a body of horſe and archers, marched over the mountains to the *Perſian* ſtreights. Theſe he found effectually fortified with a ſtrong wall, flanked with towers, and *Ariobarzanes* with an army of forty thouſand foot, and ſeven thouſand horſe, poſted behind to diſpute his paſſage. The king, truſting to his uſual fortune, immediately ſtormed the wall; but after a long and bloody conflict, in which he loſt abundance of men, he was forced to ſound a retreat, having been able to effect nothing [n]. He then began to inquire for ſome other way, and having met with a man who had been formerly a priſoner, his father a *Lycian*, his mother a *Perſian*, ſo that he ſpoke both tongues; this man told him, that having long kept ſheep on theſe mountains, he could lead him to another paſs, but that in truth it was difficult enough too. *Alexander* thereupon left *Craterus* in his camp, with orders, that as ſoon as he perceived that himſelf had paſſed the other ſtreights, and was about to attack the *Perſian* camp, he ſhould ſcale the wall [o]. Then following his *Lycian* guide, he marched that night a hundred furlongs, and by an intricate road, arrived at laſt at the ſtreights; and though he met with a river in his way, yet he paſſed it, and advanced ſo ſpeedily, that by day-break he ſurprized the firſt guards, whom he cut all to pieces, as he did moſt of thoſe in the ſecond poſt, whereby *Ariobarzanes* received no intelligence of his paſſage, till *Alexander* attacked him in his camp. *Craterus*, as ſoon as he heard the trumpet ſound, attacked the wall; this ſo diſtracted the *Perſians*, that they would have fled, but it was impoſſible. *Ptolemy* ſeized the wall with three thouſand foot. *Alexander* charged them before, *Craterus* behind, when they fled to the wall, *Ptolemy* drove them back. Thus diſtreſſed, they knew not what to do, and the far greater part of them were put to the ſword. *Ariobarzanes* himſelf with a few horſe eſcaped into the mountains. *Alexander* then returning in haſte to the river, ſtrengthened the ſlight bridge he had thrown over it, and paſſed over all his army; then by long marches he ſought to reach the capital of *Perſia*; at *Paſargadæ* he ſeized the treaſures of *Cyrus*, and appointed *Phraſiortes* governor of *Perſia*. *Diodorus* and other hiſtorians tell us, that when he was near *Perſepolis*, he met eight hundred *Grecians*, all of whom had their bodies grievouſly mangled, and that they with one voice cried out, on the barbarous treatment they had met with from the *Perſians*, among whom they were priſoners. In compaſſion to which miſerable tale, the king generouſly relieved them, promiſed to ſend them ſafe back to *Greece*, and vowed deſtruction againſt *Perſepolis*. *Arrian* and *Plutarch* have not a word of this tale; without doubt they had heard it, and their not inſerting it ſeems to carry in it a ſtrong indication of its being fabulous. In all probability, it was calculated, like another ſtory we ſhall mention preſently, to excuſe a fact that never can be excuſed. However it was, the king came at laſt to *Perſepolis*, and meeting with no oppoſition, he made war on the royal palace, and under colour of revenging what *Xerxes* had done at *Athens*, moſt barbarouſly deſtroyed the moſt magnificent pile, this or perhaps any other part of the world could boaſt. *Parmenio*, the friend of *Philip*, a man always of moderate counſels, interpoſed in vain. In vain he repreſented to *Alexander*, that the deſtruction of this moſt noble palace would make him appear a barbarian to the *Aſiatics*, and put them in doubt whether he intended to keep *Aſia*, or only to plunder it; that beſides it was no revenge upon the *Perſians* to raze what was no longer theirs, but his [q]. The king was poſitive, as indeed he generally was; the city of *Perſepolis* was given up to the plunder of the

a b c d e

[n] ARRIAN. lib. iii. c. 18. [o] DIODOR. ubi ſupra. PLUT. in vit. Alex. [p] DIODOR. ubi ſupra. CURT. lib. v. c. 17. [q] ARRIAN. lib. iii. c. 18.

" before his mother, till licenſed ſo to do by her, " I made it a rule with me never to ſit before you, " till I received your commands. As often as you " have offered to proſtrate yourſelf before me, I " have taken care to prevent it; and as the laſt and " higheſt token of my eſteem, have always ſtiled " you mother, a title, ſtrictly ſpeaking, belonging " only to *Olympias* (47)". *Curtius* concludes his chapter here without telling us more than that *Siſygambis* was ſatisfied. In all probability, ſhe could not but be well pleaſed at an explanation which took from her all apprehenſions of *Alexander*'s prejudice towards her family; but that this is the very ſpeech which *Alexander* made to her, will perhaps not eaſily be credited on account of its rhetorical quaintneſs.

(47) *Curt. lib.* v. *c.* 9.

ſoldiers,

a ſoldiers, and then the palace ſet on fire and deſtroyed. *Diodorus* tells us, that *Alexander* having aſſembled his troops, made them a long ſpeech, wherein he ſet forth the reaſons, ſuch as they were, of his proceeding in this cruel manner; he charged this city with having cauſed innumerable miſchiefs to *Greece*, with implacable hatred towards her, and with growing rich by her ſpoils, and to avenge all thoſe injuries, he gave it up to them, to do with it, the inhabitants, and their eſtates, whatever they thought fit. Upon this the *Macedonians* ruſhed into the place, and put to the ſword, without mercy, all they could lay hands on, plundering and tearing away all the wealth, jewels, rich furniture, and gorgeous veſtments, with which the houſes were full; and though they every-where loaded themſelves with ſilver, gold, and
b purple, their thirſt of ſpoil did but ſo much the more increaſe, every one thinking himſelf had too little, and others had too much, ſo that quarrels enſuing, many had their hands cut off, as they endeavoured to ſnatch and tear away prizes, and others were killed. Women of all ages and conditions they ſeized for the ſake of their cloaths and ornaments; ſuch as their beauty made deſireable, they raviſhed, ſtripping all alike they ſold them for ſlaves; ſo that in the ſame proportion, whereby *Perſepolis* excelled all other cities before the *Macedonians* approached it, ſhe was by them depreſſed in miſery and calamity below the moſt wretched village on the earth [r]. In the palace, *Alexander* ſeized to his own uſe a hundred and twenty thouſand talents, which he immediately ordered to be tranſported on mules and camels, for he had ſuch an extreme
c averſion to the inhabitants of *Perſepolis*, that is, even to the miſerable remains of them, that he would leave nothing valuable with them, nor truſt nothing near them. Many authors tell us, that the palace of *Perſepolis* was not deſtroyed through any deſign, but from an accident; that *Alexander* having made a great entertainment therein, whereat himſelf, his friends and their miſtreſſes were preſent, one *Thais* an *Athenian* courtezan, who lived with *Ptolemy* the ſon of *Lagus*, when they were well heated with wine, ſaid, It would be a glorious thing to ſacrifice to the honour of *Greece* this proud palace, the habitation of its implacable enemies; this being approved by the company, they cried out, Come on, bring us fire-brands; and the king, taking upon him to lead them, they with ſongs, pipes, and flutes, marched to
d execute this glorious propoſal; *Thais* acting as lieutenant-general, and throwing the next fire-brand to the king [s]. The reflection of *Diodorus* on this ſtory is very ſingular. It was, ſays he, very obſervable, and a thing deſerving admiration, to ſee the ſacrilege and impiety of *Xerxes* king of *Perſia*, in his outrages committed in the citadel of *Athens*, ſo ſignally revenged ſo many years afterwards through the advice of a courtezan of the ſame city [t]. As there is not a word of *Thais* or this drunken entertainment in *Arrian*, there is juſt grounds to ſuſpect that the whole ſtory is a forgery, the intent of which is explained to us by this remark: The deſtruction of *Perſepolis* had in it a barbarity unbecoming a *Greek*, and moſt unworthy of *Alexander*. To reſolve therefore that deſtruction into a judgment from the deity, and to make the
e execution thereof the ſudden effect of ſome irreſiſtible inſpiration, is certainly a good way of taking off the load from *Alexander*; but where then is it to be laid? Why, upon heaven! a practice no ſober hiſtorian will ever countenance, or preſume to favour a prince at the expence of providence.

Alexander follows Darius.

DURING the time that *Alexander* continued at *Perſepolis*, he received advice, that *Darius* remained ſtill at *Ecbatana* in *Media*. He determined to march after him, which he did in a moſt precipitate manner, for in twelve days he reached *Media*, moving near forty miles a day; in three days more he reached *Ecbatana*, where he was thoroughly informed of *Darius*'s condition, that he had not with him above three thouſand horſe, and ſix thouſand foot, and that with theſe he had retired five days before,
f with an intent to paſs into the remoteſt provinces of his empire. This put ſome ſtop to his rapid progreſs, and perceiving that there was no neceſſity for thus hurrying himſelf and his ſoldiers, he began to give ſuch orders as were neceſſary in the preſent ſituation of his affairs [u]. The *Theſſalian* horſe who had deſerved ſo well of him in all his battles, he diſmiſſed according to his agreement, gave them their whole pay, and ordered two thouſand talents over and above to be diſtributed among them. He then declared that he would force no man, but if any of them were willing to ſerve him longer for pay, he deſired that they would enter their names in a book,

[r] DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xvii. [s] PLUT. in vit. Alex. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. CURT. lib. v. [t] DIODOR. ubi ſupra. [u] ARRIAN. lib. iii. c. 19. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. PLUT. in vit. Alex. CURT. lib. v.

which a great many of them did; the reſt ſold their horſes, and prepared for their departure. The king named *Epocillus* to conduct them to the ſea, and aſſigned him a body of horſe as an eſcort; he likewiſe ſent *Menetes* with them to take care of their embarquement, and that they were ſafely landed in *Eubœa* without any expence to themſelves. *Parmenio* he directed to ſee all the ſeveral ſums of money, which had been collected throughout *Perſia*, delivered to his treaſurer *Harpalus* at the caſtle of *Ecbatana*, to whom he aſſigned a guard of ſix thouſand *Macedonian* foot, and a conſiderable corps of horſe. This *Harpalus* was one of *Alexander*'s principal favourites, and as he was a monarch remarkably ſteady in his affections, ſo this man had experienced his clemency as well as his kindneſs; for having after the battle of *Granicus*, been appointed treaſurer, he had by degrees got large ſums into his hands, and being terrified by ſome artful people with ſtories of the king's rigid temper, he fled, and carried away great ſums with him. *Alexander* inquiring thoroughly into the matter, entertained a favourable opinion of the man, nothwithſtanding all this, and therefore ſent to invite him back again, aſſuring him that he would forget all that was paſt, which he not only performed, but reſtored him to his favour and former poſt. The reaſon of all this was, that *Harpalus* had been his friend and confident in his father's time, and at that time too, when to be well with *Alexander* was no way to be well with *Philip*; he had even been baniſhed on his account, and durſt not return to the court of *Macedon*, till *Alexander* had aſſumed the crown [w]. Hence the gratitude of this prince appears, who in the midſt of victories, and after conquering ſo many provinces, could remember and reward thoſe who ſided with him, when he was but the ſecond perſon in the little kingdom of *Macedon*.

The affairs of Greece, and of the royal family of Macedon.

ABOUT this time the king received advice from *Greece*, that all troubles there were happily ended through the extraordinary care and conduct of *Antipater*, who had reduced the *Lacedæmonians* ſo low, that they were conſtrained to accept any terms of peace which he was pleaſed to afford them; and on the other hand, *Antipater*, to do his maſter honour, would come to no agreement, but on condition that they ſent deputies into *Aſia* to beg pardon of *Alexander*, and to implore his favour [x]. Theſe ſervices gave him a great intereſt in the heart of his prince, who as yet had not learned to diſtruſt his ſervants, or to conceive jealouſies of thoſe, who by their important ſervices, had ſhewn the extenſiveneſs of their capacities. He ſent therefore inſtructions to that miniſter to keep always a guard about his perſon, made him ſuch remittances as were ſufficient to pay his army regularly, and to ſupport the expence neceſſary for preſerving the tranquillity of *Greece*; he likewiſe ſent immenſe ſums to his mother and relations, as alſo moſt magnificent preſents to his old friends and acquaintance. This bountiful temper of his, *Olympias* looked on as extravagance, and on this topic ſhe wrote him long and frequent letters, telling him, that though it was fit he ſhould give, and give like a king, yet that ſome bounds ſhould be ſet even to royal munificence. That his rewards did not render men grateful, but rather made them independent: That his favourites were ſo rich, they were continually ſtudying how to engage new dependents, ſo that while they were obliging all men to their ſervice, he was like to have few ſervants left [y]. The king read theſe letters, and knowing the temper of his mother, laid them by carefully without ever ſpeaking of their contents; only one day it happened, that he opened an epiſtle from *Olympias*, when *Hepheſtion* ſate behind him. *Alexander* perceived that he read over his ſhoulder, yet he forbad him not; but when himſelf had read the letter out, he took his ſignet off his finger, and clapped it on his favourite's mouth. But the great ground of expoſtulation between *Olympias* and her ſon was the king's ſteady refuſal to permit her to have any hand in the regency. But he knew her too well, and was afraid to ſuffer a woman of her intriguing ſpirit to intermeddle with the government. On the other hand *Antipater* wrote often in the ſame ſtile, lamenting his condition, as being continually expoſed to the artifices and malice of *Olympias*. When *Alexander* one day had read a very prolix letter of this nature, and which was written with more than ordinary ſpirit, he could not help ſaying; *I wonder* Antipater *does not know that one tear of a mother can blot out a thouſand of theſe letters* [z]. Thus in the midſt of all the favours of fortune, while he was ſeizing

[w] ARRIAN. ubi ſupra. PLUT. in vit. Alex. & in vit. Demoſth. [x] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. [y] PLUT. in vit. Alex. [z] Id. ibid.

crowns

crowns in *Aſia*, and had them ſent after him from *Europe*, *Alexander* found his head little the eaſier, and himſelf as uneaſy in his private family, as any man within the bounds of the numberleſs provinces he had ſubdued. It may be, theſe cares contributed to make him more ready to enter on new expeditions, in hopes of burying private diſquiet in public diſorder, and make the loud tumult of war drown thoſe ſmaller and harſher noiſes which forbad him reſt.

The death of Darius.

On new informations, as to the poſture of *Darius*'s affairs, the king with a body of horſe and light-armed troops ſet out once more on the purſuit, marching as far as *Rhages*, a city, one day's journey from the *Caſpian* ſtreights; there he underſtood that *Darius* had paſſed thoſe ſtreights ſome time before, which information leaving him again without hopes, he halted for five days. *Oxidates* a *Perſian*, whom *Darius* had left priſoner at *Suſa*, was appointed governor of *Media*, as the king departed on his *Parthian* expedition. The *Caſpian* ſtreights he paſſed immediately without oppoſition, and then gave directions for collecting proviſions ſufficient to ſerve his army on a long march through a waſted country. But before his officers could accompliſh his commands, *Bagiſtanes* the *Babylonian*, and *Antibelus* the ſon of *Mazæus*, came from *Darius* to acquaint him, that *Beſſus*, governor of *Bactria*, *Barzaentes*, preſident of *Arachoſia*, and *Nabarzanes*, a general of horſe, had conſpired againſt, and made that prince a priſoner [a]. *Alexander*, as ſoon as he heard this, marched with his horſe and a few choſen foot without intermiſſion, except a few hours at noon, ſo that the next morning he entered the camp, from whence theſe noblemen came; there he was farther aſſured, that *Darius* was bound in his chariot, that *Beſſus* had aſſumed the imperial title, and that all the army had ſubmitted to him, except *Artabazus*, and his ſons, and the *Greek* mercenaries, who not being able to hinder what had paſt, left the great road, and retired into the mountains. He alſo received advice, that thoſe who had the king in cuſtody had determined, if *Alexander* continued his purſuit, to deliver him up, and conſult their own ſafety; but if he left it off, they would raiſe as great an army as they could, and ſhare the empire among them. That *Beſſus* was declared general of the army, at preſent, as well becauſe of the great neceſſity there was for him about *Darius*'s perſon, as becauſe he was taken priſoner in his province. *Alexander* hearing this, reſolved to continue his march with all poſſible ſpeed; and though his men as well as their horſes were haraſſed with inceſſant labour, he nevertheleſs proceeded, and travelling hard all that night, and till noon the next day, arrived at a certain village, where they who led *Darius* about had pitched their tents the day before; and being there farther aſſured that they deſigned to march by night, he inquired of the inhabitants, if they knew any nigher road than that by which they fled, that he might the ſooner overtake them? they told him they did; but that it led through a country deſart, and deſtitute of water. He notwithſtanding ordered them to be his guides, and when he underſtood that the foot could not poſſibly keep pace with the horſe in ſo haſty a march, he commanded about five hundred horſe-men to alight, and the captains of foot, and others of their beſt men, ſuch as were heavy armed, to mount their horſes. He alſo ordered *Nicanor* captain of the targeteers, and *Attalus* commander of the *Agrians*, to march with thoſe who were light-armed along the great road, which *Beſſus* and his companions had taken. The reſt of the foot were left to follow in order. He ſet forwards at the cloſe of the evening, and proceeded with the utmoſt vigour; and having marched four hundred furlongs that night, early the next morning came up with the *Barbarians*, who were flying all in diſorder, and unarmed. A few of them drew up in ranks, as if they had deſigned to defend themſelves; but the greateſt part at the firſt ſight of *Alexander* turned their backs without ſtriking one blow; and when a few of thoſe who betook themſelves to their arms were cut off and fled, *Beſſus* and his companions ſtill carried *Darius* about in a chariot; but perceiving *Alexander* at hand, *Satibarzanes* and *Barzaentes* after having given him ſeveral grievous wounds, there left him, and with a party of ſix hundred horſe, haſted away; ſoon after which *Darius*, before *Alexander* had yet ſeen him, died of his wounds [b]. This is the account of *Arrian*. But *Plutarch* relates it ſomewhat differently; he informs us that the king had not with him above threeſcore horſe when he came up with the *Barbarians*; that they trampled over heaps of rich booty, and even large quantities of ſilver and gold, without offering to alight, that they might if poſſible come up with the foremoſt of

[a] Arrian. lib. iii. c. 21. Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit. Alex. [b] Arrian. ubi ſupra.

the

the party who were about the chariot of *Darius*; which at laſt they did, one *Polyſtratus* being the firſt that perceived him; he making up to the chariot, ſaw the unfortunate king ſtretched at his full length, mortally wounded, and gaſping for breath. However he earneſtly deſired ſome drink. The *Macedonian* preſenting him with a cup of water, *Darius* taſted a little of it, and then ſaid, *That to receive ſuch a benefit, and not have it in his power to make any return, was the laſt and ſevereſt ſtroke of his ill fortune; however*, continued he, Alexander, *whoſe kindneſs to my mother, wife, and children may God recompenſe, will doubtleſs gratify thee for thy humanity towards me: When therefore thou ſhalt give him an account of this event, tell him that I gave him my right hand in teſtimony of my ſenſe of his kindneſs:* Saying this, he gave his hand to *Polyſtratus*, and breathed his laſt. *Alexander* when he ſaw the dead body, covered it with his own cloak, and ordered it to be ſent to *Siſygambis*, that it might be interred in the royal ſepulchre of the *Perſian* kings [c].

Hyrcania *reduced by* Alexander.

As ſoon as *Alexander* had collected his forces together, and had ſettled the government of *Parthia*, he entered *Hyrcania*, and having, according to his wonted cuſtom, committed the groſs of his army with the baggage and carriages to the care of *Craterus*, he at the head of a choice corps of horſe and foot paſſed through certain craggy roads, while the army took an open and eaſy paſſage, and before their arrival ſtruck all the province with ſuch terror, that all the principal places were put into his hands. *Nabarzanes*, who was one of the conſpirators againſt *Darius*, ſurrendered himſelf here, ſo did *Phradaphernes*, governor of *Hyrcania* and *Parthia*. *Artabazus* and his ſons arrived ſhortly after, and were all graciouſly received. *Alexander* teſtifying a high reſpect for them on account of their fidelity to *Darius*. Then the *Greek* mercenaries, who had fled into the mountains, ſent deputies to deſire that he would pardon what was paſt, and admit them to his ſervice; but the king would not hear of any treaty, becauſe, as he ſaid, they were infamous perſons, who had taken up arms againſt their country, and had obſtinately perſiſted in their rebellion; yet, in conſideration of their behaviour towards their late maſter, he conſented to receive them as priſoners at diſcretion; to which terms they at laſt ſubmitted, beſeeching the king to ſend ſomebody to conduct them to his camp. The king thereupon ſent *Andronicus* and *Artabazus* for that purpoſe, and on their arrival treated them with great lenity, receiving them not long after into his ſervice [d].

The Mardi *reduced.*

THAT burning deſire which *Alexander* had to become the lord and maſter of every nation of whom he had the leaſt intelligence, induced him to enter the country of the *Mardi*, merely becauſe its rocks and barrenneſs had hindred any body hitherto from making a conqueſt of it, or even from attempting it; however, he ſucceeded very happily by dint of a ſtratagem; for giving the neceſſary directions for the march of his forces, he ſuddenly turned back with a body of light-armed troops and choſen horſe, with which he acted ſo vigorouſly, that the *Mardi*, aſtoniſhed at an expedition they ſo little expected, fled to inacceſſible rocks and caverns, a few only pretending to take up arms, and they to very little purpoſe; for where-ever they appeared in the plains, the king drove them with his horſe; and whenever he diſcerned them encamped on the tops of mountains, he ordered all the paſſages to them to be ſo well guarded, that the *Barbarians*, finding it impoſſible to ſubſiſt, were conſtrained to ſurrender. While he was thus employed, it happened, that a party of the *Mardi* ſeized and carried off his favourite horſe *Bucephalus*. No accident could poſſibly have diſturbed the king more than this, for he had an extravagant love for this creature on account of its ſingular properties, and the long ſervice it had done him. He therefore began to hew down all the trees in the neighbourhood of his camp, and to burn whatever hutts and houſes could be found, cauſing proclamation to be made in the language of the country, whereby he ſignified, that if his horſe was not reſtored without injury, he would burn and deſtroy all things that were capable of feeling the effects of his indignation; which ſo terrified the *Mardi*, that they ſent back *Bucephalus* immediately, accompanied with a deputation loaden with preſents, and veſted with full authority to ſubmit the whole nation to the king's pleaſure [e]. *Alexander* then appointed *Antophradates*, preſident of the *Tapuri*, to be governor alſo of this country, and, well ſatisfied with this conqueſt, returned to the main body of his army, where many things required his care, and where the

[c] PLUT. in vit. Alex. [d] ARRIAN. lib. iii. c. 23. [e] DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xvii. PLUT. in vit. Alex. CURT. lib. vi. c. 5.

ſoldiers

a ſoldiers impatiently expected his return, in hopes of having ſome bounds ſet to their labours, and the end of the war talked of at leaſt with ſome degree of certainty [f].

Alexander at his arrival found not only the *Grecian* mercenaries brought ſafe to his camp by *Andronicus*, but alſo four *Lacedæmonian* embaſſadors, with *Diopethes* the *Athenian* embaſſador, and many others, cloathed with the like character, who, till he was made a priſoner, had attended on *Darius*; the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians* he ordered to be kept in ſafe cuſtody; as for the miniſters of ſuch ſtates as had been ſubject to the *Perſians*, theſe he diſmiſſed, for he thought it but juſt that while any ſtate owned a dependance to another, it ſhould ſend miniſters to recognize that b dependence, and to receive inſtructions from the ſovereign. As to the *Greek* mercenaries, he diſtinguiſhed them thus; ſuch as had been in the ſervice of the *Perſian* before the *Greeks* entered into the general alliance for carrying on the war, he ſet at liberty, and left them free to act as they thought fit; but for ſuch as had entered into the *Perſian* ſervice afterwards, and had knowingly and avowedly fought againſt their country, theſe he ordered to be enliſted, and enrolled among his own troops, allowing them however the ſame pay which they had heretofore received from *Darius*, appointing at the ſame time *Andronicus*, who had negotiated their ſurrender, to be commander in chief of that body which he had taken into his pay [g]. After this he marched to *Zeudracarta*, the capital of *Hyrcania*, where for fifteen days he cele- c brated ſolemn games, and ſacrificed with great magnificence to the gods of *Greece*; afterwards he entered *Aria*, and coming to the chief city thereof, *Satibarzanes*, the governor thereof, came and ſubmitted to him; upon which *Alexander* continued him in his government, and aſſigned him a guard of *Macedonian* archers on horſeback commanded by *Anaxippus*. Here he received advice, that the traitor *Beſſus* had cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed king of *Aſia* by the name of *Artaxerxes*; this exceedingly provoked the king, who inſtantly prepared to march after him into *Bactria* in order to call him to a ſevere account for his former treachery, and for this new act of inſolence. He was ſcarce however out of the province of *Aria* before advice came to him, that *Satibarzanes* immediately on his departure, had maſſacred *Anaxip-* d *pus* and all the *Macedonians*, and having aſſembled a great body of forces in the neighbourhood of the chief city, which was called *Aritoana*, was about to declare either for himſelf or for *Beſſus*, according as he ſhould be encouraged by the ſucceſs of his enterprize; but *Alexander* was not a prince of a temper capable of allowing time for the ripening ſuch deſigns; for as ſoon as he was told this, he marched inſtantly with a body of horſe, and light-armed troops, and travelling ſeventy miles in two days, arrived in the neighbourhood of *Aritoana* before *Satibarzanes* had the leaſt intelligence of his march. Then it was this *Perſian* diſcovered how unfit he himſelf was for the management of ſuch an undertaking; for though he had with him a very conſiderable body of forces, yet inſtead of attacking *Alexander* and his troops, e fatigued with ſuch an exceſſive march, or of intrenching himſelf in order to defend the army under his command, he inſtantly quitted the field with a body of horſe, and fled with all the expedition he was able to *Beſſus*, who willingly received him [h]. *Curtius* tells us, that thirteen thouſand *Arians* retiring to a high rock, which was abſolutely inacceſſible, refuſed to treat with *Alexander*, in hopes that ſeeing it impoſſible to come at them, he would, when he quitted the country, leave them as he found them. The king however took quite a contrary courſe, for while he with his horſe purſued *Satibarzanes*, *Craterus* with the foot ſurrounded the bottom of the rock, and held the *Arians* in a manner priſoners, till *Alexander*'s return. As ſoon as the king came into the camp, he ordered wood of all ſorts to be cut, and having laid a foun- f dation of large billets, reared up a vaſt pile, till it was even with the rock; the ſame thing being done on the oppoſite ſide, and at each corner, according as the wind ſerved, they ſet theſe piles on fire, and the flames being driven violently upon the rock, the people were compelled to throw themſelves from thence, ſome half burnt, others naked; ſome few who cried out for mercy were ſaved. Throughout the whole province, *Alexander* made it his buſineſs to ſearch out the chiefs, and the accomplices in the rebellion, all of whom he either put to death, or ſold for ſlaves; then he appointed *Arſames* the ſon of *Artabanus* governor of *Aria*, thence marched

Satibarzanes *revolts, and is defeated.*

[f] Arrian. lib. iii. c. 24. [g] Id. ibid. Curt. lib. vi. [h] Arrian. lib. iii. c. 25. Diodor. ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit. Alex.

with his army againſt the *Zarangæ*, who under the command of *Barzaentes*, one of a
thoſe who had conſpired againſt *Darius*, were up in arms, and threatened to make
an obſtinate defence; but their hearts failed them when *Alexander* drew near, inſo-
much that numbers daily falling off, *Barzaentes* being afraid they would purchaſe
their own ſafety at the expence of his, privately withdrew from his camp, and
croſſing the river *Indus*, ſought ſhelter among the nations beyond it; but they
either dreading the power of *Alexander*, or deteſting the treachery of this *Perſian*
towards his former maſter, ſeized and delivered him up; whereupon *Alexander* im-
mediately ordered him to be put to death, as well for the ſake of his own ſafety,
as that he might ſeem to revenge that perfidy which had been uſed towards his un-
fortunate predeceſſor [i]. But it is now time to quit for a ſhort ſpace the ſtory of b
foreign wars, in order to turn our eyes on the diſſenſions, factions and conſpiracies
which began to deform that victorious army, wherewith in ſo ſhort a time the greater
part of *Aſia* had been over-run.

Diſſenſions in the Macedonian *army, their cauſes and effects.*

THE firſt and indeed the grand ſource of thoſe troubles which embitterred *Alexander*'s victories was the immenſe treaſure acquired by them, and the beneficent temper of *Alexander* himſelf. For while with a laviſh hand he beſtowed all things on all who were near him, many made a wrong uſe of his bounty, and fooliſhly indulged thoſe vices by the practice of which the former poſſeſſors of that wealth which was now theirs, had loſt it. Among other inſtances of *Alexander*'s favourites, *Plutarch* informs us, that *Agnon* the *Teian* wore ſilver nails in his ſhoes; that *Leonatus* c
employed ſeveral camels in tranſporting powder from *Egypt*, which he uſed when he
wreſtled. *Hephæſtion* wore very rich garments, and affected in every thing the *Perſian* manner of living; but above all, *Philotas* is ſaid to have been nice in his dreſs,
his table, his equipage, and moſt munificent to his friends; one of whom asking
him to lend him a ſum of money, he inſtantly ordered it to be given him by his
ſteward; but the ſteward affirming there was no money in his coffers, *Philotas* re-
plied warmly, *Have you not then plate and cloaths of mine, turn them into money, rather than let my friend want* [k]. *Alexander* himſelf began to be very ſenſible of the
miſchiefs that would be produced by the introduction of luxury among his people;
he therefore ſought to extinguiſh it by diſcourſing the moſt eminent of his courtiers d
whom he ſaw giving into this way of living; he told them that he was ſurprized
that they who had experienced that ſolid ſatisfaction which reſults from an induſtrious
and laborious courſe of life, ſhould ſink into that ſupineneſs and indolence which
had deſtroyed the *Perſians*, and which without queſtion would enervate and enfeeble
themſelves; he told them, that to poſſeſs wealth and uſe it was great and noble;
but to make it the inſtrument of riot and luxury was baſe and effeminate; he expo-
ſtulated with them on the impropriety of ſuch a conduct in men who were ſtill ſol-
diers; he asked them how it could be expected that a man ſhould keep his arms
bright, and exerciſe them with activity, who would not ſo much as employ his
own hands in doing things neceſſary about his own body, but would rather call in the e
aid of a ſervant, as if by gaining riches he had loſt the uſe of his limbs. By his
own behaviour alſo, he to the utmoſt diſcouraged this ſort of lazy and inactive
pride; for when at any time he relaxed a little from the toils of war, he diverted
himſelf with hunting, in which he could endure not only all the rigour of the ſeaſon,
but would alſo faſt ſometimes throughout the whole day. Once when he was engaged
in this exerciſe, a lion of a prodigious ſize attacked him: The king defended himſelf
with great courage, and at laſt, though with much ado, he ſlew the beaſt, upon
which the *Lacedæmonian* embaſſador made him a well-turned compliment: *You have, Sir*, ſaid he, *vindicated your title to royalty even againſt the lion.* *Craterus* was ſo much
pleaſed with this adventure, that he cauſed the whole of it to be expreſſed in figures
of braſs by the hands of *Lyſippus* and *Leochares*, which noble piece he dedicated in the
temple of *Apollo* at *Delphi*. Yet neither *Alexander*'s diſcourſes nor his actions pre-
vailed; the manners of his courtiers proceeded from bad to worſe, in ſpite of all
he could ſay or do to prevent it; and at laſt they proceeded ſo far, as to cenſure his
conduct, and to expreſs themſelves with ſome bitterneſs on the ſubject of his long
continuance of the war, and his leading them conſtantly from one labour to another.
All this at firſt drew no harſher language from *Alexander* than this: *That to do well, and to be ill ſpoken of, was becoming the royal dignity.* But by degrees, as things went

[i] CURT. lib. vi. c. 25. ARRIAN. ubi ſupra. [k] PLUT. in vit. Alex. & in Orat. de Fortuna Alex.

farther,

a farther, he was obliged to alter his behaviour: For when the whole army was ſplit into factions, and the ſoldiers were ever openly inveighing againſt his adminiſtration, *Alexander* was under a neceſſity of reproving them, talking to them ſeverely, and of taking other methods to oblige them to keep their ſpeech within the bounds of decency, and their actions within the limits of their duty [l]. *Curtius* tells us, that to eradicate this ſpirit of mutiny, and to reſtore the ancient *Macedonian* diſcipline, he was forced to cauſe fire to be ſet to the ſpoils collected by the ſoldiers, and reduce them all to aſhes [m], which however is very incredible; and therefore we prefer *Plutarch*'s account of this matter. He ſays, that when he led his army out of *Hyrcania*, he perceived in them an unwillingneſs to follow him, that is, he firſt perceived in them that ſullen diſreſpectful humour which generally precedes mutiny. Upon
b this occaſion he had not recourſe either to harſh words, or ſevere uſage; but having ſummoned the ſoldiers to an aſſembly, he in a long and eloquent harangue gave them to underſtand, "That hitherto the *Barbarians* had ſeen them no otherwiſe than as it "were in a dream; and if they ſhould think of returning when they had only alarmed "*Aſia*, and not conquered it, thoſe *Barbarians* would ſet upon them, and deſtroy "them like ſo many women. However he would detain none of them againſt their "will, but give ſuch as deſired it free liberty to return; but withal proteſted againſt "thoſe who ſhould be ſo mean-ſpirited, as to deſert him and his friends, and thoſe "who were willing to fight under him ſtill in an enterprize ſo great and glorious as it "would be, to make the *Macedonians* lords of the habitable world". What the
c reſult of this exhortation was, the ſame author informs us from a letter written by *Alexander* to *Antipater*, wherein it is thus expreſſed: "That when he had ſpoken "to them after this manner, they unanimouſly cried out, they were ready to go "with him whitherſoever he ſhould be pleaſed to lead them [n]". From this time forward however *Alexander* began to alter his conduct, and by giving himſelf a little into the cuſtoms of the orientals, endeavoured to ſecure that obedience from his new ſubjects, which he found it ſo difficult to preſerve among his old ones; he likewiſe endeavoured to blend the cuſtoms of the *Aſiatics* and the *Greeks* by various methods. The form of his civil government reſembled that of the ancient *Perſian* kings: In military affairs however, he preſerved the *Macedonian* diſcipline; but then he made
d choice of thirty thouſand boys out of the provinces, whom he cauſed to be inſtructed in the *Greek* tongue, and directed to be brought up in ſuch a manner, as that from time to time he might with them fill up the phalanx. The *Macedonians* ſaw with great concern theſe extraordinary meaſures, which ſuited very indifferently with their groſs underſtandings; for they thought after all this fighting to be abſolute lords of *Aſia*, and to poſſeſs not only the riches of its inhabitants, but to rule over the inhabitants themſelves. Whereas they ſaw plainly, that *Alexander* meant no ſuch thing; but that, on the contrary, he conferred governments, offices at court, and all other marks both of confidence and favour indiſcriminately on *Perſians* and *Greeks*. *Plutarch* has taken great pains to inculcate a notion of *Alexander*'s doing this from a
e principle of exalted virtue, and from an earneſt deſire of uniting, as it were in marriage, the people of the two great continents, *Europe* and *Aſia*. Of this he ſpeaks every-where in raptures, as of the moſt ſublime and glorious kind of philoſophy, invented and practiſed by *Ariſtotle*'s royal pupil, that he might ſpread peace, plenty and politeneſs over the face of the whole earth; with this ſingle proviſo however, that the earth own no maſter but him. But it may be, that *Plutarch* thought more of this matter than *Alexander*, ſince without having recourſe to any ſuch ſublime principles, we can account for his conduct in as ſatisfactory a manner. Wealth and pleaſure were the ends for which the groſs of his army had undergone ſuch exceſſive fatigues; and now when thoſe were in their power, they did not greatly care to
f fight any longer. Dominion and fame were what *Alexander* had in view, and finding that theſe could ſcarce be ſecured by an army already full of diſſenſion, he began to turn his eyes on thoſe whom he had ſubdued, and to expect from them as much as had been performed hitherto by his *Macedonians*, as if all men were capable of all things under his auſpice [o].

A conſpiracy againſt the life of Alexander *diſcovered.*

WITH all theſe mighty deſigns in his head, a conſpiracy was formed in his camp in order to take him off before any of them could be carried into execution;

[l] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. PLUT. in loc. citat. [m] CURT. lib. vi. c. 6. [n] PLUT. in vit. Alex. [o] ARRIAN. lib. iii. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. CURT. lib. v, vi. JUSTIN. lib. xi. PLUT. in Orat. de fortun. & virt. Alexand.

this

this conſpiracy, like moſt others, was by thoſe who were concerned in it, involved in a
ſuch obſcurity, that few were able to know what to make of it even at the time it
broke out; and authors have related its circumſtances ſo variouſly, that it is very
difficult to give a tolerable and conſiſtent account of it from the lights they afford
us. Our old guide *Arrian* was as much in the dark as the reſt, and, as we ſhall ſee
hereafter, met with different relations under the hand of the ſame author. In ſo
perplexed a buſineſs, we ſhall draw out as clear and diſtinct a detail of facts as we can,
and having furniſhed the beſt materials in our powers, ſhall leave our readers to
decide for themſelves. One *Dymnus* a *Macedonian*, of no great rank in the army,
having determined in his mind to kill *Alexander*, communicated his deſign to one
Nicomachus, a young man, for whom he had a great love, earneſtly inviting him b
to bear a part in the action; the lad, terrified at the very mention of it, revealed
it to *Cebalinus* his brother, whom *Plutarch* calls *Balinus*; and he, eager to ſave his
brother and himſelf, was reſolved to make a diſcovery; but inaſmuch as *Dymnus*
had told *Nicomachus*, that thoſe who were concerned in this plot would execute it in
three days, *Cebalinus* went to court out of an apprehenſion, that if his brother was
ſeen there, it might alarm the conſpirators, and engage them to execute their
purpoſe before proper meaſures could be taken to prevent it. When *Cebalinus* came
to the royal quarters, the firſt perſon of diſtinction he met with was *Philotas*, to
whom he diſcloſed this matter, and begged him to bring him to the king. This
was eaſy for him to have done, becauſe he was twice a-day admitted to the royal
preſence; however he omitted it, though he had a very long conference with the c
king that very day. The next day *Cebalinus* ſolicited him again, when *Philotas* told
him, that he had no opportunity of ſpeaking of it to the king, but promiſed him
that he would do it ſpeedily; yet he omitted it throughout this day alſo; where-
upon *Cebalinus* growing impatient, and doubting with himſelf if this ſhould come
to the king's ear any other way, his own and his brother's life would be in danger;
he applied himſelf to one of the king's pages, and having intimated to him what the
diſcovery was, which he was deſirous to make, received directions from him to hide
himſelf in the armory, together with a promiſe, that the king ſhould be acquainted
with it when he was in the bath; which was according done. When *Alexander* had
heard all the page knew, and was farther acquainted, that *Cebalinus* himſelf was in d
the armory, he ſent for him, and heard from his own mouth, not only all that
Nicomachus's brother had told him, but alſo how *Philotas* had trifled with him, and
had for two days together concealed this matter from his knowledge. The king,
extremely offended, ordered *Dymnus* to be ſeized, and *Philotas* to be ſent for to
him [p]. The former, as ſoon as he was apprehended, ſtabbed himſelf ſo deſperately,
that he died juſt as he was brought into the king's preſence, or, as others ſay, was
killed in his own tent by him who went to apprehend him, becauſe he ſtood on his de-
fence: However it was, he died without being examined, or making any confeſ-
ſion, which gave the king great diſquiet, who fancied, that if the man had been
brought to him alive, he might one way or other have drawn from him the whole e
ſecret. As it was, he ſent for *Philotas*, and taxed him with perfidy, for not inform-
ing him of *Cebalinus*'s diſcovery: *Philotas* excuſed himſelf, by affirming that the
ſtory ſeemed to him altogether improbable, and that he was unwilling to fill his
head with needleſs fears and ſuſpicions; as he ſaid this, he threw himſelf at the king's
feet, and embraced his knees; and it is ſaid the king gave him his hand in token of
forgiveneſs. Indeed it is very probable, that *Alexander* thought himſelf bound to
paſs by ſuch a neglect, in a perſon who had ſerved him faithfully, whoſe father had
done ſuch important ſervices to his father and himſelf, and who had loſt two bro-
thers in fighting his quarrels [q]. At ſupper *Philotas* was invited, and the king talked f
to him as familiarly as he was wont to do; but it ſeems he retired early, and went
to bed. When he was gone, ſome who were about the king, *Curtius* mentions expreſs-
ly *Craterus* for one, began to infuſe it into *Alexander*'s head, that *Dymnus* could
never be the prime author of ſo extraordinary an attempt, but muſt have been influ-
enced thereto by perſons of ſuperior rank. That it looked very ſuſpicious in *Phi-
lotas* never to diſcloſe any thing of this matter, nor to take any meaſures for ſeizing
the conſpirators. That in things of leſs importance, pity and tenderneſs might in-
terfere; but that where the king's life lay at ſtake, and in him the fortune of *Ma-*

[p] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit. Alex. [q] Curt. lib. vi. Arrian. lib. iii. c. 5.

cedon,

a *cedon*, compaſſion was no virtue, but rather a kind of treaſon, it being the duty of every loyal ſubject to ſacrifice all private conſiderations to the peace and ſafety of his prince. By ſuch diſcourſes, they extorted, as it were, from the king an order to ſeize *Philotas*, and put him to the queſtion. Which when they went to execute, they found him faſt aſleep; however they waked him, and put him in irons, at which he is ſaid to have burſt out into this exclamation; *O! my prince, the malice of my enemies hath overcome thy inclination to mercy.* When he was firſt put to the rack, he denied every thing; but at laſt, unable to bear the pain, he impeached many, and amongſt the reſt his father. In all likelihood, he ſaid any thing that he thought would deliver him from his torments [r].

b *Curtius* gives us a fuller, and we ſhould ſay a better account of this matter, if we could at all rely on the harangues inſerted in his writings; but theſe have evidently ſo rhetorical a turn, that it is difficult to conceive how they ſhould have proceeded from the mouths of perſons ſo ſtrongly agitated by their paſſions. It is however probable and conſiſtent with the beſt hiſtorians, that *Philotas* was brought to an open trial according to the laws and cuſtoms of the *Macedonians*, wherein he was charged by the king with having a hand in *Dymnus*'s conſpiracy. Againſt this charge he made a long and laboured defence; he ſaid that his father and himſelf, with his brothers, *Nicanor* and *Hector*, who were now no more, had often hazarded their lives in the king's ſervice, and had ſome ſhare in the victories, purchaſed by the valour of

c the *Macedonians*: That the conſpiracy of *Dymnus* no ways reached him, his name having never been mentioned by any of the accomplices impeached by *Nicomachus*; he obſerved, that it was highly improbable, if he had any concern in the plot, that he ſhould ſuffer *Cebalinus* to remain two days at court at full liberty to apply himſelf to others; he acknowledged his offence in not acquainting the king ſooner with the diſcovery, and then addreſſing himſelf, as it were, to *Alexander*, whom he conceived to be within hearing, though he affected not to be preſent, he put him in mind that he had immediately implored his clemency, that he had given him his hand as a pledge of his pardon, and had invited him to his table; his own innocence, and the king's aſſuring him of mercy, had ſo quieted his mind, that, as he remarked, thoſe

d who came to ſeize him had much ado to awake him; he therefore conjured the king not to abandom him to his enemies, nor to ſuffer them to triumph at once over an innocent man, and the word of a merciful prince. *Alexander* however pretended to leave all things to the aſſembly, and they, managed by the capital enemies of *Philotas*, adjudged him to the torture, and afterwards, upon the confeſſion extorted from him by the pains he then endured, to death [s], which he ſuffered, as *Arrian* informs us, by being ſtruck through with darts by the ſoldiers [t]. *Curtius* ſays, that according to the manner of the *Macedonians*, they ſtoned him [u]. *Diodorus* tells us, that he was puniſhed as a traitor, according to the cuſtom of his country [w]. All agree that he was put to death, and that his execution was attended with many conjectures

e and ſuſpicions, that he fell rather through the effects of private malice than by the ſtroke public juſtice.

Philotas *firſt tortured, then put to death.*

THOSE who have ſought to excuſe *Alexander* from the imputations which the death of *Philotas* and its conſequences drew upon him, have ſuggeſted in their accounts many things, which, if they were true, would certainly prove that *Philotas* was an indiſcreet and ambitious man at leaſt, if not a traitor. They alledge, that he affected a pomp in his manner of living, a ſplendor in his equipage, a nicety at his table, a complaiſance for his friends, a large and ſwelling retinue, and in fine many other things inconſiſtent with the moderation which ought to be obſerved by a ſubject. They ſay, that many years before he had diſcovered a contempt of the king, and a very

f high idea of his father's merit, and his own; that after the battle of *Iſſus*, growing paſſionately enamoured of one *Antigona* of *Pydna*, a very handſome woman, who, as a priſoner, fell to his ſhare; he ſaid to her in his cups, *What was* Philip, *but* Parmenio? *What is* Alexander, *but* Philotas [x]? Which being talked of by the woman, came at laſt to *Craterus*'s ear, who introduced *Antigona* to *Alexander*, to whom ſhe told this and many other things, and received a ſtrict charge from the king to continue a ſpy on *Philotas*'s words and actions. It is likewiſe alledged, that *Parmenio* himſelf was not a little diſpleaſed with his conduct, and would often give

The certainty of this plot diſcuſſed.

[r] ARRIAN. DIODOR. PLUT. ubi ſupra. [s] CURT. lib. vi. c. 19—33. [t] ubi ſupra. [u] ubi ſupra. [w] ubi ſupra. [x] PLUT. in Orat. de virtut. Alex.

him this caution; *My ſon appear leſs* [y]. But theſe tales carry their refutations in themſelves; if *Philotas*'s behaviour had been ſo generally offenſive, he would not ſurely have held his command, and with it the confidence of the king, till this buſineſs of *Dymnus*. If *Antigona* could bring herſelf not only to impeach a man who loved her, but to remain with him in order to extract his ſecrets, ſhe muſt have been of a diſpoſition unworthy of belief. Beſides, *Craterus* was the capital enemy of *Philotas*, and her being brought by him to the king, renders the whole buſineſs very ſuſpicious: If *Parmenio*'s caution to his ſon reflects at all upon his conduct, it certainly juſtifies the father, and yet we ſhall ſee he eſcaped no better than his ſon. On the whole, *Arrian* tells us from *Ptolemy* that *Philotas* was once tried and acquitted; but that upon ſome new diſcoveries, he was a ſecond time impeached and convicted [z]. However it was, after putting him to death, the king thought it not fit to let *Parmenio* ſurvive him long; he therefore diſpatched letters by *Polydamas*, one of his friends, to *Cleander*, *Sitacles*, and *Menidas*, who commanded under *Parmenio* in *Media* with orders to take him off, which accordingly they did; and, if we may believe *Curtius*, in a very extraordinary manner. He ſays, that *Polydamas*, who undertook the management of this matter, was *Parmenio*'s deareſt and moſt intimate friend; he carried with him not only a letter from the king to that general, but alſo another written in a hand like that of *Philotas*, and ſealed with his ſeal. When he arrived in *Media*, and had communicated the king's orders to *Cleander* and his aſſociates, they concerted all things together, and the next day preſented *Parmenio* with his letters, as he was walking in his park, where while he was commending the king, and looking on the letter which he ſuppoſed came from his ſon, *Cleander* ſtabbed him in the ſide, then in the throat, his companions afterwards ſhamefully mangling the dead body; at laſt *Cleander* cut off the head, and ſent it to *Alexander*, the miſerable remains being mournfully interred by the ſoldiers [a]. a b c

Conſequences of theſe proceedings.

THESE executions made way for more diſcoveries, or pretended diſcoveries. *Amyntas* the ſon of *Andromenes*, *Attalus*, and *Symmias*, all brethren, were ſeized on account of their intimacy with *Philotas*, and becauſe their fourth brother *Polemon* had fled to the enemy; they were brought to an open trial, and *Amyntas* defended himſelf ſo well, that they were all acquitted; after which *Amyntas* deſired *Alexander*'s leave to go and ſearch for his brother, which was granted him, and he accordingly brought him back, which was thought a convincing proof that they were all innocent; this is *Arrian*'s account, *Curtius* carries the matter ſtill farther; he gives us the defence of *Amyntas* at large, and informs us, that while he was in the midſt of it, *Polemon* was brought in priſoner by thoſe who were ſent in purſuit of him. When he came to ſpeak, he told the aſſembly very frankly, that his intimacy with *Philotas* was the reaſon that he fled; that he was ſo terrified with the thoughts of the tortures that unfortunate perſon had ſuffered, that he left the camp; and that having loſt his companions on the road, while he deliberated with himſelf whether he had beſt proceed or return back, he was taken. *Demetrius*, one of the king's guards, fell alſo into ſuſpicion, and orders were diſpatched into *Macedonia*, directing, that *Alexander Lynceſtes*, who had been ſome years a priſoner, ſhould be put to death; his friendſhip with *Antigonus* had hitherto preſerved his life, but now he was given up to ſlaughter [b]. Theſe things diſturbed the army very much, eſpecially the *Macedonians*, who though they adored the royal virtues of *Alexander*, did not think themſelves obliged to be in love with his vices; they therefore did not content themſelves with ſpeaking very freely, but wrote home to their friends their thoughts of the preſent ſtate of affairs, the king's ſuſpicions of his friends, and his inclination to hunt out enemies at the very extremities of the world. *Alexander* having intercepted theſe letters, and taken the beſt informations he could, picked out theſe diſſatisfied people, and having diſpoſed them into one corps, gave it the title of the *turbulent battalion* [c], and appointed *Leonidas* to command it; hoping by this means to ſtop the contagion, and to prevent this ſpirit of diſaffection from ſpreading through the whole army. d e f

Having provided againſt future conſpiracies, he purſues his former deſigns.

AS a farther precaution againſt any future conſpiracy, *Alexander* thought fit to appoint two generals of the auxiliary horſe, being apprehenſive, that if this authority was lodged in the hands of a ſingle perſon, it might prompt him to dangerous

[y] Id. in vit. Alex. [z] ARRIAN. ubi ſupra. [a] CURT. lib. vi. ARRIAN. ubi ſupra. [b] ARRIAN. CURT. ubi ſupra. [c] Ἀτάκτων τάγμα.

under-

a undertakings, and at the ſame time furniſh him with the means of carrying them into execution, *Hephæſtion* and *Clytus* were therefore appointed joint commanders of theſe horſe, nor can the king be juſtly blamed for this caution, if it be ſuppoſed that *Alexander* of *Lyncestes*, and *Philotas*, were juſtly puniſhed [d]. To keep his forces in action, he ſuddenly marched into the country of the *Euergetæ*, i. e. *benefactors*. This is an inſtance of that ſtrange way of writing, into which, out of a fondneſs for their own language, the *Greeks* conſtantly ran; it is impoſſible that this nation ſhould have been really called by this name; the truth is, that it is no more than a tranſlation of a *Perſian* name beſtowed upon them by *Cyrus*, and it would have been well, if any of the *Greek* hiſtorians or geographers had preſerved this *Perſian*
b name. *Arrian* tells us, that they were before called *Agriaſpæ*, and *Diodorus* calls them by two different names; ſuch differences are common in *Greek* writers, nor is it eaſy to diſcover which is the true or the beſt reading. Theſe people were celebrated for their wiſdom, beneficence, and politeneſs. When *Cyrus* the founder of the *Perſian* empire marched this way againſt the *Scythians*, his army was grievouſly diſtreſſed for want of proviſion, inſomuch that they were compelled to eat each other; from this deplorable ſtate they were relieved by the kindneſs of this nation, who brought thirty thouſand loads of proviſion of all ſorts into the camp. *Cyrus*, in conſideration of this extraordinary act of generoſity, honoured them with ſome *Perſian* appellation equivalent to the *Greek* term *Euergetæ*. *Alexander* found their ſucceſ-
c ſors full of the ſame kind and hoſpitable diſpoſition; he therefore treated them with great reſpect, and ſtaying among them ſome ſmall time in order to celebrate a feſtival to *Apollo*, he at his departure added ſome lands to their dominions, which lay contiguous, and which for that reaſon they had requeſted of him [e]. Turning then to the eaſt, he entered *Arachoſia*, the inhabitants of which ſubmitted without giving him any trouble; whereupon he appointed *Memnon* to be governor of theſe provinces, as *Arrian* aſſures us, though *Diodorus* affirms that he appointed *Teridates*. While he paſſed his winter in theſe parts, the king received advice, that the *Arians*, whom he had ſo lately ſubdued, were again up in arms, *Satibarzanes* being returned into that country with two thouſand horſe aſſigned him by *Beſſus*. *Alexander* inſtantly
d diſpatched *Artibazus* the *Perſian* with *Erigyus* and *Caranus*, two of his commanders, with a conſiderable body of horſe and foot; he likewiſe ordered *Phrataphernes*, to whom he had given the government of *Parthia*, to accompany them. Theſe, with all convenient ſpeed, marched back into *Aria*, where *Satibarzanes* met them with a well-appointed army; a general engagement enſued, wherein the *Arians* behaved very well, as long as their commander *Satibarzanes* lived; but he engaging *Erigyus*, the *Macedonian* ſtruck him firſt into the throat, and then drawing forth his ſpear again through the mouth, ſo that he immediately expired, and with him the courage of his ſoldiers, who inſtantly began to fly, ſo that *Alexander*'s commanders made an eaſy conqueſt of the reſt of the country, and ſettled it effectually
e under his obedience [f] (R).

THE

[d] ARRIAN. lib. iii. c. 27. [e] ARRIAN. ubi ſupra. DIODOR. ubi ſupra. CURT. lib. vii. c. 9. JUSTIN. lib. xii. c. 5. [f] ARRIAN. lib. iii. c. 28. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. CURT. lib. vii. c. 17.

(R) There is nothing more warmly complained of by the critics, than the vaſt miſtakes, and inſuperable difficulties, which occur in the deſcriptions of rivers, mountains, provinces, *&c.* in ancient authors. Without queſtion, theſe complaints are not altogether groundleſs, and yet from a ſtrict compariſon of the ancients with each other, and with the relations of modern travellers, we are induced to believe, that there is not always ſufficient authority for thoſe vehement declamations, which ſome, in order to paſs for great geographers, have made, not only againſt *Curtius*, but againſt *Arrian* and *Diodorus*, on account of their ſuppoſed errors in theſe matters. To touch on this ſubject, as often as we meet with theſe complaints in the commentaries of late writers on thoſe who have lived ages before them, would lead us into a prolixity alike troubleſome to ourſelves, and tedious to our readers; to ſay nothing on this head at all, might betray our own want of care, and leave them in great perplexity. We ſhall therefore once for all lay down the reaſons which have induced us to pay a greater regard than is uſually done to the deſcriptions met with in ancient authors, and the motives which have led us to paſs this ſentence on thoſe who have treated the ancients in another manner. *Arrian*, in his account of *Alexander*'s march through *Paropamiſis*, tells us, that it was performed with the utmoſt toil and difficulty, his ſoldiers paſſing through deep ſnows, and enduring all the extremities of want (48). *Diodorus* ſpeaks more largely of theſe difficulties; but as we have inſerted what he ſays in the text (49), there is no neceſſity of repeating it here (50). *Curtius* has followed *Diodorus* exactly: *Strabo* in his geography agrees very well with what the reſt (51) ſay, and yet it has been ſurmiſed, that they are every one miſtaken;

(48) *Arrian. lib.* iii. (49) *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* xvii. (50) *Curt. lib.* vii. *c.* 3. (51) *Strab. Geogr. lib.* xiii. *p.* 723.

Continues his marches in the moſt rigorous ſeaſons, and through the moſt barren countries.

The king, notwithſtanding the inclemency of the ſeaſon, advanced into the a
country of *Paropamiſis*, ſo called from the mountain *Paropamiſus*, which the ſol-
diers of *Alexander* called *Caucaſus*. We are told by *Diodorus*, that he found the
country for the moſt part open and plain, without trees, covered with ſnow, having
large open boroughs ſcattered here and there. The houſes in which the inhabitants
dwelt were covered with tiles; the roof riſing up like a ſpire, but open at the top,
whereby they received light, and let out the ſmoke; the walls of theſe houſes were
ſo well built, and the mortar made uſe of for them ſo excellently tempered, that
they had in them no flaws or cracks, but were perfectly ſecured from the inclemen-
cies of the air. In them therefore the people dwelt all the winter, having ſtore of
all ſorts of proviſions laid up, and having previouſly ſecured their vines, and other b
fruit-trees, by covering them with matts from the effects of the froſt. In their marches
through this melancholy plain, the *Macedonians* were expoſed to vaſt inconveniencies,
the reflection of the light from the ſnow and ice grievouſly affecting their eyes, and
the exceſſive cold ſeizing ſuch as, through wearineſs, either walked ſlow, or ſat down:
many of them periſhed. *Alexander* however pleaſing himſelf with the thoughts of
having reached *Caucaſus*, in ſixteen days marching croſs *Parapamiſus*, came at length
to an opening leading into *Media*, which, finding of a ſufficient breadth, he directed
a city to be built there, which he called *Alexandria*, as alſo ſeveral other towns about
a days journey diſtant from thence; and in theſe places he left ſeven thouſand perſons,
part of them ſuch as had hitherto followed his camp, and part of the mercenary ſol- c
diers, who, weary of continual fatigue, were content to dwell here. Having thus ſettled
things on this province, ſacrificed ſolemnly to the gods, and appointed *Proxes* the
Perſian preſident thereof, with a ſmall body of troops under the command of *Niloxe-
nus* to aſſiſt him, he reſumed his former deſign of penetrating into *Bactria* [s] (S).

Beſſus,

[s] Arrian. lib. iii. c. 28, 29. Diodor. ubi ſupra. Curt. lib. vii. c. 15.

miſtaken; and on account of this province lying between the thirty-fourth and thirty-ſeventh degrees of latitude, it has been aſſerted, that the cold could not be greater there than in *Italy* or *Greece*; yet *Tavernier* (52), and in general all the travellers that ſpeak either of this province, or of places near it, agree, that in the winter it is exceſſive cold; that the ſnows render it almoſt impaſſable, and that it is to this very time as barren of wood, as it is deſcribed to be by the before-mentioned authors. Perhaps it might be very poſſible to aſſign the natural cauſes of ſuch ſevere winters in theſe parts, but there is no neceſſity of doing that; for if the matter of fact be, as the ancients have deſcribed it, it fully juſtifies them and us in following them. To ſay the truth, the moderns have been too aſſuming, and without proper grounds; it is but very lately that we knew either the true form, or the exact ſituation of the *Caſpian* ſea, and yet the miſtakes of the ancients about it have been cenſured long ago, and with great quickneſs. The ſource of all this is too great a dependence on theoretic knowledge, and an abſurd affectation of not believing what we cannot bring to ſquare with our hypothetic notions. One would have thought that an error of the ancients might have taught us to have acted with greater caution and modeſty in this way; we know that the moſt learned men of all ſects and ages were of opinion, that the torrid zone was abſolutely uninhabitable, and very fair and plauſible reaſons they produced for their opinion; and yet experience has convinced us, that they were abſolutely miſtaken; and if they were, why may not we? In matters of fact, the evidence neceſſary to conviction is of a different nature than in matters of ſpeculation; and therefore it was, and will be everlaſtingly wrong to exclude authentic relations, becauſe they do not concur with our favourite theories.

(S) We have omitted in the text a very remarkable inſtance of the inequality of *Alexander*'s temper, and of that ſavage cruelty which in ſpite of his many virtues ſtill lurked in his breaſt. The reaſon of our omitting it was, becauſe we find nothing of it in *Arrian*; the reaſon of our inſerting of it here, its having been approved by the beſt compilers of hiſtory, though it is found in *Curtius*. It muſt be owned, that there is a chaſm in *Diodorus*, wherein for ought we know this ſtory might have been inſerted. However it be, the reader ought to find it ſomewhere, and therefore we have made it the ſubject of a note. "While the king expected *Beſ-*
"*ſus* to be brought to him, he came to a little
"town inhabited by the *Branchidæ*. Theſe were
"a family of *Mileſians*, removed thither by *Xerxes* on
"account of their putting into his hands the ſacred
"treaſures repoſed in the temple of *Apollo Diay-*
"*maus*. They had not quite forſaken the cuſtoms
"of their ancient country, but their language was
"a ſort of medly made up of their own, and that
"of the country they now inhabited. They expreſſed
"a great deal of joy at the king's arrival, and rea-
"dily ſurrendered both themſelves and their town to
"him. Hereupon *Alexander* called together the
"*Mileſians* that ſerved in his army. Now we muſt
"obſerve, that the *Mileſians* bore an old grudge to
"the *Branchidæ*. The king therefore referred it to
"them, whether they would conſider their extrac-
"tion, or revenge their former injury; and as they
"varied in their opinions, he told them he would
"adviſe with himſelf what was beſt to be done in
"the matter. The next day, when the deputies
"from the *Branchidæ* came to meet him, he com-
"manded them to attend him, and being come to
"the town, he entered the gates thereof with
"part of his army, and ordered the phalanx to ſur-
"round the place, and upon the ſignal given, to
"pillage

(52) *Voyag. de Tavernier, Vol.* I. *Tit. Hiſtoire de Candahar.*

5

Alexander *reduces* Bactria *and* Sogdia, Beſſus *being taken.* *Year after the flood* 2670. *Before Chriſt* 329.

a *Beſſus*, who with the imperial ornaments had aſſumed the title of *Artaxerxes*, when he was aſſured that *Alexander* was marching towards him, immediately began to waſte all the country between *Parapomiſus* and the river *Oxus*, which river he paſſed with his forces, and then burnt all the veſſels he had made uſe of for tranſporting them, retiring to *Nautaca*, a city of *Sogdia*, fully perſuaded that by the precautions he had taken, *Alexander* would be compelled to give over his purſuit. This conduct of his however diſheartened his troops, and gave the lye to all his pretenſions; for he had affected to cenſure *Darius*'s conduct, and had charged him with cowardice, in not defending the rivers *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, whereas he now quitted the banks of the moſt defenſible river perhaps in the whole world. As to his hopes, though it b cannot be ſaid they were ill founded, yet they proved abſolutely vain; for *Alexander* continuing his march, notwithſtanding all the hardſhips his ſoldiers ſuſtained, reduced all *Bactria* under his obedience, particularly the capital *Bactra*, and the ſtrong caſtle *Aornus*; in the latter he placed a gariſon under the command of *Archelaus*, but the government of the province he committed to *Artabazus* [b]. He continued his march then to the river *Oxus*, on the banks of which when he arrived, he found it three quarters of a mile over, its depth more than proportionable to ſuch a breadth, its bottom ſandy, and its ſtream ſo rapid, as to render it almoſt unnavigable; neither boat nor tree in its neighbourhood, ſo that the ableſt commanders in the *Macedonian* army were of opinion, that they ſhould be obliged to march back. The king how- c ever having firſt ſent away under a proper eſcort all his infirm and worn-out ſoldiers, that they might be conducted ſafe to the ſea ports, and from thence to *Greece*, deviſed a method of paſſing this river without either boat or bridge. He ordered the skins, of which the *Macedonians* made their tents, to be made into a kind of bags, and to be ſtuffed with certain light and buoyant matter; then they were rolled and ſtrongly ſtitched to prevent the water from breaking in; by the help of theſe he paſſed over his whole army in five days, and marched directly towards the camp of *Beſſus*, where when he arrived, he found it abandoned; but received at the ſame time letters from *Spitamenes* and *Dataphernes*, who were the chief commanders under *Beſſus*, ſignifying, that if he would ſend a ſmall party to receive him, they would put *Beſſus* into his d hands. *Alexander* thereupon detached *Ptolemy* the ſon of *Lagus* with three ſquadrons of the auxiliary horſe, a party of archers, the battalion of foot which had been commanded by *Philotas*, and a conſiderable corps of light-armed troops to receive the priſoner; and *Ptolemy* in four days paſſed over as much ground as might have taken up ten, arrived within an ordinary day's march of *Spitamenes*. There he received advice, that *Spitamenes* and *Dataphernes* were not thoroughly reſolved whether they themſelves ſhould put *Beſſus* into his hands; whence he rightly judging that they

[b] Arrian. lib. iii. c. 30.

" pillage the receptacle of traitors, and put them " all to the ſword. Theſe poor wretches being in " a defenceleſs condition, were every-where butcher- " ed, and neither conformity of language, the hum- " ble poſture of ſuppliants, nor the moſt fervent in- " treaty, could put a ſtop to their authorized cru- " elty. The very foundations of the walls were dug " up, that there might not be the leaſt footſteps " left of the town. Their fury did not ſtop here, " for they not only cut down the conſecrated woods, " but alſo grubbed up the very roots thereof, that " there might be nothing left but a barren waſte " ſolitude. Now, had their cruelty been practiſed " on the firſt tranſgreſſions, it might have been " thought a juſt puniſhment of their crime; but " here poſterity is puniſhed for the ſins of its fore- " fathers, without ever having ſo much as ſeen *Mi-* " *letum*, far from being able to betray it to *Xerxes* (53)". There is a paſſage in *Strabo* which ſeems to confirm what is here related by *Curtius*; he is deſcribing *Bactria*, and from thence takes occaſion to ſpeak of *Alexander*'s exploits there, and in *Sogdia*; and amongſt other things relates this: " Finding here- " abouts the city of the *Branchidæ*, he demoliſhed " it. Theſe people had followed *Xerxes* out of their " own country, after having betrayed to him the " treaſures of *Apollo Didymæus*; but *Alexander*, to ex- " preſs his abomination of their ſacrilege and trea- " ſon, razed their city (54)". In ſeveral other places this author aſſures us, that the *Branchidæ* did betray theſe treaſures into the hands of *Xerxes*, and followed him into *Aſia*. Yet *Herodotus* ſeems to give another account of this matter, for he aſcribes the plundering of this temple, and reducing it to aſhes, to *Darius* the father of *Xerxes*; and tells us farther, that all the *Mileſian* priſoners were conducted to *Suſa*, from whence *Darius*, without any other ill uſage, ſent them to inhabit the city of *Ampe*, ſeated near the mouth of the river *Tigris* (55). Perhaps the *Branchidæ* were at this time left behind, and after the temple was repaired, and the oracle reſtored, betrayed the treaſures to *Xerxes* on his return from the *Grecian* war, when he ſeized all the wealth laid up in temples, to indemnify him for the loſs he ſuſtained in that unſucceſsful expedition. However, if *Alexander* really maſſacred the people, as well as demoliſhed their town, *Curtius* had reaſon to reflect, as he does, on the proceeding, which was flagrantly cruel and unjuſt.

(53) *Curt. lib.* vii. c. 21. (54) *Strab. Geogr. lib.* xiv. p. 518. (55) *Herodot. lib.* vi.

would be glad to have that done by force, which by fraud they were afraid to do, a
put himſelf at the head of his horſe, and by a quick march ſurrounded the village in
which *Beſſus* had been left with a few ſoldiers. As ſoon as he had done this, *Ptolemy*
ordered proclamation to be made, that the inhabitants of the place had nothing to fear,
if they delivered up *Beſſus*. This had the wiſhed-for effect, the people reſolved not
to ſuffer for the ſake of ſo wicked a perſon; they therefore opened their gates, and
Ptolemy entering, ſeized *Beſſus* [j]. *Curtius* has given quite another account of this
matter; and there are other accounts which differ from his; but it ſeems to us im-
pertinent to trouble the reader with any but this, becauſe we are convinced that it is the
true one [k]. *Ptolemy* the ſon of *Lagus* took him: From the memoirs of this *Ptolemy* we
have the account before given: To what end therefore ſhould we have recourſe to b
other memoirs, the materials of which muſt have been collected at ſecond hand?
When *Ptolemy* had him in his power, he ſent advice thereof to the king, and deſired
to know after what manner he ſhould be brought to him. *Alexander* returned for
anſwer, that he ſhould be brought chained, and naked, and that in this condition
he ſhould be placed on the right hand ſide of the road, by which he was to march with
his army. This being accordingly performed, *Alexander*, as he paſſed by him, or-
dered his chariot to ſtop, and with a loud voice, asked him, *What could induce you to*
ſeize upon Darius, *your ſovereign and friend, who had always deſerved well at your hands?*
and what, after your had ſeized and led him about priſoner, could tempt you to murder him in
ſo baſe a manner? To whom *Beſſus* anſwered, *That it was not his act, nor done by his* c
advice alone; but was performed by the joint conſent of all who were preſent, from an opinion,
that it would procure them the favour of Alexander. The king ordered him to be
whipt; directed the queſtion he had asked to be proclaimed aloud throughout the
army, and then commanded that *Beſſus* ſhould be conducted priſoner into *Bactria* [l].
A ſupply of horſes being now arrived, the *Macedonian* cavalry were remounted,
Alexander continued his march to *Maracanda*, the capital of *Sogdia*, from whence he
advanced to the river *Iaxartes*, called by *Arrian*, and the reſt of the hiſtorians who
have written his life, *Tanais*, but without doubt without any foundation; for beſides
a very large tract of land on this ſide, and a much larger on the other; the whole
breadth of the *Caſpian* ſea is between that part of the river *Iaxartes*, to which he came, d
and the fall of the *Tanais* into the *Palus Mæotis*. It is true, that *Arrian* diſtinguiſhes
between this *Tanais* and that, which ſhews he had more skill in geography than the
reſt; but we ſtill want a proof, that the *Iaxartes* was ever called *Tanais* by any but
Alexander's ſoldiers, who were fond of impoſing falſe names to flatter their own
vanity, and amuſe the reſt of mankind. On the ſide of this river, as ſome of his
troops were foraging, they were ſurprized by the *Barbarians*, and a conſiderable num-
ber of *Macedonian* horſe ſlain. After which exploit between twenty and thirty thou-
ſand of theſe rude people betook themſelves to a high rock, the aſcent of which
was on all ſides ſteep and rugged, in hopes that there they ſhould be ſafe from *Ale-*
xander's ſoldiers. But the king, as ſoon as he received advice of what had happened, e
marched thither with his horſe and light-armed troops, and notwithſtanding the danger
and difficulty of the attack, led his troops in perſon to aſcend the rock. The *Barba-*
rians having ſo great an advantage from the ſituation of the place, and fighting alſo
for their lives, repulſed the *Macedonians* more than once; at laſt however, notwith-
ſtanding the king himſelf was wounded in the leg, ſo as to have the ſmaller of his ſhin
bones broken, the *Macedonians* carried it, compelling numbers of thoſe unhappy
wretches to throw themſelves over the rock, ſlaying without mercy thoſe that fell
into their hands, ſo that of the multitude retiring thither not above eight thouſand
eſcaped [m].

Subdues certain rebels.

WITHIN a few days after, the *Abii*, a famous *Scythian* people, ſent embaſſadors f
to *Alexander* to deſire peace; with them came embaſſadors from the *European Scy-*
thians; to theſe he gave fair words, and ſent ſome of his own people home with
them under colour of concluding the negotiations; but in truth to bring him advice
of the ſituation of the country, the nature of its inhabitants, their force, and after what
manner they made war. The *Scythians* having ſome notion of what he deſigned,
that is, the *Scythians* whom he had already ſubdued; and being alſo informed,
that he had projected the building of a city to keep them in awe, they at once took

[j] ARRIAN. lib. iii. c. 30. [k] CURT. lib. vii. c. 22. DIODOR. ubi ſupra. PLUT. in vit. Alex. [l] ARRIAN. ubi ſupra. [m] ARRIAN. lib. iii. c. ult. CURT. lib. vii. c. 26, 27.

up

a up arms, cut off his gariſons, and joined with the diſcontented *Bactrians* and *Sogdians*. As ſoon as *Alexander* was informed of this, he directed his ſeveral battalions of infantry to furniſh themſelves with ladders, which as ſoon as they had done, he marched inſtantly towards *Gaza*, the neareſt city of ſeven which the *Barbarians* had ſeized. At the ſame time he diſpatched *Craterus* to *Cyropolis*, the greateſt of thoſe cities, into which moſt of the *Barbarians* had retired, commanding him to encamp nigh the walls, to draw a ditch and rampart round the city, and plant his engines where-ever he thought convenient; ſo that the citizens there finding employment enough to defend themſelves at home, might not be able to ſecure other places elſewhere. As ſoon as he approached *Gaza*, he ordered the wall, which was but of mud,
b and low built, to be aſſaulted, and his ſcaling-ladders every-where got ready. Then his ſlingers, and archers, and darters, mixed with the foot, beginning the attack, incommoded the beſieged with miſſive weapons, and at the ſame time galled them with darts from their engines. Inſomuch that the walls were deſerted by the *Barbarians*, and the ladders being immediately fixed, the *Macedonians* mounted, and entering, killed all the men they met, for ſo *Alexander* had commanded; but the women and children, and the riches of the place, were given as a ſpoil to the ſoldiers. Thence he moved to another of thoſe cities, which was built, and fortified like the former; which he aſſaulted, and took the ſame day, and diſpoſed of the captives in the ſame manner. Thence proceeding to the third city on the next day, he took it at the
c firſt attack. In the mean time, while he at the head of his troops of foot was buſied in reducing thoſe places, he diſpatched his horſe to two other cities not far off, with orders to take care that the citizens, when they heard of the ſtorming of their neighbour towns, and his nigh approach, ſhould not betake themſelves to flight, and ſo render it a difficult task for him to overtake them. And as he judged, ſo it happened, that the diſpatch of theſe troops thither was neceſſary; for the *Barbarians*, who held the other two cities, not yet taken, ſeeing the ſmoke of that over-againſt them, which was then on fire, and beſides ſome who had eſcaped out of that calamity bringing them the news, they fled out of both the cities as faſt as they could; but falling in among the horſe poſted for that purpoſe, were moſt of them ſlain. Theſe
d five cities thus taken and deſtroyed in two days; he haſted to *Cyropolis*, the greateſt and moſt populous of the whole country. It was ſurrounded with a wall much higher than any of the reſt, and was built by *Cyrus*; and as many of the *Barbarians* both ſtout and well-armed had fled for ſhelter thither, it was not to be ſuppoſed that the *Macedonians* ſhould gain it at the firſt aſſault. Wherefore *Alexander* having planted his engines in places convenient, determined to batter the wall, and where-ever he made a breach, to ſtorm the place. But finding the channel of the river, which uſually run through the town like a torrent, at that time dry, and the wall disjoined, ſo as to afford an entrance for his ſoldiers, he with his body-guards, his targeteers, his archers, and *Argians*, while the *Barbarians* were employed in guarding themſelves from the en-
e gines and the aſſailants, privately entered the city at firſt with a few men through that channel, and having burſt open the gates with that part, gave an eaſy admittance to the reſt. The *Barbarians* then, notwithſtanding their perceiving their city taken, falling upon the *Macedonians*, a ſharp battle enſued, wherein *Alexander* himſelf received a blow on the head and neck with a ſtone, and *Craterus* and many more of his captains were wounded with miſſive weapons. However the *Barbarians* were at laſt driven out of the *market-place*. In the mean time, thoſe who battered the wall, ſeeing it void of defendants, took it, and at their firſt entrance ſlew about eight thouſand of the enemy. The reſt (for the whole number there gathered together was eighteen thouſand) retired into the caſtle: But theſe, when *Alexander* had continued his ſiege but
f one day, being deſtitute of water, ſurrendered the place. Thence moving to the ſeventh city, he took it at the firſt aſſault. *Ptolemy* indeed ſays, it was delivered up without fighting; but *Ariſtobulus* on the contrary affirms, that it was taken by ſtorm, and all who were found therein ſlain. *Ptolemy* tells us, that the captives were diſperſed throughout the army, and kept chained till he ſhould depart out of that country, leſt any of thoſe who had occaſioned the revolt ſhould be left [n]. The *Scythians* in *Aſia* laying hold of this opportunity, came down in great bodies to the river's ſide to watch when they might attack *Alexander* advantageouſly; this interruption was followed by an account that *Spitamenes* had beſieged the gariſon left in *Maracanda*,

[n] Arrian. lib. iv. c. 2, 3. Curt. lib. vii. c. 26.

canda, and that the *Macedonians* were in great danger. *Alexander* however would not abandon a deſign he had once formed; having therefore diſpatched relief to the city before-mentioned, he proceeded to mark out the city he had formerly projected to ſerve for a fortreſs againſt the *Scythians*. In twenty days he walled it round; the ſoldiers vyeing with each other in the performance of the tasks aſſigned them. This once done, he gave the city to ſuch of the *Barbarians* as had ſerved in his troops, to the mercenaries who were deſirous of ſettling there, and to ſuch of the *Macedonians*, as being unfit for ſervice, were willing to have houſes and lands allotted to them in this place [o].

Defeats the Scythians, but with difficulty.

The king having accompliſhed all that he intended in theſe parts, and being no ways deſirous of entering into a war with the *Scythians*, from whom he knew there was nothing to be got but blows, prepared to march away. The *Scythians* having notice of this, came down in vaſt numbers to the river's ſide, upbraided him and his ſoldiers, called them cowards and bullies, who, proud of having ſubdued the effeminate *Perſians*, were afraid of attacking men, and durſt not engage the ancient conquerors of *Aſia*. *Alexander* was exceedingly nettled at theſe reproaches, and yet was at a loſs how to paſs the river in the ſight of ſo daring an enemy; however he ordered *Ariſtander* to offer ſacrifices, which he did again and again, but conſtantly aſſured the king, that the omens were altogether inauſpicious; this gave him great concern, but could not engage him abſolutely to drop his deſign. On the contrary, when he reflected on the diſhonour which *Darius* the father of *Xerxes* had ſuſtained from his unfortunate war with this people, he began to fanſy that his own fame would be no leſs injured; wherefore he at laſt determined at all events to paſs the river, and to attack the enemy, having firſt put them into ſome diſorder by the darts and ſtones thrown from his engines, which doing great execution croſs the river, were new to the *Scythians*, and amazed them very much. The *Macedonian* horſe being few in compariſon of the enemy, the *Scythians* repulſed them at the firſt attack, and diſordered them pretty much; but *Alexander* taking care to ſupport them with light-armed troops, they charged again, and made ſome impreſſion on the enemy, which as ſoon as the king perceived, he brought up the heavy-armed troops, and the weight of their charge determined the matter; for the *Scythians* being unable to ſuſtain it, broke and fled, leaving a thouſand men dead upon the ſpot, among whom was one *Satraces*, an eminent general, and a hundred and fifty were made priſoners; much more execution would have been done in the purſuit, if the *Macedonians*, thro' exceſſive heat, and violent thirſt, had not been hindred from continuing it. *Alexander*, who was always among the number of the moſt forward and vigorous ſoldiers, finding himſelf very faint, drank freely of ſome ſtanding water, which threw him into ſuch a flux, as endangered his life, which was held an accompliſhment of *Ariſtander*'s prediction [p]. It may be truly ſaid, that this was a hard-fought battle, and that the *Macedonians* bought their victory much dearer than they were wont to do, loſing one hundred foot, and ſixty horſe upon the ſpot, having a thouſand wounded. The king ordered the priſoners to be releaſed, and ſome days after, when ambaſſadors arrived from the *Scythian* king, excuſing the buſineſs, and aſſuring him that the late proceedings were againſt his orders, *Alexander* took all in good part, took them into his protection, and being by no means willing to have any thing farther to do with them, granted them a peace on their own terms, and began to turn his head to the care of his other affairs, which were indeed in no little diſorder; the war reviving when he leaſt expected it, the troops under *Spitamenes* ſeeming to be beat at laſt both into diſcipline and courage [q].

The Macedonians under Pharnaces defeated by Spitamenes.

We have before mentioned the relief ſent by *Alexander* to the gariſon in the caſtle of *Maracanda*; it conſiſted of ſixty auxiliary horſe commanded by *Andromachus* and *Menedemus*, eight hundred mercenaries under the command of *Caranus*, and fifteen hundred foot led by *Pharnaces* the interpreter, who, though a *Lycian* by birth, yet was perfectly skilled in the language of thoſe countries, and could therefore upon occaſion treat with the *Barbarians*, in caſe they ſought to avoid farther miſchiefs, by ſubmitting themſelves. While theſe troops were upon their march, the *Macedonians* in the caſtle made a deſperate ſally on *Spitamenes*, and drove him and his forces from their works. The loſs ſuſtained on this occaſion, and the news of *Pharnaces*'s march, engaged that general to raiſe the ſiege, and to retire towards *Sogdia*. *Pharnaces* purſued him, and in his march, meeting with a body of the *Nomades*, he attacked them;

[o] Arrian. ubi ſupra. [p] Arrian. lib. iv. c. 4. Curt. lib. vii. c. 7. [q] Justin. lib. xii. c. 5.

where-

a whereupon they retired, and joined *Spitamenes*, who, elated with ſo ſudden and unexpected a reinforcement, determined no longer to avoid, but rather to ſeek the *Macedonian* army. There are two relations of the ſubſequent engagement, both in *Arrian*, one taken from *Ptolemy*, the other from *Ariſtobulus*; they agree in the main, that the defeat and ſlaughter of the *Macedonians* was owing to the ill conduct of their officers. *Pharnaces* was a man void of military ſkill, of which he was very ſenſible, and offered to reſign the command of the troops; but this the *Macedonian* generals would not yield to; for they foreſaw that this buſineſs would be attended with great loſs, and therefore were not willing to make themſelves accountable for an unfortunate battle, and for exceeding their commiſſion at the ſame time. The iſſue
b of the matter was, that while they were full of doubts and confuſion, the *Scythians* attacked them, ſupported by *Spitamenes* and his forces. The *Macedonians* behaved with great bravery, and in all probability would at leaſt have made a good retreat, if they had either had a good general, or if the officers they had, had acted in concert. But *Caranus* with his ſquadron of horſe, without the conſulting the reſt, entered the river, upon which the greateſt part of the foot followed, not his command, but his example, and with much ado gained a little iſland not far from the ſhore. This ſhadow of ſafety proved their utter deſtruction; for the *Barbarians* cut off many as they entered the water, more when they were in it, and as for all thoſe who got into the iſland, they ſhot them to death with their arrows; ſo that of two thouſand three hun-
c dred and ſixty men, horſe and foot, there did not eſcape above forty of the former, and three hundred of the latter; their officers being all ſlain, after having ſhewn much more courage than conduct [r].

Alexander *cauſes the ſiege of* Maracanda *to be raiſed.*

As ſoon as *Alexander* received the news of the defeat, which *Pharnaces* and the troops under his command had ſuſtained, he determined to revenge it; with this view he took half his auxiliary horſe, all his light-armed foot, and a battalion of the *Macedonian* phalanx; with theſe he marched (if there be no miſtake in the numbers) fifteen hundred furlongs in three days; on the fourth he drew near to *Maracanda*, which *Spitamenes* had again beſieged; but on the news of *Alexander*'s approach, he raiſed the ſiege with great precipitation, and retired with all the celerity imagina-
d ble. *Alexander* purſued him, not only to the edge, but even a good way within the deſart; when he found it was impoſſible to overtake him, he returned and buried all the ſoldiers who had fallen in the late engagement with honour. Then he cauſed all the country thereabouts to be burnt, and waſted, putting to death the inhabitants of ſuch villages as he had been informed had not only refuſed ſhelter to the flying *Macedonians*, but had alſo mal-treated, and even murthered them. After this the king marched to *Zariaſpa*, where he put his army into winter quarters. Thither came *Phrataphernes*, governor of *Parthia*, and *Staſanor*, who had been diſpatched into *Aria* to ſeize *Arſanes*, who had begun to raiſe ſome diſturbances there; him they brought bound, and with him *Brazaentes*, whom *Beſſus* had made governor of *Parthia*; a
e ſhort time after arrived the *Macedonian* officers who had been ſent to take care of the recruits, as alſo thoſe who had conducted ſuch as were diſcharged to their imbarkation [s]. Thus the army was again reſtored to a formidable greatneſs, and at the ſame time the court of *Alexander* ſhone with extraordinary ſplendor from the reſort of the nobility of the adjacent provinces, and the arrival of ſo many illuſtrious perſons from *Greece*. The king therefore took this opportunity of calling a great council, into which he ordered *Beſſus* to be brought; where having reproached him with his infidelity and treachery, his cruelty and treaſon towards his ſovereign *Darius*, he ordered his noſe and ears to be cut off, and then ſent him under a guard to *Ecbatana* in *Media*, that he might abide his trial according to the laws of the *Medes* and *Perſians*. *Arrian*,
f who is otherwiſe very ſparing of his reflections, cenſures in warm terms this ſeverity towards *Beſſus*; he ſays, it was a ſign the king was departing from the maxims of his anceſtors, and leaving the generous notions of the *Greeks*, to take up the proud, cruel, and inexorable cuſtoms of thoſe *Barbarians* whom he had lately conquered, and whoſe vices he now ſuffered to conquer him; as to the ſubſequent fate of *Beſſus*, the relations of authors are ſo contradictory, that to avoid confuſion, we have digeſted what they ſay into a note (T).

[r] Arrian. lib. iv. c. 5. Curt. lib. vii. c. 36.

[s] Arrian. lib. iv. c. 7. Curt. lib. vii. c. 38.

(T) *Diodorus* tells us, that *Beſſus* at a great feaſt to which he had invited his friends, growing warm with liquor, grievouſly inſulted one of them whoſe name was *Bagadoras*, and even attempted to kill him;

Affects the Perſian cuſtoms

IT is certain, that about this time *Alexander* began to throw off in a great measure the manners of a *Macedonian* prince, and to affect thoſe of a *Perſian* king. Authors vary not a little in the accounts they give us of this matter. *Arrian* ſays expreſsly, that he laid aſide the *Macedonian* for the *Median* habit, adding, *That to him it appeared wonderful, the king did not bluſh when he changed the modeſt covering of his head, which he had worn in ſo many battles, for the* Perſian tiara. Yet *Plutarch* as poſitively affirms, he did not follow the *Median* faſhion, that he neither wore their breeches, long veſt, or tiara, but made choice of a garb inclining to the *Perſian* habit, more pompous and magnificent than the *Macedonian* veſture, yet not ſo rich or gaudy as that worn by the *Perſian* kings. But it may be, *Alexander* proceeded by degrees in the alteration of his habit, as we know he did in the uſe of it; for at firſt he only dreſſed himſelf in this manner, when he had buſineſs to tranſact with his new ſubjects; but when he converſed with the *Greeks*, and commanded the *Macedonians*, he wore his own country cloaths: If therefore this conjecture of ours be right, *Plutarch* and *Arrian* may be reconciled; and indeed it is very probable, that in this great council, wherein he imitated the oriental ſeverity, he appeared in habit as a *Perſian* king; that is, as the lord of *Aſia*, or, as the *Greeks* were wont emphatically to ſtyle him, as the *Great King* [t] (U). This mightily grieved his *Macedonians*, and this very grief ſhewed

[t] ARRIAN. lib. iv. c. 7. PLUT. in vit. Alex.

him; that this man, flying in the night to *Alexander*, the reſt of the counſellors of *Beſſus* were exceedingly alarmed, fearing on the one hand the cruelty of this uſurper, and on the other, dreaming of great rewards, if they put him into the hands of *Alexander*; which at laſt they reſolved to do, and to that end ſeized and bound him. They were not diſappointed in their expectations; the king rewarded them bountifully; as for *Beſſus*, he delivered him to the brother of *Darius*, and the reſt of his relations, who, after offering him all the indignities they could think of, and exerciſing on him variety of torments; they cut his fleſh into ſmall pieces, and hurled it bit by bit out of their ſlings (56). —— *Curtius* informs us of a quarrel *Beſſus* had with a friend of his, but he calls him *Cobares*, a *Median*, and one of the *Magi*. This man, after *Beſſus* had been vilifying *Darius*, and exalting himſelf, told him plainly, it was in vain to think of flying from ſuch an enemy as *Alexander*; and that the only method he had to take was ſubmitting himſelf, and truſting to the mercy of the victor; this put *Beſſus* into ſuch a paſſion, that *Cobares* was forced to retire out of the room for his immediate ſafety, and afterwards fled to *Alexander*. *Spitamenes* is characteriſed by this author as an envious and ungrateful traitor; that he told *Beſſus*, two of his beſt friends had conſpired againſt him, and that he, having diſcovered the conſpiracy, had cauſed them to be apprehended; for which *Beſſus* thanked him, and deſired they might be brought into his preſence. Upon this *Dataphernes* and *Catenes*, who concurred with *Spitamenes*, were brought in with their hands tied, ſurrounded by eight choſen men, as if they had been their guards. But no ſooner did *Beſſus* riſe and approach them, than the pretended guards ſeized him, pinioned him, took his crown from his head, and tore his robes; whereupon he cried out, that they juſtly revenged *Darius*, but were too propitious to *Alexander*. *Spitamenes* afterwards led him with a halter about his neck into the preſence of *Alexander*, who delivered him to *Oxathres*, *Darius*'s brother, with directions to ſee him crucified, after having his noſe and ears cut off, and then ſhot to death with arrows, which *Oxathres* accordingly undertook to do; *Catenes* being to fulfil the laſt part of his puniſhment, which was to guard his body, that no part of it might be interred in the bowels of birds. He afterwards tells us that he was ſent to *Ecbatana*, there to ſuffer death (57). —— *Plutarch* relates, that by the direction of *Alexander* himſelf *Beſſus* was faſtened to a couple of tall, ſtrait trees, which were bound down ſo as to meet; and then being let looſe with a great force, returned to their own places, each of them carrying that part of the body along with it which was tied to it (58).—*Juſtin* acquaints us in few words, that *Alexander* delivered *Beſſus* to the brother of *Darius*, that he might crucify him (59). It is impoſſible that he ſhould die all theſe deaths, and amongſt this great variety of ſentiments, it is as impoſſible to determine what death he died; that he loſt his noſe and ears by the command of *Alexander*, may be eſteemed certain; and that he afterwards ſuffered capital puniſhment, is alſo certain; as to the manner in which he ſuffered it, nothing can be poſitively affirmed. In all probability, *Beſſus* might have eſcaped all this ſeverity, if he had taken the advice of *Cobares*, and ſubmitted himſelf, and the provinces under his power, to *Alexander*; for there is good reaſon to believe, that his aſſuming the imperial title was at leaſt as heinous in the ſight of *Alexander*, as his murder of *Darius*; and therefore, if he had not joined this to his former crime, he might have eſcaped better. The anſwers given by *Beſſus*, as they are recorded in *Arrian* and *Curtius*, hint plainly at this; for he told the king, *Firſt*, That *Darius* was murdered to obtain his favour; and, *Secondly*, That he was not the ſole author of the murder, but that all who were preſent concurred in it. Among theſe was *Satibarzanes*, who on his ſubmitting himſelf to *Alexander*, was not only well received, but had his government reſtored to him. As for the other conſpirator *Barzaentes*, he indeed was put to death, in revenge, as it was ſaid, of the treaſon he had committed againſt his maſter; but then he had always continued in arms againſt *Alexander*, and flying to the *Indians* for ſafety, was delivered up by them (60). On the whole therefore we may ſafely conclude, that this extraordinary ſeverity, this laboured ſcene of doing juſtice on *Beſſus*, was altogether affected, and had nothing of that ſpirit and generoſity which *Alexander* had ſhewn at the opening of the war.

(U) *Curtius* gives us a very extraordinary ſtory in relation to the revolt of the *Sogdians*, which on account of its length, and its having ſo ſtrong a mixture

(56) *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* xvii. (57) *Curt. lib.* vii. *c.* 20. (58) *Plutarch. in vit. Alexand.* (59) *Juſtin. lib.* xii. *c.* 5. (60) *Arrian. lib.* iii. *c.* 29, 30.

a ſhewed that they were ſtill loyal and affectionate to him; for men of traiterous or rebellious principles do not grieve for the errors of their prince, but magnify them into crimes; and as if they were conſcious of the enormity of their own guilt, endeavour to transfer a part of it to their hated ſovereign. When therefore *Alexander* perceived this diſpoſition in his army, he ought certainly to have ſoothed them, and endeavoured either to convince them of the rectitude of his behaviour, or to have quieted them by yielding in ſome meaſure to their deſires. But this was not in the nature of *Alexander*, or at leaſt was no longer in his nature after he had viſited the temple of *Ammon*. Beſides, he had about him a multitude of ſycophants, who, as *Arrian* well notes, are and ever will be the bane of princes; he might have added, and the curſe of nations. Theſe by complying with his humours, and heating his
b paſſions, carried him daily into new extravagancies, and brought him to be a proper inſtance of the truth of another of *Arrian*'s obſervations; that an ability of conquering vaſt provinces, and of acquiring ſupreme dominion, is of little conſequence to a man's happineſs, unleſs he preſerves a philoſophic conſtancy and moderation of mind; however ſpecious appearances may deceive a deluded world, and make them conceive gilded miſery true felicity; whereas no two things in nature are farther removed. But to return to the ſeries of our hiſtory, for which theſe reflections are to make way.

THE *Greeks*, and eſpecially the *Macedonians*, obſerved an anniverſary feſtival to *Bacchus*. This year it ſeems, the king omitting *Bacchus*, transferred the honour of *Murders* Clitus *at a banquet.*
c this feſtival to the *Dioſcuri*, i. e. *Caſtor* and *Pollux*; and not ſatisfied therewith, ſtrictly commanded, that for the future to them, and not to *Bacchus*, theſe ſolemn rites ſhould conſtantly be dedicated. Theſe ſacrifices were followed by a magnificent banquet, to which all the principal commanders in the army were invited, and *Clytus* the ſon of *Dropidas*, who ſtood as high in the king's favour as any of them, amongſt the reſt. At ſupper the diſcourſe turned on the heroes to whom they had ſacrificed; and a queſtion was ſtarted, With what propriety they were ſtyled the ſons of *Jupiter*, when it was notorious that *Tindarus* was their father? It may be, this was introduced to give ſome ingenious flatterer an opportunity of reconciling things, which hitherto the *Macedonians* could never underſtand, how *Alexander* could be at once the ſon of *Ammon*, and the ſon of *Philip*. Some who ſat near the king laid hold of
d this fair opportunity to magnify his actions above thoſe of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*; and when their hands were in, they laid hold of the fame of *Hercules* too, and ſet that a ſtep lower than the glory of *Alexander*: To give theſe things a colour, they inſiſted on the natural envy of men towards their cotemporaries, and how unwilling they were to worſhip thoſe virtues in the living, which with the utmoſt readineſs, and the moſt profound reſpect, they adored in the dead. *Clytus* took fire at theſe expreſſions; he ſaid, *he could not bear to hear ſuch indignities offered to the gods, or the credit of ancient heroes depreciated, to tickle the ears of a living prince.* As to *Alexander*'s actions, he allowed that they were great and glorious, but he affirmed that they had nothing in them ſupernatural; beſides, they were not performed by him alone, but by his army;

ture of the wonderful, we thought more proper for a note, than for the text; where, if it had been curtailed, it would not have been clear, and if inſerted at full length, it would have interrupted the current of the narration. " Among the captive " *Sogdians*, he ſays, there were thirty of the chiefeſt " nobility of the country who were remarkable for " their prodigious ſtrength of body. Theſe being " brought before the king, and underſtanding by the " interpreter, that his majeſty had ordered them to " be executed, they began to ſing and dance, and " by other wanton motions of their body, endeavoured to expreſs the chearfulneſs of their mind. " *Alexander* being amazed at their unuſual alacrity " on ſuch an occaſion, commanded them to be " brought back, and asked them the cauſe of their " exceſſive joy, when they beheld death before their " eyes? To which they anſwered, that if any other " than himſelf had ſentenced them to die, they ſhould " have been concerned; but ſince they were to be " reſtored to their anceſtors by ſo great a king, who " had conquered all the world, they looked upon " their death to be ſo honourable, as even to deſerve the envy of all brave men, which made them " ſo tranſported when they underſtood his pleaſure. " The king then asked them, If they would be his " friends hereafter, if he ſhould give them their " lives? They replied, that they had never been his " enemies, but had only defended themſelves when " they were attacked in a hoſtile manner by him: " And that if any body would make tryal of them " by good offices, inſtead of injuries, they would " willingly contend in the generous ſtrife, and uſe " their utmoſt endeavours not to be overcome. He " asking them afterwards, What pledge they would " give him for their fidelity? They anſwered, their " lives, which they received through his bounty, " and which they would at all times be ready to " reſtore to him whenever he required them. Nor " were they worſe than their words: For thoſe of " them who were ſent home, kept their country-" people in due ſubjection to *Alexander*, and four " of them being received into his body-guards, were " inferior to none of the *Macedonians* in their ſincere affection to the king (61).

(61) *Curt. lib.* vii. *c.* 37.

and

and that therefore all the *Macedonians* had a right to ſhare in the praiſe due to thoſe deeds, in which they, as well as he, had exerted themſelves. Theſe reflections made *Alexander* very angry. To ſooth this anger, ſome of his flatterers began a diſcourſe about his father *Philip*, in which they ſought to leſſen his actions, and to repreſent him as a prince who had done nothing extraordinary; which provoked *Clytus* ſo far, that he began to detract from the merit of *Alexander*, and to ſuggeſt that nothing he had done deſerved to be compared with what had been performed by his father. Upon this the king loſt all patience, and when *Clytus* proceeded to upbraid him with the preſervation of his life at the battle of *Granicus*, ſtretching out his arm, and ſaying, *This hand, O* Alexander, *ſaved thee*; the king leaped upon him, and endeavoured to kill him, but was prevented by the interpoſition of his friends, who caught hold of him, and with much ado got between them: *Clytus* in the mean time continued his reproachful expreſſions; whereupon the king called for ſome of his guards; but none appearing, he began to bemoan himſelf exceedingly, ſaying, *That he was now in the ſame condition with* Darius, *when in the hands of* Beſſus: *That he had the empty name of king, and nothing more.* His friends upon this retiring, and leaving him to himſelf, he ſnatched a lance, or, as ſome ſay, a long *Macedonian* pike, and therewith ſtruck *Clytus* through, and killed him. In this account we have followed *Arrian* cloſely; for to have collected into one relation what different authors have delivered, could have only ſerved to perplex the reader. What may be wanting to his farther information, and could be had from other authors, he will find below (W)[u]. Here let us purſue

[u] ARRIAN. lib. iv. c. 8.

(W) The detail given us by *Plutarch*, of what happened at the death of *Clytus*, differs ſo much from what has been inſerted in the text from *Arrian*, and is in itſelf ſo curious, that it well deſerves the reader's peruſal. He informs us, that the king having a preſent of *Grecian* fruit brought him from the ſea-coaſt, ſo well preſerved, "that it ſeemed to "be but juſt gathered, ſent for *Clytus* that he might "ſee and partake of it. *Clytus* was then ſacrificing, "but he immediately left off, and went to wait on "the king, followed by three of the ſheep, on whom "the drink-offering had been already poured, in "order for the ſacrifice. *Alexander* being informed "of this accident, conſulted his two diviners, *Ariſtander*, and *Cleomantes* the *Spartan*, and asked "them, What was portended by it? They aſſuring "him, that it was an ill omen, he commanded "them in all haſte to offer ſacrifices for *Clytus's* "ſafety; foraſmuch as three days before, he him-"ſelf had ſeen a ſtrange viſion in his ſleep, of *Clytus* "all in mourning, ſitting by *Parmenio's* ſons, who "were all dead. *Clytus* however ſtaid not to finiſh "his devotions, but came ſtrait to ſupper with the "king, who the ſame day had ſacrificed to *Caſtor* "and *Pollux*. And when they had drank pretty "hard, ſome of the company fell a ſinging the "verſes of one *Pranichus*, or, as others ſay, of *Pierion*, which were made upon thoſe captains who "had been lately worſted by the *Barbarians*, on pur-"poſe to diſgrace and turn them to ridicule; which "ſo offended the grave ancient men, that they re-"proved both the author and the ſinger of the ver-"ſes, though *Alexander* and the blades about him "were mightily pleaſed to hear them, and encou-"raged them to go on: Till at laſt, *Clytus*, who "had drank too much, and was beſides of a fro-"ward and wilful temper, was ſo nettled, that he "could hold no longer; ſaying, *It was not well "done thus to expoſe the* Macedonians *before the* Barbarians *and their enemies, ſince though it was their "unhappineſs to be overcome, yet they were much better men than thoſe who laughed at them.* To this "*Alexander* replied, *That ſure* Clitus *ſpoke ſo tenderly of cowardiſe, when he called it misfortune, only "to excuſe himſelf.* At which *Clytus* ſtarting up, "*This cowardiſe, as you are pleaſed to term it,* ſaid he "to him, *ſaved your life, though you pretend to be "ſprung from the gods, when you were running away "from* Spithridates's *ſword; and it is by the expence "of* Macedonian *blood, and by theſe wounds, that you "are now raiſed to ſuch an height, as to deſpiſe and "diſown your father* Philip, *and adopt yourſelf the ſon "of* Jupiter Ammon. *Thou baſe fellow,* ſaid *Alexander*, who was now thoroughly exaſperated, "*doſt thou think to utter theſe things every-where of "me, and ſtir up the* Macedonians *to ſedition, and "not be puniſhed for it? We are ſufficiently puniſhed "already*, anſwered Clytus, *if this be the recompenſe "of our toils; and eſteem thoſe happieſt who have not "lived to ſee their countrymen ignominiouſly ſcourged "with* Median *rods, and forced to ſue to the* Perſians "*to have acceſs to their king.* While *Clytus* talked "thus at random, and the king in the bittereſt manner retorted upon him, the old men that were in "company, endeavoured all they could to allay the "flame, when *Alexander* turning to *Xenodolus* the "*Cardian*, and *Artemius* the *Colophonian*, asked them, "*If they were not of opinion that the reſt of the Grecians behaved among the* Macedonians, *like ſo many "demi-gods among ſavages?* All this would not ſilence "*Clytus*, who calling aloud to *Alexander*, bid him, "*if he had any thing to ſay, to ſpeak out; or elſe, why "did he invite men who were free-born, and uſed to "ſpeak their minds openly without reſtraint, to ſup "with him? He had better live and converſe with* "Barbarians, *and conquered ſlaves, who would not "ſcruple to adore his* Perſian *girdle, and white tunic.* "Which words ſo provoked *Alexander*, that not "able to ſuppreſs his anger any longer, he took one "of the apples that lay upon the table, and flung it "at him, and then looked about for his ſword. "But *Ariſtophanes*, one of his life-guards, had hid "that out of the way, and others came about him, "and beſought him to ſtay his fury, but in vain; "for breaking from them, he called out aloud to "his guards in the *Macedonian* language, which was "a certain ſign of ſome great diſturbance in him, "and commanded a trumpeter to ſound, giving him "a box on the ear for delaying, or rather refuſing "to obey him, though afterwards the ſame man "was commended for diſobeying an order which "would have put the whole army into tumult and "confuſion. *Clytus* continued ſtill in the ſame quarrelſome humour, till his friends with much ado "forced

4

a purſue the hiſtory without entering into any debates upon the queſtion which has riſen upon the fact, *Whether* Clytus's *indiſcretion could excuſe* Alexander's *intemperance and cruelty*. As ſoon as the king came to himſelf, his brains were perfectly cool, and he began to remember what had paſſed, he fell into a fit of exceſſive grief. He accuſed himſelf, as indeed well he might, of having ſlain his father's brave ſoldier, his own faithful friend, the conſtant companion of his toils, his foſter brother, and him to whom he owed his life: It was then, that in the bitterneſs of his ſoul, he diſclaimed all kindred to the gods, and with a laudable ſorrow, mourned like a man for having done a baſe and cruel act unworthy of a man. It was then he cried out on *Clytus*, on his ſiſter *Hellanice*, whoſe breaſts he had ſucked, and inveighed againſt himſelf as one
b forgetful of the bond of gratitude, the ties of friendſhip, and the laws of nature, depriving his friends of life, and executing thoſe as evil-doers who could not patiently hear or ſee him do ill. For three days he refuſed meat, neglected his apparel, and, as ſome ſay, with the pike that killed *Clytus*, would have ſlain himſelf. The army in the mean while were diſconſolate to the higheſt degree; their regard to *Clytus* is ſaid to have given way to their love and loyalty to *Alexander*, inſomuch that to ſooth their afflicted prince, they condemned *Clytus*, and prohibited his interrment, ſeeking thereby to colour the fact, or at leaſt to comfort *Alexander* by ſeeming to think his reſentment juſt. This was excuſable in ſoldiers. The prieſts and philoſophers went greater lengths. The former told the king, that what he did was not the error of his own
c will, but the effects of a fury inſpired by *Bacchus* on account of his feſtival being tranſferred to the *Dioſcuri*. Thus did theſe execrable diſſemblers ſeek to tranſfer a crime unworthy of a man to him they worſhipped as a god, and moſt impudently called that a divine fury, which at beſt was beaſtly drunkenneſs; all flatterers are deteſtable, becauſe they inſult human nature; but theſe ſpiritual flatterers are doubly ſo, becauſe, as far as in them lies, they proſtitute the gods to pleaſe the worſt of men. *Anaxarchus* of *Abdera*, whom moſt hiſtorians ſtile a philoſopher, but *Arrian* rightly a ſophiſt, was the next who undertook to moderate the king's grief; and finding him upon his bed ſighing and dejected, thus he addreſſed him: "Is this the *Ale-*
"*xander* whom the world looks upon with ſuch admiration? Behold him extended
d "on the ground, and weeping like an abject ſlave for fear of the law and reproach "of men, to whom he himſelf ought to be a law, and the meaſure of equity, ſince "he conquered for no other end but to make himſelf lord of all, and not to be a "ſlave to a vain, idle opinion: Do not you know, that *Jupiter* is repreſented ſitting "on his throne with law aſſiſting on one ſide, and juſtice on the other, intimating "thereby, that let a ſovereign prince do what he will, all his actions are juſt and law-"ful"? Theſe were admirable doctrines, tending not only to ſet the king's mind at reſt, as to the murder he had committed, but to prevent any more qualms, in caſe rage, envy, or drunkenneſs, ſhould plunge him again into the ſame circumſtances.

"forced him out of the room; but he came in again "immediately at another door very irreverently, and "inſolently ſung this paſſage out of *Euripides*'s *An-*"*dromache. Ye gods, what an ill cuſtom have you* "*introduced in* Greece! *When an army has erected a* "*trophy upon the defeat of the enemy, it is never con-*"*ſidered that the victory is owing to the valour of the* "*troops who fought, but the general puts in for all the* "*honour of it; though he had expoſed himſelf to no* "*more danger than many thouſands beſides, and had* "*done no more than a common ſoldier, yet he only is* "*celebrated in the ſongs of triumph, and robs the reſt* "*of their ſhare of the glory.* Then *Alexander* ſnatch-"ing a ſpear from one of the ſoldiers, met *Clytus* as "he was putting by the curtain that hung before "the door, and ran him through the body. He "fell immediately, and after a few piercing groans, "expired. In the very inſtant the king's indigna-"tion cooled, and he came perfectly to himſelf; "but when he ſaw his friends about him all in a "profound ſilence, as ſeized with horror at the "fact, he pulled the ſpear out of the dead body, "and would have turned it againſt himſelf, if the "guards had not held his hands, and by main force "carried him away into his chamber (62)". The relation of *Curtius* agrees pretty well with that of *Plutarch*, only he attributes more moderation to the king at the beginning (63). *Juſtin* tells us in few words, that at a debauch *Alexander* killed his friend *Clytus* for extolling the actions of his father *Philip*; but this author inſiſts very largely on his repentance, attributing his recovery from that ſtate of dejection and grief, as *Curtius* does, to the advice of *Calliſthenes* (64). If we had *Diodorus*'s account of this buſineſs, in all probability we ſhould find it correſpond with *Curtius* and *Juſtin*; but as we have heretofore remarked, theſe authors when they differ from *Arrian*, frequently agree with him; the reaſon is, that among a multitude of writers, who undertook to tranſmit the actions of *Alexander* to poſterity, the collectors of general hiſtory followed at their pleaſure, ſometimes one, and ſometimes another, and not ſeldom mixed ſeveral relations together. Authors of abridgments copied from theſe indiſcriminately, as the later writers of particular hiſtories did frequently too, adding ſuch embelliſhments, inſerting ſuch deſcriptions, and framing ſuch ſpeeches for the amplifying and adorning their works, as they thought fit.

(62) *Plutarch. in vit. Alexand.* (63) *lib.* viii. *c.* 2, 3, 4. (64) *Juſtin. lib.* xii. *c.* 6.

Caliſthenes, the ſcholar and relation of *Ariſtotle*, ſought to ſettle his mind by honeſt and moral diſcourſes. *Arrian* ſays, that the ſuggeſtion of the prieſts, in relation to *Bacchus*, did not diſpleaſe the king. Both *Plutarch* and the laſt-mentioned author ſay, that *Anaxarchus* allayed the king's griefs at the ſame time that he corrupted his manners; but *Curtius* aſcribes the king's recovery to *Caliſthenes*; we may well ſuppoſe that they had all a hand in it, though the ſubſequent hiſtory will ſhew, that in all probability the laſt had the leaſt [w]. a

Alexander *aſpires to divine honours.*

IF the tragical death of *Clytus* had brought *Alexander* to a right way of thinking, perhaps poſterity, like the *Macedonian* ſoldiers, would have drawn a veil over this dark ſcene, and have choſen rather to commend the king's compaſſionate concern, than to have cenſured his drunken cruelty. But no ſooner was his ſorrow for the death of this b worthy man alleviated, but he began again to give up himſelf to the management of thoſe ſycophants, whoſe poiſonous ſpeeches had wrought that miſchief; and ſtill they were dinning his ears, that in their opinion he was ſomething more than man, and that it was injuſtice and diſloyalty in other people not to think him ſo too. The reſult of all theſe diſcourſes was, that a god he ſhould be, or at leaſt have divine honours paid him, as heretofore had been given to *Perſian* kings, and *Anaxarchus* the ſophiſt, *Agis*, a miſerable poet, *Chœrillus*, *Agnon*, and other paraſites, undertook to bring this great matter to bear, and to engage the *Greeks*, as well as the *Aſiatics*, to pay him adoration [x]. *Alexander* was mightily pleaſed with this, and a great banquet was appointed, at which this hopeful ſcheme was to be carried into execution. At c this entertainment, *Anaxarchus* propoſed the adoring *Alexander* in a ſet oration; he inſiſted that *Bacchus* was a *Theban*, and though he admitted that *Hercules* was a *Greek*, and without reproach, yet he affirmed, that *Alexander*'s being deſcended from him was at once the moſt certain, and the greateſt honour which could be attributed to him; hence he inferred, that if *Bacchus* and *Hercules* were worthily worſhipped, ſo without doubt would *Alexander* be, whoſe actions ſo far exceeded theirs, at ſome diſtance of time; but inaſmuch as that worſhip would be of ſmall conſequence to him then, he alledged, it would be more rational, as well as more obliging, to offer it him now while he was living, and could take pleaſure in it. The *Macedonians*, who were not in the ſecret, were ſtunned at the ſpeech, and knew d not either what to think of its author, or what anſwer to afford themſelves to what he had propounded; ſo a long and deep ſilence enſued. *Calliſthenes* at laſt broke through it, and, as *Arrian* tells us, delivered himſelf in theſe words: "Indeed *Anaxarchus*, "I count not *Alexander* unworthy of any honour, how great ſoever it be, that is "fit to be aſcribed to man; but there are preſcribed differences amongſt men between "divine and human honours; amongſt many others, in the building of temples, and "erecting of ſtatues; for to the gods we conſecrate oratories, offer ſacrifices and drink-"offerings: To the gods are ſung hymns; men are praiſed, but not adored: "kiſſes in ſalutations are given to men, but the gods are placed on high, and "'tis not lawful to touch them, and therefore they are worſhipped with adoration. e "Solemn times of dancings are performed to the gods, and pæans ſung to them; "neither is it to be wondered at, inaſmuch as the honours given to the gods are va-"rious; ſome ſort of honours given to one, and others to another, eſpecially thoſe "honours of later times; nay, thoſe honours given to ſome of the heroes differ from "divine honours. 'Tis not therefore fit to confound theſe things, nor to advance "men above themſelves, and all mankind beſides, and to degrade the gods by "worſhipping them with the ſame worſhip wherewith we adore men. *Alexander* "himſelf would not ſuffer any private man to uſurp the regal dignity and honours "due to himſelf, though he gained 'em by the unjuſt ſuffrages of the people; much "more juſtly therefore may the gods be angry, if any mortal man aſſume to him- f "ſelf divine honours, or accept of them from others. However, let *Alexander* be "eſteemed, as in truth he is, by many degrees the moſt valiant of them that are "valiant, the greateſt king amongſt all other kings, and amongſt generals the moſt "worthy to command. But as for thee, *Anaxarchus*, 'tis thy duty above any other "to inſtruct *Alexander* in thoſe things that have been ſpoken, and to deter him from "the contrary; for thy converſation he daily makes uſe of in order to improve in "wiſdom and in learning. Neither does it become thee to be the beginner of this "diſcourſe, but rather to remember, that thou art not adviſing *Cambyſes* or *Xerxes*,

w ARRIAN. lib. iv. c. 9. PLUT. in vit. Alex. CURT. lib. viii. c. 7, & 8. JUSTIN. lib. xii. c. 6. x ARRIAN. lib. iv. c. 11. PLUT. in vit. Alex. CURT. lib. viii. c. 18. JUSTIN. lib. xii. c. 7.

"but

a " but the ſon of *Philip*, deſcended from *Hercules* and *Achilles*, whoſe anceſtors came
" out of *Argos* into *Macedonia*, and maintained their empire, not by arbitrary power,
" but by ruling according to the laws and cuſtoms of the *Macedonians*. But divine
" honours were not conferred upon *Hercules* himſelf, by the *Grecians*, while he was
" living; nay, nor when he was dead, before the oracle at *Delphos*, commanded
" that he ſhould be worſhipped as a god. But if there be but few that are in the
" country of the *Barbarians*, we ought to entertain the ſame ſentiments with them.
" And I earneſtly intreat thee, *Alexander*, to remember *Greece*; for whoſe ſake this
" expedition was undertaken by thee, in order to add *Aſia* to *Greece*; and now con-
" ſider whether when you return thither, you can be able to compel the free people
b " of *Greece* to adore you as a god, or excepting them of *Greece*, you can impoſe
" this diſhonour and ſlavery upon the *Macedonians* only, or whether it be fit that
" quite different honours be there allowed you, ſeeing the *Grecians* confer only thoſe
" that are human, according to the cuſtom and manner of the *Greeks*, when, at the
" ſame time, only the barbarians worſhip you as a god, after the manner of barba-
" rians. But if it be objected, that *Cyrus* ſon of *Cambyſes* was the firſt of all mor-
" tal men that was adored by men as a god, and that, ſince that time, this adora-
" tion has continued amongſt the *Medes* and *Perſians*; yet you are to conſider, how
" his pride was curbed by the *Scythians*, a poor and indigent people; and how
" other *Scythians* again reduced *Darius* to more ſober thoughts of himſelf; and the
c " *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians Xerxes* and *Clearchus*; and *Xenophon Artaxerxes*,
" only with ten thouſand men; and *Darius* now overcome by *Alexander*, at a time
" when no divine honours were decreed him [b]." *Alexander* was highly provoked at this ſpeech, and the more for that the *Macedonians* could not forbear applauding it; however, he ordered the buſineſs to go on, and ſettled the ceremonial of his adoration thus: When he drank to a perſon, it was expected, *that the gueſt ſhould immediately riſe up, adore him, and having received a kiſs from the king, ſhould depart.* The eldeſt and moſt conſiderable of the *Perſians* complied firſt; in doing which they followed their old cuſtom, and were perhaps not diſpleaſed at the embaraſment of the *Greeks* (X). *Leonatus*, one of the king's friends, as *Arrian* has it; or, as *Cur-*

[b] ARRIAN. l. iv. c. 2.

(X) All who have treated this ſubject agree, that the *Perſians* were as ready to comply with *Alexander*'s motion for adoring him, as the *Greeks* were averſe to it; yet we are not to ſuppoſe from thence, that the former were as prone to idolatry as the latter; if we ſhould, it would be a very great error: And therefore, to preſerve that conſiſtency which is neceſſary between the ſeveral parts of this work, we have thought fit to add this note, in order to explain the conduct of the *Perſians*, and to acquit them of that groſs adulation which has been charged upon them by ſome raſh and inconſiderate writers. Bowing down to, and even proſtrating one's ſelf before a prince, ever was, and ſtill is, held in the eaſt an act of civil reverence, and no more. The *Perſians* therefore, as *deiſts*, paid theſe profound marks of ſubmiſſion to their king, not as ſuppoſing him a *deity*, but from a perſuaſion that he derived a ſupreme authority from God. It may be, and indeed it is probable, the *Perſians* did not explain this matter, either to *Alexander* or thoſe about him; but contented themſelves with ſatisfying the king by their actions, and themſelves by their thoughts (65). The *Greeks* proceeded upon notions directly oppoſite. They were *poly-theiſts*, and tho' they every day did a thouſand ridiculous things in their public worſhip, yet, to pay divine honours to a man, was too groſs for them; and therefore, as is frequently the caſe, they acted right upon wrong principles; for with reſpect to the ground of this ſubmiſſion, the king and they were agreed in their ſentiments. He ſought to be taken for ſomething more than man, and they, with good reaſon, refuſed to acknowledge him ſuch. As the *Perſians* could not but have the higheſt contempt for their idolatry in all its ſhapes, ſo, without queſtion, they were well pleaſed to ſee their zeal for idols embaraſs the *Macedonians* with their natural prince, which ſo ſtrongly tended to put him into their hands. There is one objection which may poſſibly be made to this account, and ought therefore to be anſwered. It is this; There are various inſtances in ſcripture, where bowing down to, or, as it is uſually phraſed, worſhipping, a man, is prohibited as idolatrous (66); whence it might be inferred, that, amongſt the *Perſians*, who were deiſts as well as the *Jews*, this practice was not, ſtrictly ſpeaking, lawful; but if we conſider, that theſe prohibitions never extend to the caſe in queſtion, but are always directed againſt worſhipping private men, on a ſuppoſition of their being cloathed with ſome divine character, we ſhall eaſily perceive, that theſe marks of civil reſpect to ſupreme magiſtrates were always accounted innocent, and very conformable to the divine law. Thus *Daniel* complied with all the cuſtoms of the *Perſian* court, bowed himſelf when he entered the royal preſence, and ſaluted with the uſual compliment, *O king, live for ever* (67)! In a word, as the intent of the mind renders all actions either good or evil, ſo, in the preſent caſe, the *Perſians* did that without idolatry, which was flat idolatry in thoſe *Greeks* that did the ſame thing; becauſe the former honoured *Alexander* only as a man, the latter, whatever they conceived of him, paid him that reſpect which they thought only due to a god.

(65) *Univerſ. Hiſt. Vol.* II. *p.* 72. (66) *Acts* xiv. 14. *Rev.* xxii. 9. (67) *Dan.* vi. 21.

tius

tius reports, *Polyſperchon*, obſerving a *Perſian* touch the floor with his chin, laughed at it, and bid him hit it a little harder; for which *Alexander* caught hold of him, threw him from his couch, and, as he lay on the floor, told him, *he made as ridiculous a figure as him whom he had deſpiſed.* When it came to the turn of *Calliſthenes*, he pledged the king, and then came for his kiſs. *Alexander* being deeply engaged in diſcourſe with *Hepheſtion*, did not perceive he had miſſed any part of the ceremony; but *Demetrius* one of his friends told him, that the philoſopher had not adored him. The king thereupon put him back with his hand; and *Calliſthenes* going out, was heard to ſay, *So then, I have only loſt a kiſs*[a]. But the king afterwards revenged himſelf more ſeverely, as we ſhall ſhew immediately, that we may not again interrupt the thread of our narration (Y). [b]

A new conſpiracy againſt him.

WHILE the minds of men were yet warm, the murder of *Clytus* unforgot, and the king's affectation of foreign manners continually provoking his natural ſubjects, a new conſpiracy was diſcovered, which very narrowly miſſed taking effect. The king had neareſt his perſon fifty *Macedonian* youths of the firſt quality, who, according to the rules of waiting, continually attended him in the field, at his exerciſes, when at table, and when he retired to his reſt. Among theſe there was one *Hermolaus*, the ſon of *Sopolis*, who had contracted a violent antipathy to his maſter; the occaſion this: One day when he attended *Alexander* in the chace, a boar croſſed him as he rode before the king; whereupon the young man, eager in his ſport, ſtruck the boar with a ſpear, and killed him on the ſpot. *Alexander*, provoked at loſing [c] an opportunity of ſhewing his dexterity, ordered the boy to be whipped in the ſight of all his companions, and his horſe taken from him. *Hermolaus*, almoſt diſtracted with the deep ſenſe of the diſgrace he had ſuffered, complained of it in the moſt moving terms to *Soſtratus* the ſon of *Amyntas*, one of his companions, alledging, that he ſhould never be at peace till he had revenged on *Alexander* the injury that had been done him. *Soſtratus*, who loved him tenderly, came eaſily into his meaſures; and they two having formed the deſign, afterwards drew in *Antipater*, *Epimenes*, *Anticles*, and *Philotas*, all youths of quality like themſelves, and ſquires of the body to the king, to be concerned with them. The event of their conſultations was, that when it came to be *Antipater*'s watch, they ſhould kill *Alexander* in his [d] ſleep. It does not appear that any of the conſpirators relented when the very day came; nor is it probable that the king could poſſibly have eſcaped, if an unforeſeen accident, or, as ſome would have it, a miracle, had not interpoſed, and defeated all their purpoſes. *Ariſtobulus*, in his memoirs, relates it thus: There was a certain *Syrian* woman who attended the camp of *Alexander*, and who frequently acted and ſpake as if beſide her ſenſes. This woman pretended to foretel future

[a] ARRIAN. l. iv. c. 12. CURT. l. viii. c. 20. JUSTIN. ubi ſupra.

(Y) *Arrian* repreſents *Calliſthenes* as a man exceeding proud of his knowledge, and, in point of vanity, very little behind *Alexander* himſelf. His temper was moroſe; but he had a vehement and perſuaſive elocution (68). *Ariſtotle* made a right judgment of him and his abilities, when he ſaid, *He was an excellent orator, but had no judgment.* The ſame great man foreſaw what would one day be the fate of this philoſopher; for hearing him treat *Alexander* with that unbecoming harſhneſs which was too natural to him, he could not help repeating what *Thetis* in *Homer* ſays to *Achilles*,

Methinks I ſee thee dying, ſee thee dead.

He is reported to have been a great declaimer, and that, on this account, he was chiefly admired by *Alexander*. Once at an entertainment the king commanded him to make an extempore oration in praiſe of the *Macedonians*, which he did with ſuch facility, in terms ſo juſt and proportionate to their atchievements, that all who were preſent, in token of their approbation, threw their garlands upon him, excepting *Alexander*, who contented himſelf with repeating theſe lines from *Euripides*;

Without ſurprize I hear thy language flow;
For happy ſubjects pleaſing words beſtow.

He then commanded *Calliſthenes* to point out the errors and miſtakes of the *Macedonians*, that they might the better know how to correct them. The orator laying hold of this opportunity, immediately entered into a long and bitter invective againſt the *Macedonians* in general, and againſt *Philip* of *Macedon* in particular, to whoſe greatneſs he applied theſe lines;

When civil broils declining ſtates ſurprize,
There the worſt men to higheſt honours riſe.

This imprudent declamation loſt him the hearts of his auditors; to which alſo the king's obſervation contributed not a little. *Calliſthenes*, ſays he, *has not ſhewn ſo much of his eloquence, as of his ill-will to the* Macedonians, *in this ſpeech* (69). But however he might loſe himſelf on this occaſion, when he came to oppoſe the king's aſſuming divine honours, he was again cried up, and all the *Macedonian* youth followed him as the patron of liberty, and the teacher of true philoſophy; ſo much does a man's character depend on his going with, or going againſt the people's humour.

(68) *Arrian. l.* iv. *c.* 10.

(69) *Plut. in vit. Alex.*

events;

a events; but ſhe delivered her predictions in ſo odd a way, that, till their accompliſhments compelled people to take notice of them, ſhe was laughed at and ridiculed; but when, by degrees, the falling out of things ſhe had foretold, had gained her ſome degree of credit, the king, who had always a leaning to theſe ſort of things, directed that ſhe ſhould never be reſtrained from entering his preſence. It happened, that the night the conſpirators had fixed on for the execution of their deſign, *Alexander* drank pretty late with his friends. As he was retiring from the place where they were drinking, to his own apartment, this woman threw herſelf in his way, and, in one of her frantic fits, bid him go back and drink all night, in which, 'tis ſaid, he obeyed her. However it was, ſo it fell out, that he did drink all that night, which rendered the conſpirators ſcheme abortive. The next day *Epimenes* the ſon of *Arſeas*,
b who was one of the number, diſcovered the whole to *Chariclus* his friend, and this *Chariclus* communicated it to *Eurylochus* the brother of *Epimenes*; *Eurylochus* immediately addreſſed himſelf to *Ptolemy* the ſon of *Lagus*, who informed the king of it; upon which directions were immediately given, that all who were named by *Eurylochus* ſhould be immediately apprehended, and examined apart. They did not make any difficulty of confeſſing the whole deſign; and each of them named thoſe who were in it. Some time after, *Hermolaus*, according to the *Macedonian* conſtitution, was brought before the army, and there charged with intending the murder of his ſovereign. Inſtead of a defence, the young man, with great ſerenity of mind, and chearfulneſs of countenance, ſaid, "That a man of ſpirit, who was born free, could never tamely ſup-
c "port the indignities which had been offered him by the king. He alledged alſo, "that not himſelf only, but his country, had been groſsly injured; that *Philotas* had "been murdered without proof; *Parmenio* aſſaſſinated without pretence; numbers "put to death on ſlight ſuſpicions; *Clytus* butchered in drink; the *Median* habit "and cuſtoms preferred to thoſe of *Macedon*; edicts iſſued to eſteem a *man* a *god*, "while that man plunged himſelf in drunkenneſs, luxury, and other vices, ſcanda-"lous to himſelf, and detrimental to the ſtate. From all which, by giving him "death, he ſought to ſet himſelf and the *Macedonians* free." His ſpeech ended, himſelf and his accomplices were ſtoned by the army [d]. As all the *Macedonian* youth were auditors and admirers of *Calliſthenes*, and *Hermolaus* his particular friend,
d he was charged with this conſpiracy, and apprehended. *Arrian* ſeems to be in ſome doubt, whether the apprehenſion of *Calliſthenes* was founded on any proofs, which however *Ptolemy*, in his memoirs, affirmed, or was ſeized merely from the malice and ſpite of *Alexander*. We have a better authority on this head, than either *Arrian* or *Ptolemy*, which yet is not ſufficient to determine it. This authority is a paſſage in a letter from *Alexander* to *Antipater*, as follows: "The young men were ſtoned "to death by the *Macedonians*; but for the *ſophiſt*, i. e. *Calliſthenes*, I will take care "to puniſh him, and them too who ſent him to me, who harbour thoſe in their "cities who conſpire againſt my life." *Plutarch* tells us, that *Ariſtotle* was threatned by theſe inſinuations; however, certainly the king grew very inexorable, and,
e at the ſame time, very ſuſpicious. As to *Calliſthenes*, what became of him, it is impoſſible to determine. *Ariſtobulus*, who was an eye-witneſs of all he wrote, affirms, that he was carried about in chains, till he died of a natural death. *Ptolemy*, who was alſo an eye-witneſs of all he recorded, aſſerts, that he was firſt rack'd, and then crucified. Beſides theſe, we have many other ſtories about him, which, as they are all uncertain, we think, we may ſafely omit, eſpecially as we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of him again in another place [e].

He forms new deſigns.

When the ſeaſon of action approached, embaſſadors from *Scythia* arrived, whoſe errand was to inform the king, that their monarch, to whom he had ſent embaſſa-
f dors, was dead, and that his brother had ſucceeded him; that this new prince was willing to receive his commands, would give him his daughter in marriage, if he thought fit, and, if he deſired it, would come to wait upon him in perſon. *Alexander* anſwered them in terms of friendſhip, but declined a *Scythian* alliance. *Pharaimanes*, king of the *Choraſmeni*, came about the ſame time to *Alexander*'s camp, with a body of fifteen hundred horſe. He informed him, that his territories bordered on the *Euxine* ſea, and offered his ſervice, both for providing his army with neceſſaries, and furniſhing himſelf whatever quota the king ſhould think fit, in caſe he intended to turn his arms on that ſide. With this *Alexander* was perfectly well

[d] Arrian. l. iv. c. 13, 14. Plut. in vit. Alex. Curt. l. viii. c. 23. [e] Arrian. l. iv. c. 15.

pleaſed, commended the king, entered into an alliance with him, and recommended him to *Artabazus*, preſident of the provinces bordering on his dominions; however, as to the expedition propoſed, he declared, that his intentions were firſt to reduce the *Indians*, and then to return into *Greece*; after which he propoſed to make uſe of this prince's offer, and, with his whole forces, to invade the countries bordering on the *Euxine* ſea. With this anſwer he diſmiſſed *Pharaimanes*, and immediately prepared for the carrying his own projects into execution [f], tho' they were far from being pleaſing either to his council, or to his army (Z). a

He re-enters Sogdia.

HE firſt directed his march to the banks of the river *Oxus*, and then determined to enter the country of the *Sogdians*, on account of their refuſing to yield obedience to the governor he had appointed over them. *Polyſperchon*, with ſome other generals, and a conſiderable body of forces, he left in *Bactria*. The reſt of his army he b divided into five columns; the firſt under the command of *Hephæſtion*; the ſecond under *Ptolemy Lagus*; the third was commanded by *Perdiccas*; the fourth by *Cœnus* and *Artabazus*; the laſt he led *himſelf*. The reſt of the corps ſpread themſelves over the country, reducing all the caſtles and other fortreſſes they met with, and which were held by the enemy. The body commanded by *Alexander* marched on to *Maracanda*, where, ſhortly after, the reſt of the columns arrived; the whole province being reduced under his ſubjection. *Spitamenes* however, who was at the head of the revolted *Sogdians*, retired towards *Scythia*, and having procured a ſupply of ſix hundred horſe, he ſuddenly entered *Bactria*, ſurpriſed a caſtle, where he put the governor and gariſon to the ſword, and then advanced to the very ſuburbs of *Zari-* c *aſpa*; but, not having a force ſufficient, he could not beſiege the town. However, ſome *Macedonian* horſemen, who had been left there ſick, finding themſelves now a little better, immediately mounted, and followed him. The *Scythians* were ſo terrified at their approach, that they abandoned all their booty; but while the *Macedonians* were employed in collecting it together, *Spitamenes* prevailed on his *Scythians* to take poſt in a wood behind them, from whence perceiving the victors to return careleſly, and without order, they ſuddenly iſſued, and cut them off to a man. As ſoon as the news of this defeat came to *Craterus*, he immediately marched againſt the *Maſſagetæ*, who, when they heard of his approach, fled towards the deſert; but were hotly purſued by him; and they, and others of the ſame nation, to the d number of about a thouſand horſe, were overtaken juſt at the edge thereof, and a ſharp conflict happening thereupon, the *Macedonians* were victors. Of the barbarians about one hundred and fifty were ſlain; the reſt eſcaped into the deſert, *Craterus* and his ſoldiers not being able to purſue them farther. In the mean while *Artabazus* begging to be diſcharged from his government of *Bactria*, by reaſon of his advanced age, his petition was granted; and *Alexander* ſubſtituted *Amyntas* the ſon of *Nicolaus* to ſucceed him, and having left *Cœnus* there, with his own and *Meleager*'s troops, beſides four hundred of the auxiliary horſe, all the pikemen on horſeback, and the *Bactrians* and *Sogdians* under *Amyntas*, the chief command over all thoſe was given to *Cœnus*, who ordered them to winter in *Sogdia*, partly for gari- e ſons to defend the country, and partly to encounter *Spitamenes*, if he ſhould attempt to make any inroad there during the winter. But *Spitamenes* underſtanding, that all places were filled with *Macedonian* gariſons, and that it would be a difficult matter for him to make a retreat, if he had occaſion, reſolved at once to turn his whole

[f] ARRIAN. l. iv. CURT. l. viii.

(Z) Whoever peruſes the critical notes in the beſt editions of *Arrian* and *Plutarch*, will perceive, that ſome miſtakes are imputed to the former, and many to the latter, in the accounts they give us of theſe marches, and other tranſactions of *Alexander*; yet whoever reads *Strabo*'s geography, wherein theſe matters are treated more largely, tho', generally ſpeaking, with conformity enough to the deſcriptions of the writers above-mentioned, and compares them with authentic relations of the ſtate of the *Usbeck Tartars*, and of the north-eaſt provinces of the preſent *Perſian* empire, will find, that theſe cenſures are, for the moſt part, very indifferently founded; and that theſe ancient writers are very far from being in the wrong. This deſerves particular regard in reſpect of the tranſactions we are now coming to; for it is certain, that the countries are well deſcribed, and that what is ſaid of fortifying rocks, and making granaries under ground, are not either dreams or fictions. On the contrary, if an *European* army were again to make war in theſe countries, the hiſtory of their actions would not only tranſcend any thing recorded by *Arrian*, but, in all probability, appear more romantic to us than any of the ſtories of *Curtius* himſelf, who, on a careful and impartial peruſal, will appear not to have erred ſo much in facts, as in his manner of relating them, attending more to the method and elegance, than to the certainty and accuracy of his hiſtory.

power

a power againſt *Cœnus* and his forces, imagining he would penetrate the moſt eaſily into the country that way; and when he approached *Gabæ*, a fortified place belonging to the *Sogdians*, ſeated on the borders between them and the *Maſſagetæ-Scythians*, he drew in four thouſand *Scythian* horſe to join his forces, that they might make an irruption into *Sogdia*. Theſe *Scythians* being extreme poor, as having neither cities, nor fixed and certain habitations, nor poſſeſſing any thing which they were afraid to loſe, were eaſily induced to join their forces with any nation. *Cœnus* having intelligence of *Spitamenes*'s approach, marched forth with his army to meet him; and a ſharp battle thereupon enſued, in which the victory fell to the *Macedonians*. The barbarians loſt above eight hundred horſe, and *Cœnus* about twenty-five horſe and twelve foot in this conflict. The *Sogdians* who ſurvived this day's
b action, as alſo many of the *Bactrians*, leaving *Spitamenes* in his flight, came to *Cœnus*, and having ſurrendered themſelves into his power, ſwore fidelity to him. But the *Maſſagetæ* and other *Scythians*, after the loſs of the battle, having ſeized upon the baggage of the *Bactrians* and *Sogdians*, their allies, accompanied *Spitamenes* in his flight into the deſert; but when they came to underſtand, that *Alexander* was preparing to ſcour theſe places, they ſlew *Spitamenes*, and having cut off his head, ſent it as a preſent to *Alexander*, hoping, by this action, to make him ceaſe his purſuit after them. This is *Arrian*'s account; as for that of *Curtius*, it is ſo little conſiſtent therewith, that we are under a neceſſity of giving it by itſelf, and leaving it
c to the reader, whether he will credit the foregoing very probable, or that very ſurpriſing ſtory [g] (A).

AT the opening of the ſpring, the king marched into *Sogdia*, in order to beſiege a fortreſs built on a rock, to which *Oxyartes* the *Bactrian* had conveyed his wife and family, as to a place impregnable. It was indeed the laſt reſource of the rebels, and *Alexander* rightly judged, that unleſs he could reduce it by force, it would afford them a conſtant retreat, and ſo ſpin out the war to an exceſſive length. When he

The Sogdian *rock beſieged, and taken.*

[g] ARRIAN. lib. iv. c. 18.

(A) *Spitamenes* had a wife on whom he doated, and as the dangers and fatigues ſhe was expoſed to in accompanying him where-ever his misfortunes drove him, were become troubleſome to her, ſhe employed all her charms to prevail with him to deſiſt from flying any farther; and as he had already experienced *Alexander*'s clemency, to try to appeaſe the anger of an enemy he could hope no otherwiſe to eſcape. She had three ſons by him, who were pretty well grown up. Theſe ſhe brought to his embraces, and begged he would at leaſt take pity of them; and, to enforce her prayers, ſhe told him *Alexander* was not far off. But he thinking he was betrayed, and not adviſed, and that it was the confidence ſhe had in her beauty, which made her not care how ſoon ſhe came in *Alexander*'s power, drew his ſword, and would have killed her, if her brothers had not happily interpoſed. However, he commanded her to be gone out of his ſight, threatning her with death if ſhe offered to come into his preſence; and that he might not be ſenſible of her abſence, he paſſed the night with his concubines; yet as his paſſion for her was great, it was the more inflamed by the diſtaſte he took to their company. He therefore gave himſelf intirely again to her, conjuring her never to ſpeak to him more on that account, but willingly undergo with him whatever fortune did allot them; ſince, for his own part, he had rather die than ſurrender himſelf. Hereupon ſhe excuſed herſelf, telling him, that ſhe had adviſed him only to what ſhe thought was moſt for his intereſt, and, admitting ſhe had talked like a woman, yet it was with a faithful intention; however, for the future, ſhe would conform to his pleaſure. *Spitamenes*, won by this counterfeit complaiſance, gave a great entertainment on account of their reconciliation, where having loaded himſelf with wine and good chear, he was brought half aſleep into his apartment. As ſoon as his wife perceived he was in a ſound ſleep, ſhe drew a ſword ſhe had under her garment for the purpoſe, and cut off his head, and all beſmeared with the blood, gave it to a ſervant who was privy to her crime; and, being attended by him, came in this bloody condition to the *Macedonian* camp, where ſhe ſent word to *Alexander, ſhe had ſomething of importance to communicate to him, and which he muſt hear from her own mouth.* The king immediately ordered her to be introduced, and obſerving her to be ſtained with blood, imagined ſhe came to complain of ſome affront offered her; he therefore asked her what ſhe had to ſay? Hereupon ſhe called for the ſervant that waited in the entry, who having *Spitamenes*'s head under his garment, gave the guards a ſuſpicion, and, upon their ſearching him, he pulled out the head, and ſhewed it; but the bloodleſs paleneſs had ſo diſfigured its features, that it was a hard matter to diſtinguiſh whoſe it was. *Alexander* being informed that it was a man's head that he brought, went out of his tent, and inquired into the matter; which he accordingly told him. The king's mind was now perplexed with variety of thoughts; for, on the one hand, he looked upon it as a conſiderable piece of ſervice, that he who was firſt a refugee, and had afterwards proved a traitor, and was like to have delayed the execution of his great deſigns, was killed; but then again he deteſted the barbarous action of her having thus treacherouſly murdered her husband, who had deſerved well of her, and by whom ſhe had ſeveral children. At laſt the foulneſs of the fact got the better of the ſervice it did him, ſo that he ſent her word to be gone from the camp, leſt the *Greeks* more humane minds and gentler manners ſhould be corrupted by the example of ſo barbarous an action (70).

(70) *Curt. l.* viii. *c.* 12.

arrived

arrived at the place, he found it ſtrong beyond his apprehenſion; for the rock was a
not only rugged and ſteep, but ſo ſlippery alſo, that it was almoſt impoſſible to
aſcend it; beſides, it was covered with ſnow, which melted, afforded the beſieged
plenty of water, their granaries being filled with corn; ſo that there was as little
probability of ſtarving them by a blockade, as reducing them by a ſiege; yet
Alexander reſolved to attempt it by the method laſt-mentioned. To this he was the
more ſtrongly urged by the anſwer ſent him, when he ſummoned the place; for the
commandant then told him, That when he had a corps of ſoldiers with wings, he
might expect to take the place. In order to puſh matters as far as they would go
without loſs of time, of which the *Macedonians* were always frugal, he cauſed a pro-
clamation to be made, offering the ſoldier who ſhould firſt gain the rock twelve ta- b
lents, and prizes of an inferior, but ſtill great value, to thoſe who ſhould mount
after him: the laſt being to have three hundred darics, which amounted to about
three hundred pounds. On the publication of this reward, no leſs than three hun-
dred of the *Macedonians* offered themſelves for this ſervice. Theſe men taking with
them their tent pins and ſtrong ropes, went to make their attempt on that ſide of
the rock which was leaſt acceſſible, on a ſuppoſition, that there they ſhould find the
leaſt oppoſition. In this conjecture tho' they were not deceived, yet in the very
getting up they loſt thirty of their number, whoſe bodies were never found, being,
by the height of their fall, deeply interred in the ſnow; for the manner in which
they aſcended the rock was thus: They ſtruck their iron-pins into ſuch places as c
would afford them faſtening, and having fixed ropes to theſe pins, they aſcended
by thoſe ropes; whenever therefore either the pins or the ropes gave way, the
Macedonians fell, and, as we obſerved before, were loſt in the ſnow. Thoſe who
got up ſafely making the appointed ſignal from the top of the rock, *Alexander* ſum-
moned the place a ſecond time, giving the beſieged to underſtand, that he had now
a corps of winged ſoldiers. The *Macedonians* above, in compliance with the ſignal
from below, making a loud ſhout, and clattering their weapons, the gariſon were
ſo much affrighted, that without making any inquiry as to the number of thoſe who
were got up, they ſurrendered the place at diſcretion. *Oxyartes* was abſent when
this fortreſs fell thus into the hands of the king, who entertained his wife and family d
with that civility and honour for which he was ſo juſtly famous. The daughter of
Oxyartes, whoſe name was *Roxana*, was eſteemed the moſt beautiful woman in
Aſia, after the death of the wife of *Darius*; and ſhe had the good fortune to ſubdue
the heart of *Alexander*, who hitherto had not given any ſigns of an amorous diſpo-
ſition. Some writers ſay, that he ſaw this lady at a feaſt, and that he was ſo taken
with her beauty, that he immediately ordered bread to be divided between them,
according to the *Macedonian* method of eſpouſing; but *Arrian* ſays nothing of this.
He only tells us, that *Alexander*, falling violently in love with his captive, was yet
a man of ſo much honour and temperance, that he would not make uſe of the pri-
vilege of war, but openly and generouſly eſpouſed the lady; of which *Oxyartes* e
having advice, he inſtantly came and rendered himſelf, and was received with all
the teſtimonies of kindneſs and reſpect [h].

As alſo another fortreſs held impregnable.

After the reduction of *Sogdia*, *Alexander* determined to march into the country
of the *Paratacæ*, where there was another fortreſs on a rock held to be abſolutely
irreducible. This was called the rock of *Chorienes*, becauſe one of the principal noble-
men of the country of that name had retired thither for ſhelter, and had with him a
very numerous gariſon, well ſtored with all ſorts of proviſions. The ſloping height
of this rock was near five miles, its circuit near fifteen; but it was every-where ſo
ſteep and craggy, that, except by a narrow way wrought by art, it was abſolutely
inacceſſible. The whole was ſurrounded by a deep and broad ditch. Theſe diffi- f
culties ſerved only more ſtrongly to determine *Alexander* to overcome them; he
therefore provided inſtantly for the ſiege, by cutting down a vaſt number of trees,
of which ladders were made for deſcending the ditch, it being dry. One half of his
army was employed all day in this labour; the other half, by three diviſions,
wrought all night in the ditch itſelf, where they began to drive huge piles, and to
cover them with hurdles, and other proper materials for eſtabliſhing a ſolid bridge,
over which the army might march to the aſſault. At firſt thoſe in the fort derided
their attempt; but when they ſaw them proceed briskly in it, and found, that

[h] Arrian. l. iv. c. 20,—24. Curt. l. viii. Plut. in vit. Alex.

them-

a themſelves, with all their advantage of ſituation, were not able to injure them with their miſſive weapons, by reaſon of their contrivances to cover themſelves in the ditch, they began to be diſmayed; ſo that at length *Chorienes* ſent to deſire that *Oxyartes* would come and confer with him; which was accordingly granted. *Oxyartes* having aſſured him, that nothing was inacceſſible to the ſpirit and induſtry of the *Macedonians*; and that, on the other hand, there could not be a more generous or merciful enemy than *Alexander*, he ſo wrought on *Chorienes*, that, with ſome of the principal perſons who were with him, he deſcended the rock, and went to wait on *Alexander* in his camp. The king received him ſo obligingly, that he preſently ſent back ſome who accompanied him, to direct the gariſon to yield up the place; b which was performed without delay. *Alexander* then aſcended with five hundred armed foot, to take a view of the place, which afforded him great ſatisfaction, on account as well of its capaciouſneſs and conveniency, as of its extraordinary ſtrength. However, in reſpect of *Chorienes*, he left no gariſon there; but having inrolled him in the number of his friends, committed it again to his charge. This nobleman, to give ſome teſtimony of the ſenſe he had of ſuch honourable treatment, finding *Alexander*'s army was much diſtreſſed for proviſions, diſtributed corn, wine and ſalt-meat for two months to all his ſoldiers, and at the ſame time declared, that he had not exhauſted the tenth part of his own ſtores. This made the favour appear ſtill greater in the king's eyes, ſince it demonſtrated the ſurrender of *Chorienes* to have c proceeded ſolely from the ſenſe of *Alexander*'s generoſity, and not of any neceſſity he was under [1] (B).

Catenes and *Auſtanes* were now the only rebels remaining in this country. Againſt theſe *Craterus* was diſpatched, with a conſiderable body of horſe and foot; and a battle enſuing, the barbarians were intirely routed, *Catenes* ſlain, and *Auſtanes* taken alive, and put in chains. All things being now in a ſtate of quiet, *Alexander* advanced over mount *Caucaſus*, as his ſoldiers called it, and in ten days time reached the city of *Alexandria*, which he had founded. There he diſplaced the governor, becauſe he had been wanting in his duty; and leaving here ſuch of his *Macedonian* foot as were unfit for further ſervice, he, after pompous ſacrifices to *Minerva*, ad- d vanced to the river *Cophenes*. Thence he diſpatched a herald to *Taxiles*, and the other princes on this ſide the river *Indus*, directing them to come forth and meet him as he advanced towards their territories; which they accordingly performed, bringing with them the moſt valuable preſents which their dominions would afford; *Taxiles*, in the name of the reſt, making him a promiſe, that they would preſent him

The war tranſferred towards the Indus.

[1] Arrian. l. iv. c. 24, 25.

(B) The accounts given us by *Curtius* of the *Sogdian* rocks, are really irreconcilable to probability, or to themſelves. The commander of the firſt rock he calls *Arimazes*. He deſcribes the rock itſelf as if it were hollow within; and as he is fond of any opportunity of digreſſing, deſcribing, and exerciſeing his talent in rhetoric, ſo on this occaſion he introduces *Alexander* making a ſpeech to thoſe who were to mount the rock, obliges us with their anſwer, and afterwards enters into a long and pompous detail of the difficulties ſurmounted by them in ſcaling of this rock. Laſt of all he tells us, that when *Arimazes* came down and ſubmitted himſelf to the king, with thirty of the principal perſons who had taken ſhelter with him, he ordered them to be firſt whipped, and then crucified, notwithſtanding that he was in great doubt of their throwing his handful of men down who had ſcaled the top of the rock; a proceeding directly oppoſite to common ſenſe and reaſon (71). In the province of *Nauza* he tells us, that *Alexander* beſieged another prodigious rock, of which *Sifimithres* was governor. This man, he ſays, had two ſons by his own mother; which, he informs us, was a thing cuſtomary in that country; and that this wife and mother of his withheld him, by her arguments, from rendering the place, when his friend *Oxyartes* had taken pains to come and treat with him. At laſt however *Siſimithres* yielded himſelf, his family, the people under his command, and the rock, to *Alexander*, who treated him with great humanity (72). A little after *Curtius* tells us of the king's entering into a province governed by one *Cohortanus*, who treated the king with great magnificence; and that his daughter *Roxana* coming in at this feaſt, the king fell paſſionately in love with her, and being immediately betrothed to her, afterwards married her (73). Here are a multitude of miſtakes, if we credit the beſt *Greek* authors; for *Roxana* was not the daughter of *Cohortanus*, but of *Oxyartes*; nay, this *Cohortanus* is met with no-where elſe. In all probability he was the ſame with the *Chorienes* of *Arrian*. As for *Siſimithres*, he is mentioned by *Plutarch*, who tells us, that *Alexander* asked *Oxyartes*, if this man was a man of courage? To which he anſwered, No. Then, ſaid the king, the rock is our own, if it were indeed impregnable in its nature (74). Theſe paſſages are evidently diſcordant, and therefore we have not inſerted them in the text, that they might not perplex or impede the reader in his proſpect of *Alexander*'s conqueſts.

(71) *Curt. l.* vii. *c.* 39. (72) *Idem ibid. l.* viii. *c.* 9, 10. (73) *Idem ibid. l.* viii. *c.* 16. (74) *Plut. in vit. Alex.*

with twenty-five elephants [k]. *Curtius* tells us, that this *Indian* king, or his ſon, whom a
he calls *Omphis*, preſented *Alexander* with twenty-ſix elephants, and three thouſand
bulls, a crown of gold, and a conſiderable ſum of coined ſilver; which preſents, as
they beſpoke the reſpect and kindneſs of the giver, had ſuch an effect on the mind
of the conqueror, that he not only reſtored the king his own preſents, but added a
thouſand talents to him [l]. *Plutarch* has the ſame ſtory with reſpect to theſe thou-
ſand talents; but, in all probability, they were extracted from ſome of the memoirs
of *Alexander*, written rather to ſurpriſe and amaze mankind with fictitious adven-
tures, than really to inform them of what he did [m]. *Hephæſtion*, with part of the
army, was ſent with king *Taxiles*, and the reſt of the *Indian* princes, abſolutely to
reduce the country as far as the river *Indus*; and, on their coming thither, they were b
directed to make the neceſſary preparations for the king's paſſing over with all his
forces. *Hephæſtion* executed this commiſſion with little trouble, only one of the petty
princes in the country preſuming to make any reſiſtance; and he being ſlain, and
the city, where he had fortified himſelf, taken by ſtorm, it ſtruck ſuch a terror as
kept all the adjacent country in great quiet. *Alexander*, in the mean time, bent
his march with the reſt of his forces, towards the river *Choe*, by ſome called *Choaſpes*,
on the banks of which he found a rough and barbarous people, whoſe cities he pre-
pared to reduce. The firſt he attacked was ſurrounded by a double wall; and yet
the people therein were ſo hardy, that they iſſued out into the field, and offered him
battle. *Alexander*, with his horſe and light-armed troops, immediately engaged them, c
and after a ſhort and ſmart conflict, compelled them to take ſhelter in the place; he
was however ſlightly wounded in the ſhoulder. *Ptolemy* ſon of *Lagus*, and *Leonatus*,
two of his principal captains, ſhared the ſame fate. He then cauſed the place to be
inveſted, and the next day attacked the firſt wall where he thought it weakeſt.
The inhabitants made a vigorous defence; but finding it abſolutely ineffectual,
they at laſt retired within the inner wall, and while the *Macedonians* were preparing
to attack that alſo, they opened their gates on the other ſide towards the moun-
tain, whereby many of them made their eſcape, tho' numbers were ſlain by *Ale-
xander*'s ſoldiers, who were ſo enraged at his being wounded, that they gave no
quarter. The king then ordered the city to be razed, and afterwards proceeded to d
Andaca, a moſt conſiderable city in thoſe parts. This was rendered to him upon
terms, and he left *Craterus* there with the heavy-armed forces, to reduce all the reſt
of the country, and to ſettle it. Himſelf, with the horſe and light-armed troops,
continued their march to the river *Euaſpla*, where the chief ſtrength of the *Aſpii*, the
principal nation in thoſe parts, was aſſembled. After two days hard march they
drew near the city, which the enemy immediately fired, and withdrew towards the
mountains, whither however the *Macedonians* purſued them, and cut off great
numbers in their rear. Here it was that *Ptolemy* the ſon of *Lagus* gave a ſhining
proof of his bravery; for he attacked the general of the *Aſpii*, who was poſted on a
little hill, and in a ſingle combat ſlew him. The barbarians, on the other hand,
fought deſperately to preſerve his body, till that *Alexander*, at the head of ſome e
diſmounted horſe, aſcended the hill, and charging them in flank, obliged them to
retire without carrying off their dead general. He paſſed next over one of theſe
mountains, and advanced to the city *Ariganus*, which he found burnt and deſerted;
but *Craterus* having now rejoined the army, he left him there with orders to repair
it, and people it with ſuch of the inhabitants of the country as were willing to dwell
therein, and ſuch invalids as were glad to have a place to dwell in. The king ſtill
advanced, till encamping at the foot of a mountain, *Ptolemy* the ſon of *Lagus* in-
formed him, that he diſcerned a great camp of the barbarians, and a multitude of
fires therein. *Alexander* thereupon divided his army into three bodies; the firſt f
under the command of *Leonatus*; the ſecond under *Ptolemy*; and the third com-
manded by himſelf. All three advanced towards the enemy; which when the bar-
barians perceived, truſting to their numbers, they ruſhed into the plain; but their
violence putting them into confuſion, tho' they behaved bravely, and fought ſtoutly,
yet the *Macedonians* had the victory in the centre, where *Alexander* commanded,
after putting vaſt numbers to the ſword. *Ptolemy* was conſtrained to attack a con-
ſiderable body of the enemy poſted upon a hill. He, marching up that ſide of it
which was moſt acceſſible, without attempting to ſurround it at bottom, conſtrained

[k] Idem ibid. [l] CURT. l. viii. c. 39. [m] PLUT. in vit. Alex.

the

a the enemy to fly, and, by leaving them an open paſſage, tempted them to fly the ſooner. *Leonatus* on his ſide alſo prevailed; but the victory was bloody every-where. According to *Ptolemy's* memoirs, the enemy loſt forty thouſand men, and two hundred and thirty thouſand head of cattle; which *Alexander* perceiving to excel thoſe of *Greece*, both in ſize and beauty, he cauſed the largeſt and faireſt to be choſen out, and ſent them into *Macedon*, where they might ſerve to mend the breed, and to perpetuate the memory of his conqueſts. After this battle he continued ſome time encamped, that *Craterus* might have time to join him; which when he had done with the heavy-armed foot, *Alexander* began immediately to project a new expedition for reducing the *Aſſaceni*, who were ſaid to have twenty thouſand horſe, thirty thouſand foot, and thirty elephants, ready to take the field [n].

b In order to reach theſe *Aſſaceni*, *Alexander* was forced to paſs through the territories of the *Guræi*, which he did with his horſe and light armed troops, and croſſed a very rapid river in that country, not without much difficulty, on account of the ſwift current of the water, and of round ſlippery ſtones at the bottom, whereon neither man nor horſe could tread with ſafety. The *Aſſaceni*, when they were well aſſured of this, retired into the city, and abandoned all thoughts of defence of the plain and open country. This capital of theirs is by *Curtius* called *Mazaga*, by *Strabo Magoſa*, by *Diodorus Maſſaca*, by *Arrian Maſſaga*. It was certainly a well-fortified city, from the pains that it coſt *Alexander* to reduce it; and if *Curtius* took the deſcription he gives us from any author who had really ſeen it, we might reaſon-

c ably eſteem the ſiege thereof one of the boldeſt enterprizes that *Alexander* ever undertook. The government of this country, at the time *Alexander* invaded it, was in the hands of a woman, as *Plutarch*, *Curtius* and *Juſtin* agree; the latter calls her *Cleophes*. She was according to them the wife of *Aſſacenus*, but *Arrian* ſays nothing of her, though he ſeems to acknowledge that the fact was ſo [o]. This lady had very providently entertained a body of ſeven thouſand mercenary *Indians*, who from the upper *India*, came to put themſelves into the place, and, as *Plutarch* tells us, they alſo hired themſelves out for the defence of other cities. Theſe *Indians* perceiving that the army of *Alexander* was far from being numerous, perſuaded the gariſon to iſſue out, and try their fate in the field, that ſo, if it were poſſible, a ſiege might be

d avoided. This was accordingly done, and *Alexander* rightly conceiving, that if the battle was fought immediately under the walls of the city, the enemy would reap great advantages therefrom, drew up his phalanx a mile behind his horſe and archers, cauſing theſe to advance before the enemy, and then, as if amazed or diſmayed, to retire towards thoſe. His ſtratagem had its deſired effect, the *Indians* conceiving highly of their own valour, followed the *Macedonians*, as if they had already defeated them; but when they drew near the hill where *Alexander* had poſted his phalanx, the horſe and archers attacked them in both wings, and the king with his foot charged in the centre. Thus the *Indians* were broke at the firſt ſhock, and expoſed to great ſlaughter in their retreat to the city, though they behaved with great bravery, and taught

e *Alexander* to conceive better of them, than of any of the nations he had yet met with. Immediately after this victory, *Alexander* cauſed the city to be inveſted, and going to take a view of the works which he had ordered to be erected before it, he had the misfortune to be wounded in the leg. *Curtius* inlarges mightily upon this accident; he informs us, that the king, notwithſtanding this wound, continued his obſervations on horſeback without ſuffering it to be bound up; that afterwards, feeling himſelf exceedingly pained, he was forced to have it dreſſed, but continued however giving the neceſſary directions, till all things were done that he deſired; being however ſo ſenſible of pain, that he could not help ſaying, *Though I am called the ſon of* Jupiter, *I feel like other men the ſmart of wounds, and the pain of diſeaſes* [p].

f *Arrian* tells us, that he was wounded indeed, but that the very next day he ordered his engines to be brought to batter the place. A bridge being made, the king gave directions that it ſhould be immediately aſſaulted, which was accordingly performed with that vigour and vivacity ſhewn by the *Macedonians* upon all occaſions. The *Indians* however repulſed him with conſiderable loſs. The next day the city was ſtormed again with the like ill ſucceſs. On the third day *Alexander* cauſed a large wooden tower to be drawn before the breach, and a draw-bridge to be let fall from thence, that his men might paſs over the more eaſily. This was a good contrivance,

The city of Mazaga *with much difficulty taken.*

[n] Arrian. ubi ſupra. [o] Arrian. lib. iv. c. 26. Curt. lib. viii. c. 34. Justin. lib xii. c. 7. Plut. in vit. Alex. [p] Justin. lib. xii. c. 7. Curt. lib. viii. c. 35.

and anſwered the end; but the ſoldiers ruſhing forwards in too great numbers, the a
bridge broke, and they fell all into the ditch, where the defendants from the wall
plied them with ſtones, arrows and darts, ſo that *Alexander* was forced to ſend *Atte-*
tas with a freſh body of troops to bring them off. The fourth day a new bridge
was made, and the ſoldiers again attempted the place, but to no purpoſe. The mer-
cenary *Indians*, as long as their general ſurvived, behaved themſelves ſo gallantly,
that *Alexander* was not likely at all to gain the city; but he being killed by a dart
from one of the engines, and many of the ſoldiers diſabled by their wounds, the reſt
were deſirous of treating with *Alexander*, which they did by a herald; and for the ſake
of avoiding unneceſſary effuſion of blood, the king granted them theſe terms, as
Arrian affirms, that they ſhould ſafely march out of the city, and ſerve under him b
upon the ſame terms they did there. On theſe conditions they accordingly marched
out, and, armed as they were, encamped on a hill at ſome diſtance from *Alexander*'s
camp. In the evening *Alexander* received advice, that theſe *Indians* were determined
to march off in the night, that they might not be obliged to ſerve amongſt the *Ma-*
cedonians againſt their brethren. Upon this he ſurrounded their camp with his own
ſoldiers, and cut them all to pieces [q]. *Diodorus Siculus* gives us a very diſtinct ac-
count of this buſineſs, and treats it as the blackeſt act of perfidy that ever was com-
mitted; he does not indeed ſay, that the *Indians* were to be taken into the ſervice of
Alexander, but that they had leave to march out of the place, and that when they were
marched out, the king followed them, and fell upon them. This engaging them c
to cry aloud, that he had violated his oath, and to call upon the gods to revenge
it; he equivocally anſwered, that he had given his oath that they ſhould come ſafely
out of the city, but not that they ſhould remain friends to the *Macedonians*; in con-
ſequence of which impious diſtinction, he killed them and their wives too who, bravely
fought to defend their husbands [r]. *Plutarch* allows, that this barbarous action left
an indelible ſtain upon his memory [s]. The city of *Maſſaga* was ſoon after taken, and
therein, according to *Arrian*, the mother and daughter of *Aſſacenus*; according to
all other authors, his widow. *Curtius* ſays, that ſhe went out at the head of a pro-
ceſſion of noble ladies, carrying golden goblets of wine in their hands; and that ſhe
procured to herſelf, not only pardon, but the continuance of her dignity, rather from d
her excellent beauty, than from her eloquence, or from any inclination of pity in the
king. He adds, that ſhe had ſome time after a ſon, who, whatever father he had,
was called *Alexander* [t]. *Juſtin* is ſtill more plain, he ſays, that ſhe procured this in-
dulgence by proſtituting herſelf to *Alexander*, and that the *Indians* ever after were
pleaſed to ſtyle her the *royal whore* [u]; *ſo far, it ſeems*, Alexander *travelled to find a*
more ſteady and ſettled virtue, than was known in the ſchools of Greece.

Ora taken, and Bazira.

THE next undertaking of *Alexander* was the ſiege of *Ora*, in order to which he
detached *Attalus*, *Alcetas*, and *Demetrius*, to inveſt it, while in the mean time *Cæ-*
nus marched to beſiege *Bazira*, another ſtrong city. Neither of theſe places ſurren-
dered on the arrival of the king's forces, as it had been ſuppoſed they would; but e
on the contrary, made all the neceſſary preparations for a vigorous defence; ſo that
Cænus was forced to turn his ſiege into a blockade, and the king himſelf was conſtrained
to go in perſon to the ſiege of *Ora*. This city was ſurrounded with a ſtrong wall, and
had in it a conſiderable gariſon of mercenary *Indians*; yet *Alexander* quickly reduced
it, ſeizing all the elephants therein for the uſe of his army. The inhabitants of *Ba-*
zira, when they were informed of this, took the advantage of a dark night to paſs by
the troops left by *Cænus* to block up the city, and eſcaped to the mountains behind
them. From theſe hills the inhabitants of *Bazira* aſſociating themſelves with ſuch
as were willing to defend their liberty to the laſt, withdrew to a certain rock,
which, if not impregnable by its ſituation, they thought might be rendered ſo by f
their own skill and courage [w].

The ſiege of Aornus reſolved on.

THE rock of the *Aornus* was in circuit two hundred furlongs, or not much leſs than
twenty-five of our miles. Its height even in its loweſt parts eleven furlongs, the
way leading to it artificial, and very narrow: On the top of it there was a fine
plain, part of which was covered with a thick wood; the reſt arable land with a
fountain, furniſhing abundance of excellent water. There was a report among the
inhabitants of the adjacent country, that *Hercules* himſelf had beſieged this place in

[q] ARRIAN. lib. iv. c. 27. [r] DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xvii. [s] In vit. Alex. [t] CURT. lib. viii. c. 35.
[u] JUSTIN. ubi ſupra. [w] ARRIAN. lib. iv. c. 27—28. DIODOR. ubi ſupra. CURT. lib. viii. c. 36.
JUSTIN. lib. xii. c. 7.

vain.

4

a vain. *Arrian* delivers it as his opinion, that this report was without foundation; but it is more than probable, that the report itſelf was raiſed after *Alexander* had taken it, in order to magnify his exploit. However it was, after making the neceſſary diſpoſitions for preſerving the country in peace behind him, he marched to *Embolina*, the neareſt city, from whence he afterwards advanced to the rock itſelf. While he was preparing all things for the ſiege, an old man and his two ſons, who had long lived in a cavern near the ſummit of the rock, came to offer their ſervices to *Alexander*, to ſhew him a private way of aſcending it; which propoſition was readily embraced, and *Ptolemy* with a conſiderable body of light-armed troops were ſent with him; with orders, in caſe they ſucceeded, to intrench themſelves ſtrongly upon
b the rock, with the wood which the old man was to direct them to, before they had attempted to attack the *Indians*. *Ptolemy* exactly executed all that had been given him in charge, and when he had ſo done, cauſed a lighted torch to be erected in his camp upon a pole, as a ſignal to *Alexander*, that they were ſafely got up.

The rock of Aornus reduced.

THE king gave immediate orders for a body of troops to attempt the paſſage, whereby the rock was ordinarily aſcended, from which however they were repulſed by the *Indians* with great ſlaughter. Then the king ſent an *Indian*, whom he could truſt, with letters to *Ptolemy*, directing him at ſuch time as he attacked the rock next, to iſſue from his camp, and fall upon the enemy behind. But in the intermediate ſpace, thoſe who defended the rock, attacked *Ptolemy* with great vigour, and were,
c though with much ado, at laſt repulſed. This however did not hinder that general from obeying the orders that were ſent him; for when *Alexander* renewed the attack, the next day he on his ſide came out of his camp with a part of his ſoldiers, and attacked the enemy in the rear: The *Indians* repelled the *Macedonians* on both ſides, and though *Alexander* did himſelf aſcend as far as *Ptolemy*'s poſt with a detachment of choſen men, yet ſtill all they could do was ineffectual, ſo that the king was forced to turn his thoughts another way; he ſaw clearly, that the great advantage of the *Indians* was the ſtreightneſs and declivity of the way by which they were attacked; in order therefore that his forces might fight upon more equal terms, he cauſed a vaſt quantity of trees to be cut down, and with them filled up the cavities between the plain
d where the enemy was encamped, and the higheſt of his advanced poſts. When the *Indians* underſtood his deſign, they deſpiſed it as a thing impracticable; but when they ſaw with what ardor this work was carried on, and felt the effects of it from the miſſive weapons which were now thrown among them by the *Indians*, they began to change their ſentiments, inſomuch that they ſent deputies to propoſe terms of ſurrender, which when *Alexander* had heard, he preſently ſuſpected their true deſign was to amuſe him till they made their eſcape; upon which he withdrew his guards from the avenues, and as ſoon as he knew that the *Indians* were deſcended, he with ſeven hundred light-armed foot from *Ptolemy*'s poſt, took poſſeſſion of the deſerted rock, and then made a ſignal for his forces to fall upon the flying engines. They
e ſetting up a loud ſhout, ſo terrified the fugitives, that numbers of them fell from the rocks and precipices, and were beat to pieces; of the remainder, the greater part were cut off in the roads. Thus, as *Alexander*'s ſoldiers boaſted, that rock was taken, before which *Hercules* himſelf had been foiled. Certain it is, that the king ſacrificed there with great pomp, and left a gariſon under the command of *Siſicottus*, who had formerly ſerved *Beſſus*; but had now for ſome time been in *Alexander*'s army, and behaved with much fidelity [x]. From hence he marched again into the territories of the *Aſſaceni*, where the brother of the deceaſed king had taken up arms; however, when he came, he found cities deſerted, and the country totally abandoned. Finding therefore that little could be done there, he made it his buſineſs to find out and ſeize ſuch
f elephants as the *Indians* had been forced to leave in the plain country; and after a march of ſixteen days, he arrived at the river *Indus*, where *Hephæſtion* and *Perdiccas* had already provided a bridge of boats for the paſſage of the army [y] (C).

[x] ARRIAN. lib. iv. c. 28. DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xvii. CURT. lib viii. c. 36---38. JUSTIN. lib. xii. c. 7.
[y] ARRIAN. lib. iv. cap. ult. DIODOR. ubi ſupra. CURT. ubi ſupra.

(C) *Diodorus Siculus* informs us, that after the taking the rock of *Aornus*, the king was adviſed that one *Aphrices*, an *Indian*, lay not far diſtant with an army of twenty thouſand men, and fifteen elephants, in order to oppoſe his paſſage. But before the king had time to think of reducing him, the *Indians* themſelves, whether out of hatred to their general, or in hopes of *Alexander*'s favour, our author pretends not to determine, put their commander to death, and brought his head and armour

as

Alexander *paſſes the rivers* Indus *and* Hydaſpis. *Year after the flood* 2672. *Year before Chriſt* 327.

Arrian is very nice in his account of *Alexander*'s paſſing this river; but neither the importance of the thing, ſince he paſſed it without oppoſition, or the nature of this work, which would be rendered tedious thereby, allow us to dwell here upon matters which muſt be retouched when we come to the hiſtory of *India*. The king refreſhed his army for thirty days in the countries on the other ſide of the river, which were thoſe of his friend and ally *Taxiles*, who at this time performed all that he had promiſed to the king, giving him thirty elephants, and joining his army now with ſeven hundred *Indian* horſe, to which, when they were to enter upon action, he afterwards added five thouſand foot; the true reaſon of this ſeems to have been his enmity to *Porus*, a famous *Indian* prince, whoſe territories lay on the other ſide of the river *Hydaſpes*. During this receſs, the king ſacrificed with great ſolemnity, receiving alſo embaſſadors from *Ambiſarus*, a very potent prince, and from *Doxareas*, who was alſo a king in thoſe parts, with tenders of their duty, and conſiderable preſents (D). Theſe ceremonies over, *Alexander* appointed *Philip* governor of *Taxila*, and put a *Macedonian* gariſon into the place, becauſe he intended to erect an hoſpital there for the cure of his ſick and wounded ſoldiers. Theſe things once performed, he ordered the veſſels, of which his bridge had been compoſed when he paſſed the *Indus*, to be taken to pieces, that they might be brought to the *Hydaſpes*, where he was informed, that *Porus*, with a great army, lay encamped to hinder his paſſage. When he approached the banks of this river with his army, and the auxiliaries under the command of *Taxiles*, he found that the people he had to do with were not ſo eaſily to be ſubdued as the *Perſians*, and other *Aſiatics*. The *Indians* were not only a very tall and robuſt, but alſo a very hardy and well-diſciplined people; and their king *Porus*, a prince of high ſpirit, invincible courage, and great conduct. It was about the ſummer ſolſtice when *Alexander* reached the *Hydaſpes*, and conſequently its waters were broader, deeper, and more rapid than at any other time; for in *India* the rivers ſwell, as the ſun's increaſing heat melts the ſnow, and ſubſide again as winter approaches; *Alexander* therefore had every difficulty to ſtruggle with. *Porus* had made his diſpoſitions ſo judiciouſly, that *Alexander* found it impoſſible to practice upon him, as he had done upon others, and to paſs the river in his view; wherefore he was conſtrained to divide his army into ſmall parties, and to practice other arts, in order to get the better of ſo vigilant a prince [z]. To this end, he cauſed a great quantity of corn

[z] ARRIAN. lib. v. DIODOR. ubi ſupra. PLUT. in vit. Alex. JUSTIN. lib. xii. c. 8. CURT. lib. viii. c. 42.

as a preſent to the king (74). *Curtius* calls him *Eryces*; but he varies little in the reſt of the ſtory; it ſhould ſeem that he was the general of ſome mercenary *Indians* (75). How *Arrian* came to omit this event, we cannot pretend to ſay, unleſs we ſuppoſe that he doubted the truth of it, becauſe it was omitted in the memoirs of *Ariſtobulus* and *Ptolemy*.

(D) There is not the leaſt notice taken in *Arrian* of the *Taxiles* here ſpoken of, being another *Taxiles* than him mentioned before. *Diodorus Siculus*, and *Curtius*, however, are poſitive that it was the ſon of him heretofore mentioned, and that the name of this man was *Mophis* or *Omphis* (76); and that he refuſed to take upon him the name of *Taxiles*, which was common to all the kings of the country, till *Alexander* commanded him ſo to do, and put the crown upon his head, which he did with great willingneſs, being extremely pleaſed with this extraordinary mark of ſubmiſſion (77). *Strabo* tells us, that the city of *Taxila*, which was the capital of this kingdom, was ſeated between the rivers *Indus* and *Hydaſpes*; that it was extremely well built, governed by good laws, the country round about being extremely fruitful, and well planted; the ſame author tells us, that this kingdom was as large as *Egypt* (78), which is alſo confirmed by *Plutarch*; he adds, that at the firſt interview between *Alexander* and *Taxiles*, the latter, who was reputed a very wiſe man, addreſſed him thus: *To what purpoſe ſhould we deſtroy the ſubjects of each other, if it be not your deſign to deprive us of our fruits, and our water, which, as they are the only things neceſſary to preſerve the lives of men, are only worth fighting about? As to what the world calls riches, if I am better provided than thee, thou ſhalt ſhare with me with all my heart; but if thou art already richer than I, I am not ſo proud as to refuſe being obliged to you, or ſo baſe as to think of being ungrateful for your favours.* To which *Alexander* replied, *Do not think*, Taxiles, *that by theſe fair ſpeeches you ſhall avoid contending with me; I will no more be overcome in civility than war; and therefore, do what you will, I will oblige you ſtill more.* Which promiſe of his he accordingly made good, not only by beſtowing on the king great preſents, but alſo by making large additions to his dominions (79). After this, *Arrian*, and indeed all other authors agree, that *Alexander* proceeded to reduce *Nyſa*, a famous city ſaid to be built by *Bacchus*, at this time governed by its own laws, and living in a ſtate of freedom: We did not think fit however to enter into a detail of what paſſed between *Alexander* and the deputies from this city in the text, becauſe *Arrian* himſelf, though he has related it at large, ſeems to doubt very much of the fact, or rather to look upon it as a fable (80). To ſay the truth, there are ſo many things of importance belonging to the hiſtory of *Alexander*, that we are willing to paſs by as briefly as we may ſuch romantic ſtories as theſe, that we may not omit things at once more pleaſing and more profitable to the reader.

(74) *Diodor. Sicul. l.* xvii. (75) *Curt. l.* viii. *c.* 39. (76) *Diodor. l.* xvii. (77) *Curt. l.* viii. *c.* 39. (78) *Strab. Geogr. l.* xv. (79) *Plut. in vit. Alex.* (80) *Arrian. l.* v. *Diodor. Curt. Juſtin. Plut. &c.*

and

a and other proviſions to be brought into his camp, giving out, that he intended to remain where he was till the river fell, and by becoming fordable, ſhould give him an opportunity of forcing a paſſage: This did not however hinder *Porus* from keeping up very ſtrict diſcipline in his camp, which when *Alexander* perceived, he frequently made ſuch motions as ſeemed to indicate a change of his reſolution, and that he had ſtill thoughts of paſſing the river. The main thing the *Macedonians* ſtood in fear of was the elephants; for the bank being pretty ſteep on the other ſide, and it being the nature of horſes to ſtart at the firſt appearance of thoſe animals, it was foreſeen that the army would be diſordered, and incapable of ſuſtaining the charge of *Porus*'s troops. But after ſome time, that the kings had amuſed each other, *Alexander*, who hated
b inactivity, determined to paſs at all events; yet before he took that reſolution, he contrived a method of paſſing with the leaſt danger poſſible, which was this: There was at the diſtance of one hundred and fifty ſtadia from his camp, a rocky promontory projecting into the river, thick covered with wood, and over-againſt this promontory there lay a pretty large uninhabited iſland almoſt over-grown with wood. The king therefore conceived within himſelf a project of conveying a body of troops from this promontory into that iſland, and upon this ſcheme he built his hopes of ſurpriſing *Porus*, vigilant as he was. To this end he kept him and his army conſtantly alarmed for many nights together, till he perceived that *Porus* apprehended it was only done to haraſs his troops, and therefore no longer drew out of his camp, but truſted
c to his ordinary guards: Then *Alexander* reſolved to put his deſigns in execution. A conſiderable body of horſe, the *Macedonian* phalanx, with ſome corps of light-armed foot, he left in his camp under the command of *Craterus*; as alſo the auxiliary *Indians*, giving theſe orders to be obſerved in his abſence: That if *Porus* marched againſt him with part of his army, and left another part with the elephants behind in his camp, *Craterus* and his forces ſhould remain where they were. But if it ſo happened, that *Porus* withdrew his elephants, then *Craterus* was to paſs the river, becauſe his cavalry might then do it ſafely. *Alexander* having marched half the way, or about nine of our miles, ordered the mercenary troops under the command of *Attalus*, and other generals, to remain there; and directed them, that as ſoon as
d they knew he was engaged with the *Indians* on the other ſide, they ſhould paſs in veſſels provided for that purpoſe in order to aſſiſt him. Then taking a round-about road, that the enemy might not perceive his deſign of reaching the rock, he marched as diligently as he could towards that poſt. It happened very fortunately for him, that a great ſtorm of thunder, lightning, and hail, roſe in the night, whereby his march was perfectly concealed, his veſſels of thirty oars put together, and his tents ſtuffed and ſtitched, ſo that they paſſed from the rock into the iſland without being perceived a little before break of day; the ſtorm ceaſing juſt as he and his ſoldiers were ready for their paſſage. When they had traverſed the iſland, they boldly ſet forward to gain the oppoſite ſhore in ſight of *Porus*'s out-guards, who inſtantly poſted
e away to give their maſter an account of this attempt. *Alexander* landed firſt himſelf, and was followed as expeditiouſly as poſſible by his forces, whom he took care to draw up as faſt as they arrived. When they began their march again, they found that their good fortune was not ſo great as at firſt they eſteemed it; for it appeared now, that they had not reached the continent at all, but were in truth in another iſland much larger than the former. They croſſed it as faſt as they could, and found that it was divided from the *terra firma* by a narrow channel, which however was ſo ſwelled by the late heavy rain, that the poor ſoldiers were forced to wade up to the breaſt; when they were on the other ſide, the king drew them up again carefully, ordering the foot to march ſlowly, they being in number about ſix thouſand,
f while himſelf with five thouſand horſe advanced before. As ſoon as *Porus* received intelligence that *Alexander* was actually paſſing the river, he ſent his ſon with two thouſand horſe, and one hundred and twenty armed chariots, to oppoſe him. But they came too late, *Alexander* was already got on ſhore, and even on his march. When the *Macedonian* ſcouts perceived them advancing, they informed the king, who ſent a detachment to attack them, remaining ſtill at the head of his cavalry in expectation of *Porus*. But when he found that this party was unſupported, he inſtantly attacked them with all his horſe, and defeated them with the ſlaughter of many, and the loſs of all their armed chariots, the ſon of *Porus* being ſlain in the fight. The remainder of the horſe returning to the camp with this diſaſtrous account, *Porus* was in ſome confuſion; however, he took very quickly the beſt and wiſeſt reſolutions his

his circumſtances would allow, which were, to leave a part of his army with ſome of a
his elephants to oppoſe *Craterus*, who was now about to paſs the river alſo, and
with the reſt to march againſt *Alexander* and his forces, who were already paſſed. This
reſolution once taken, he marched immediately out of his camp at the head of four
thouſand horſe, thirty thouſand foot, three hundred chariots, and two hundred ele-
phants. He advanced as expeditiouſly as he could, till he came into a plain, which
was firm and ſandy, where his chariots and elephants might act to advantage; there
he halted, that he might put his army in order, knowing well that he need not go
in queſt of his enemy. *Alexander* ſoon came up with his horſe, but he did not charge
Porus; on the contrary, he made a halt, and put his troops in order, that they might b
be able to defend themſelves in caſe they were attacked. When he had waited ſome
time, his foot arrived, whom he immediately ſurrounded with his horſe, that after
ſo fatiguing a march, they might have time to cool and breathe themſelves before
they were led to engage. *Porus* permitted all this, becauſe it was not his intereſt
to fight, and becauſe he depended chiefly upon his order of battle, the elephants co-
vering his foot, ſo that the *Macedonians* could not charge them. When *Alexander*
had diſpoſed his foot in proper order, he placed his horſe on the wings, and obſerv-
ing that he was much ſuperior in them to the enemy, and that the cavalry of *Porus*
were eaſy to be charged; he reſolved to let the foot have as little ſhare as poſſible
in this battle. To this end, having given the neceſſary directions to *Cœnus*, who com- c
manded them, he went himſelf to the right, and with great fury fell upon the left
wing of *Porus*. The diſpute, though ſhort, was very bloody; the horſe of *Porus*,
though they fought gallantly, were quickly broken; and the foot being by this
means uncovered, the *Macedonians* charged them. But the *Indian* horſe rallying,
came up to their relief, yet were again defeated. By this time the archers had
wounded many of the elephants, and killed moſt of their riders, ſo that they did not
prove leſs troubleſome and dangerous to their own ſide than to the *Macedonians*;
whence a great confuſion enſued, and *Cœnus* taking this opportunity, fell in with the
troops under his command, and intirely defeated the *Indian* army. *Porus* himſelf
behaved with the greateſt intrepidity, and with the moſt excellent conduct: He gave d
his orders, and directed every thing as long as his troops retained their form; and
when they were broken, he retired from party to party as they made ſtands, and
continued fighting till every corps of *Indians* was put to the rout. In the mean time
Craterus had paſſed with the reſt of the *Macedonian* army; and theſe falling upon the
flying *Indians*, encreaſed the ſlaughter of the day exceſſively, inſomuch that twenty
thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe, were killed, all the chariots hacked
to pieces, and the elephants not killed were taken: Two of *Porus*'s ſons fell here,
as alſo moſt of his officers of all ranks. As for himſelf, *Alexander* gave ſtrict di-
rections that no injury might be done to his perſon; he even ſent *Taxiles* to perſuade
him to ſurrender himſelf, and to aſſure him, that he ſhould be treated with all the e
kindneſs and reſpect imaginable; but *Porus* diſdaining this advice from the mouth
of an old enemy, threw a javelin at him, and had killed him, but for the quick turn
of his horſe. *Meroe* the *Indian*, who was alſo in the ſervice of *Alexander*, ſucceeded
better; he had been the old acquaintance of *Porus*, and therefore, when he intreated
that prince to ſpare his perſon, and to ſubmit himſelf to fortune, and a generous
victor, being weary, and almoſt choaked with thirſt, *Porus* ſtopped his elephant,
alighted, and having refreſhed himſelf with a little water, deſired his friend to con-
duct him to *Alexander*. As ſoon as the *Macedonian* knew that *Porus* was coming,
he went with ſome of his friends to meet him. At this interview, *Alexander* was
greatly ſurpriſed; the *Indian* king was ſeven foot high, exactly proportioned, of a f
noble aſpect, and in his air and behaviour preſerved ſuch an unconquered ſpirit,
that *Alexander* was charmed with him, inſomuch that he deſired *Meroe* to ask him,
How he would pleaſe to be treated? Porus anſwered, *As a king*; which when it was
reported to *Alexander*, he ſaid, *That for my own ſake I ſhall do. And therein*, returned
Porus, *is comprehended all that I can ask.* This ſo well ſuited the genius of his con-
queror, that we may ſay, the condition of this *Indian* king ſuffered nothing by the loſs
of the battle. *Alexander* gave him his liberty immediately, reſtored him ſhortly
after to his kingdom, to which he alſo annexed provinces almoſt equal to it in
value. Neither was *Alexander* a loſer by his munificence, for *Porus* remained his true
friend, and conſtant ally [a].

[a] ARRIAN. lib. v. c. 14, 15, 16. PLUT. in vit. Alex. CURT. lib. viii. JUSTIN. lib. xii.

Alexander,

His proceedings in the conqueſt of India.

a *Alexander*, to perpetuate the memory of his victory, ordered two cities to be erected, one on the field of battle, which he named *Nicæa*, which ſeems to have been the ſame which *Plutarch* ſays was built to the memory of his famous dog *Peritas*; the other on this ſide of the river, where his camp had been, which he called *Bucephala*, in honour of his horſe who died here, as *Arrian* ſays, of mere old age, being on the verge of thirty. All the ſoldiers who fell in the battle he buried with great honours, offered ſolemn ſacrifices to the gods, and exhibited pompous ſhews on the banks of the *Hydaſpes*, where he had forced his paſſage. After this ſhort receſs from war he at the head of his horſe, and light-armed troops, entered the territories of the *Glauſæ*, in which there were thirty-ſeven good cities, and a mul-
b titude of populous villages; all which were delivered up to him without fighting; and as ſoon as they were given up to him, he preſented them to *Porus*; and having reconciled him to *Taxiles*, he ſent the latter home to his own dominions. About this time embaſſadors arrived from *Abiſſares*, profeſſing that himſelf and his kingdom were at his devotion; among theſe embaſſadors was his brother who brought a large preſent, and forty elephants. *Alexander* directed *Abiſſares* to repair to him in perſon, and having given orders to *Philip* to march with a body of troops to reduce the *Aſſaceni* who were revolted, himſelf with the reſt of his army marched to the river *Aceſines*, which being fifteen furlongs broad, extremely rapid, having great rocks in the midſt of its channel, he paſſed it with much difficulty, making uſe both of his veſſels and
c his skins. However thoſe on the latter eſcaped beſt, for when they ſtruck againſt the rocks, the very force of the blow threw them off again; whereas the like accident daſhed the veſſels to pieces. On the other ſide of this river lay the territories of another *Porus*, whoſe conduct had been very fluctuating during the courſe of this war; for at ſome times he had thoughts of ſubmitting himſelf to *Alexander*, at others he determined to oppoſe him, at laſt he abandoned his dominions, and led away with him thoſe ſoldiers who ought to have defended them. *Alexander* in purſuit of him paſſed the *Hydraotes*, another *Indian* river, and having now conquered the whole kingdom of this other *Porus*, he gave it to *Porus* his ally [b].

The Indians *confederate againſt him.*

In the midſt of all this ſucceſs, *Alexander* received advice that the *Cathei*, *Oxy-*
d *dracæ*, and the *Malli*, the moſt warlike nations in *India*, were confederated againſt him, and had drawn together a great army. The king immediately marched to give them battle. In a few days he reached the city of *Sangala*, ſeated on the top of a hill, and having a fine lake behind it. Before this city the confederate *Indians* lay encamped, having three circular lines of carriages locked together, and their tents pitched in the centre. It was evident enough to the *Macedonians*, that the forcing of theſe people would be a work of great difficulty; however *Alexander* reſolved immediately to attack them; in purſuance of which reſolution, he encamped as near as poſſible to their firſt intrenchment of carriages, and having taken a view of it, choſe out a place which he thought the moſt proper for an attempt to be made on. The *Indians* made a noble defence, but at laſt the firſt line of their carriages was broken,
e and the *Macedonians* entered. The ſecond was ſtronger by far, yet *Alexander* attacked that too, and after a deſperate reſiſtance, forced it; the *Indians*, without truſting to the third, retired into the city, which *Alexander* would have inveſted; but the foot he had with him not being ſufficient for that purpoſe, he cauſed his works to be carried on both ſides as far as the lake, and on the other ſide of that, ordered ſeveral brigades of horſe to take poſt; he likewiſe commanded the engines to be brought up for battering the walls, and in ſome places employed miners. The ſecond night he received intelligence that the beſieged, knowing the lake to be fordable, intended making their eſcape through it. Upon this he ordered all the carriages
f which had been taken on forcing their camp to be placed up and down the roads in order to hinder their flight, giving directions to *Ptolemy*, who commanded the horſe on the other ſide of the lake, to be extremely vigilant, and to cauſe all his trumpets to ſound, that the forces might repair to that poſt where the *Indians* made their great effort. Theſe precautions had all the effect he could wiſh; for of the few *Indians* who got through the lake, and paſſed the *Macedonian* horſe, the greater part were killed on the roads; but the groſs of their army was conſtrained to retire through the water again into the city. Two days after the place was taken by ſtorm, in which ſeventeen thouſand *Indians* were killed, ſeventy thouſand taken pri-

[b] Arrian. Diodor. Justin. Curt. Plut. in vit. Alex.

ſoners, with three hundred chariots, and five hundred horſe. *Alexander* is ſaid to a
have loſt but a hundred men in the ſiege, but he had twelve hundred wounded, and
amongſt them many perſons of diſtinction. This done, he ſent *Eumenes* his ſecretary
with a party of horſe to acquaint the inhabitants of the cities adjacent of what had
befallen the *Sangalans*, with a promiſe that they ſhould be kindly treated, if they
ſubmitted; but they were ſo much affrighted at what had happened to their neighbours,
that all *Eumenes*'s good words and promiſes were loſt upon them, inſomuch that aban-
doning all their cities, they fled into the mountains, chuſing rather to expoſe them-
ſelves to wild beaſts, than to thoſe invaders, who treated their countrymen ſo cruelly.
When the king was adviſed of this, he ſent detachments of horſe to ſcour the roads,
and theſe finding aged, infirm, and wounded people, to the number of about five b
hundred, put them to the ſword without mercy. Perceiving that it was impoſſible
to retrieve the inhabitants of this country, he razed *Sangala*, and gave the territory to
the few *Indians* who had ſubmitted to him. Theſe points once ſettled, he prepared
to paſs the river *Hyphaſis*, having nothing in view, as *Arrian* tells us, but ſtill to ſeek
out new enemies, when he had ſubdued the old ones c.

His reſolution to paſs the Hyphaſis.

THE chief reaſon which induced the king to think of this expedition, was the in-
formations he had received of the ſtate of the countries beyond this river. He was
told that they were in themſelves rich and fruitful; that their inhabitants were not only
a very martial people, but alſo very civilized; that they were governed by the no-
bility, who were themſelves ſubject to the laws; and that as they lived in happineſs and c
freedom, it was likely they would fight obſtinately in defence of thoſe bleſſings. He
was farther told, that among theſe nations there were the largeſt, ſtrongeſt, and moſt
uſeful elephants bred and broke; he was fired with an earneſt deſire of reducing ſuch
bold and brave people under his rule, and of attaining to the poſſeſſion of the many
valuable things that were ſaid to be amongſt them. As exorbitant as his perſonal
ambition was, he found it impracticable to infuſe any part of it into the minds of his
ſoldiers, who were ſo far from wiſhing to triumph over new and remote countries,
that they were highly deſirous of leaving thoſe they had lately conquered, and re-
turning to their own. When therefore they were informed of the king's intentions,
they privately conſulted together in the camp on the ſituation of their affairs; at d
this conſultation, the graveſt and beſt of the ſoldiery held down their heads, wept
and lamented their misfortune, that the king ſhould make uſe of them, not as lions,
who fall fiercely on thoſe by whom they are injured, but as maſtives, to fly upon
and tear ſuch as were ſhewn them for enemies by their maſter; the reſt were not
altogether ſo modeſt, they expreſſed themſelves roundly againſt the king's humour
of leading them from battle to battle, from ſiege to ſiege, and from river to river;
proteſting that they would follow him no farther, nor laviſh away their lives any
longer to purchaſe fame for him. *Alexander* was a man of too much penetration not
to be early in perceiving that his troops were very uneaſy; he therefore harangued
them from his tribunal, and, if we might depend upon them, *Arrian* and *Curtius* e
both have given us the ſubſtance of that harangue; but they differ widely from each
other, and the frame of each of the ſpeeches agrees exactly with the genius of the
author, in whoſe works we find it. That in *Arrian* is grave, ſolid, and at the ſame
time very ſpecious; whereas that in *Curtius* is copious, florid, and full of ſtrong
rhetorical figures, which ſerve rather to amaze than to perſuade: We may therefore
reaſonably ſuppoſe, that *Arrian* and *Curtius* compoſed each his harangue; as to that
of *Alexander*, it turned probably on the ſame general heads with theirs, and conſiſted
in a warm repreſentation of the glory that would redound to them, if after conquer-
ing *Aſia* they went on to ſubdue the habitable world; a recapitulation of the victories
they had already gained, and large promiſes of vaſt rewards and gratifications, if f
they continued to be the companions of his labours, and enabled him to maintain the
character of invincible, which as the ſon of *Jupiter* the oracle of *Hammon* had beſtowed
upon him. His eloquence was great, and the love his army had for him was yet very
ſtrong; however they did not relent, but remained ſullen and ſilent, and at laſt turned
their eyes on *Cœnus*, an old experienced general, whom *Alexander* loved, and in whom
the army confided. He had generoſity enough to undertake their cauſe, and to tell
Alexander frankly, that men endured toil and labour in hopes of repoſe; that the
Macedonians were already much reduced in their numbers; that of thoſe who remained,

c ARRIAN. lib. v. c. 25. DIODOR. PLUT. JUSTIN. ubi ſupra.

the

a the major part were invalids, and that they expected, in conſideration of their former ſervices, he would now lead them back to their native country; an act which of all others would contribute moſt to his own great deſigns, ſince it would encourage the youth of *Macedon*, and even of all *Greece*, to follow him in whatever new expedition he ſhould pleaſe to undertake, whether to the *north* or to the *ſouth*, againſt the *Indians* beyond *Hyphaſis*, or the unknown nations bordering on the *Hyrcanian* ſea. The king was far from being pleaſed with *Cænus*, and much leſs ſatisfied with the diſpoſition of the army, which continued buried in a deep ſilence. He therefore diſmiſſed the aſſembly; but the next day he called another, wherein he told the ſoldiers roundly, that he would not be driven from his purpoſe, that he would proceed in
b his conqueſts with ſuch as would follow him voluntarily; as for the reſt, he would not detain them, but leave them at their liberty to go home to *Macedon*, *where they might publiſh, that they had left their king in the midſt of his enemies.* Even this expedient had no ſucceſs, his army was ſo thoroughly tired of long marches, and deſperate battles, that they were unanimouſly determined to go no farther, either for fair ſpeeches or foul. The king thereupon retired to his tent, where he refuſed to ſee his friends, and put on the ſame gloomy and diſcontented temper which reigned among his forces. For three days things remained in this ſituation; at laſt the king ſuddenly appeared, and as if he had been fully determined to purſue his firſt deſign, he gave orders for ſacrificing for the good ſucceſs of his new undertaking. *Ariſtander* reported, after
c the ſacrifices were over, that the omens were altogether inauſpicious; upon which the king ſaid, *That ſince his proceeding farther was neither pleaſing to the gods, nor grateful to his army, he would return.* When this was rumoured among the army, they aſſembled in great numbers about the royal tent, ſaluting the king with loud acclamations, wiſhing him ſucceſs in all his future deſigns, giving him at the ſame time hearty thanks; *For that he who was invincible, had ſuffered himſelf to be overcome with their prayers* [d] (E).

Alexander

[d] Arrian. lib. v. c. 25–29. Diodor. lib. xvii. Olymp. cxiii. 2. Plut. in vit. Alex. Curt. l. ix. c. 5–10. Justin. lib. xii. c. 8.

(E) *Diodorus Siculus* inſiſts largely on the battle between *Alexander* and *Porus*; he tells us, that king was ſo wounded, that he fell from his chariot to the ground, that he loſt in the engagement twelve thouſand men, and that of the *Macedonians* there fell two hundred and eighty horſe, and ſeven hundred foot: After this he deſcribes the countries through which *Alexander* paſſed, and the ſingularities obſervable in them. He aſſerts the *Hyphaſis* to be ſeven furlongs over, and ſix fathoms deep; and he tells us, that *Alexander* was informed, that if he continued his march, he would meet with a deſart twelve days journey over, and then the river *Ganges*, the largeſt and deepeſt in *India*; on the other ſide of which, he would find *Xandranes* king of the *Gandarides* at the head of an army of twenty thouſand horſe, two hundred thouſand foot, two thouſand chariots, and four thouſand elephants: The king looking upon this ſtory to be a mere romance, ſent for *Porus*, and charged him to tell him the truth, who aſſured him that the thing was ſo, and that he was not impoſed on. Theſe accounts, joined to the hardſhips they had endured, induced the *Macedonians* to refuſe to be led farther, which at firſt exceedingly diſpleaſed the king; but when he found they could not be moved, he conſented to return, having firſt given orders that they ſhould firſt erect twelve altars, each fifty cubits high, to draw a trench round his camp fifty foot broad, and forty deep, caſting up out of the earth, which was dug from thence, a very ſtrong retrenchment on the inſide; every foot ſoldier was likewiſe directed to provide two beds of five cubits, and all the cavalry; beſides theſe beds were ordered to be put up a manger twice as big as the ordinary ſize; theſe things were done to amuſe poſterity, and to make them believe that *Alexander* had led an army above the common ſtandard of men into *India* (81).——*Plutarch* ſays expreſsly, that the battle with *Porus* took off the edge of the *Macedonian* courage, and made them unwilling to meddle any more with the *Indians*, eſpecially when they heard that beyond the *Ganges* the kings of the *Gangarites* and *Praſians* had aſſembled eighty thouſand horſe, two hundred thouſand foot, eight thouſand armed chariots, and ſix thouſand fighting elephants. Our author aſſures us, that this was no vain report; for that *Andracottus*, who was then a youth, and ſaw *Alexander* in his camp, lived afterwards to conquer all theſe countries with an army of ſix hundred thouſand men, and made *Seleucus* a preſent of five hundred elephants at once; which prince was often heard to ſay, that if *Alexander* had purſued his deſign, he would in all probability have ſucceeded, the king then reigning in thoſe parts being hated for his cruelty, and deſpiſed for the meanneſs of his birth. We have alſo from *Plutarch* an account of *Alexander*'s cauſing arms of an extraordinary bigneſs, mangers of an exceſſive largeneſs, and bits for bridles of unuſual ſize to be left behind in his camp, when he was compelled by his ſoldiers to think of returning (82).——*Strabo* in his deſcription of *India* agrees very well with *Diodorus*, relating almoſt the ſame things which he does: We have in both ſtories of venomous ſerpents, of a nation putting children to death for want of comlineſs and well-proportioned limbs, and dogs ſo ſtrong, and of ſuch ſpirit, that they encounter lions, with many other tales of the like nature taken from *Oneſicritus*, who was indeed the captain of *Alexander*'s galley, but had the honour alſo to outlye every author that meddled with his hiſtory, which was in truth no ordinary performance (83).——*Curtius* in

(81) *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* xvii. (82) *Plutarch. in vit. Alex.* (83) *Strab. Geogr. lib.* xv.

The king is prevailed on to return.

Alexander having once reſolved to make the *Hyphaſis* the limits of his conqueſts, a divided his army; and having ordered twelve altars to be erected equal in height, and exceeding in breadth redoubts of an ordinary ſize, he cauſed ſacrifices to be offered on them; and having exhibited public ſhews after the *Grecian* manner, he added all the conquered country to the dominions of *Porus*, and then began his march towards the river *Hydraotes*; from thence he marched on to the *Aceſines*, where he found the city which he had directed *Hephæſtion* to build, to which he invited all the inhabitants of the adjacent country, and left alſo therein ſuch of his mercenaries as were infirm, and deſired to reſide there. *Abiſſares*, a petty king, who had ſubmitted to him in his march this way, and whom the king had ordered to repair to him, ſent deputies to excuſe himſelf on account of ſickneſs, which excuſe the king was b pleaſed to accept, becauſe that prince had ſent the thirty elephants which he had promiſed, and offered to ſubmit to whatever terms the king ſhould impoſe. *Alexander* therefore ordered *Arſaces*, preſident of the province adjoining to his dominions, to inſpect his conduct; and having ſettled the tribute he ſhould pay, marched on to the river *Hydaſpes*, where finding the new cities, *Nicea* and *Bucephala* ſomewhat damaged by the great rains which had fallen in his abſence, he ordered his ſoldiers to repair them, gave the neceſſary directions for the ſecurity of his conqueſts, and then addreſſed himſelf to the care of the preparations neceſſary for paſſing down the river *Indus* into the ocean [e] (F).

THE

[e] ARRIAN. lib. vi. c. 1—3.

in the main agrees pretty well with the authors mentioned in this note; however, he differs in certain circumſtances; ſome of no great moment, and ſome which deſerve notice. He makes the diſtance from the *Hyphaſis*, which he ſtiles *Hypaſis*, and the *Ganges*, eleven days journey; he calls the king of the *Gangaridæ Aggrannes*, and ſays he had twenty thouſand horſe, two hundred thouſand foot, three thouſand chariots, and three thouſand elephants. In relating the ſedition in the *Macedonian* camp, he hath inſerted rhetorical ſpeeches of exceſſive length; as to the extraordinary altars, arms, and beds, he agrees with *Diodorus* and *Plutarch* (84).——*Juſtin* gives a ſhort, but very magnificent detail of the battle with *Porus*, whoſe character he has raiſed more in a line or two, than many authors in pages; he places the *Gangaridæ* amongſt the nations conquered by *Alexander*, and ſays, that when he came with his army to engage the *Cuphites*, the *Macedonians* perceiving they were to fight with two hundred thouſand horſe, intreated him to ſpare the ſmall remains of the forces his father had made uſe of, and allow them the moderate favour of carrying home their mangled carcaſes to be buried in the ſepulchres of their anceſtors; to which reaſonable requeſt he at length with much ado aſſented (85).——*Polyænus* amongſt many inſtances of *Alexander*'s wiſdom and military ſkill mentions ſeveral which happened in his *Indian* war, amongſt others the paſſage of the river *Hydaſpes*, and the battle with *Porus*; the ſucceſs of the former of which he attributes to the king's invention, and the victory obtained over the latter, to the maſterly diſpoſition *Alexander* made of his troops before the engagement (86). This we have fully explained in the text, and it is without queſtion one of the nobleſt acts which ſtand recorded of this conqueror.

(F) *Alexander*'s deſign was to ſail down the *Hydaſpes* to its junction with the *Aceſines*, and then through the *Aceſines* into the *Indus*, and through the laſt mentioned river to the ocean. As the king was a diligent inquirer into whatever regarded natural hiſtory, when he firſt arrived in theſe parts, he from general informations took up a very odd opinion; it was this, that he had found out the ſource of the *Nile*. The grounds of this miſtaken notion were theſe: *Alexander* had ſeen in the river *Indus* crocodiles, and on the banks of the *Aceſines*, ſuch beans growing as in *Egypt*; putting theſe things together, he fanſied that this great river rolling on into vaſt deſarts, loſt in them its name; but entering again the well-inhabited country of *Ethiopia*, was there called the *Nile*, and thence rolled down with the ſame name into *Egypt*. He was confirmed in this odd conjecture by *Homer*'s calling the *Nile*, from its entering *Egypt* to its fall into the ſea *Egyptus*; for this ſeemed to imply, that the ſame river running through different countries, acquired different names. At laſt he became ſo confident, that amongſt other things which he wrote to his mother *Olympias*, he ſet down this; that he had found the ſprings of the *Nile*. But inquiring farther, and receiving full ſatisfaction that the *Indus* did not loſe itſelf in any deſart, but by two large mouths entered the ocean, he cauſed the paſſage beforementioned to be ſtruck out. It may to ſome ſeem ſtrange, that we have inſiſted ſo largely upon a point which at firſt ſight may ſeem trivial; our reaſon is this: Many have erred in the like manner with *Alexander*, though few have had the good ſenſe to retract their errors like him, even when they have diſcovered them. The matter here ſtated is a fact, and a fact attended with very curious circumſtances, ſufficient to direct us in all caſes of a like nature, and to engage us not to depend too much on the conjectures of the greateſt men, and the greateſt travellers, but to rely on them only for facts (87). A little before this his embarkation died *Cœnus*, *Alexander*'s old captain, and who had dared to take upon him the arduous employment of being the army's orator againſt the will of their prince; *Curtius* tells us, that *Alexander* was afflicted at his death, but that he could not help ſaying, *That he had made too long a ſpeech conſidering the ſhort time he had to live*, with other things to the ſame purpoſe: However he was interred with great ſolemnity, and if *Alexander*'s ſorrow was not over ſincere, we may be ſure that of the army was unfeigned; for they had now loſt their beſt friend, as well as a moſt experienced general. *Diodorus* (88) and *Curtius*, in what they ſay of the king's paſſing down theſe rivers, vary in ſome reſpects from *Arrian*, and in others

(84) *Curt. lib.* ix. *c.* 2. *& ſeq.* (85) *Juſtin. lib.* xii. *c.* 8. (86) *Polyæn. Strategem. lib.* iv. *c.* 3. 5. 4. 9. (87) *Arrian. lib.* vi. *c.* 1. (88) *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* xvii.

a THE care taken by *Alexander* for the execution of this project, ſhewed much more prudence than the project itſelf. He had ordered vaſt quantities of timber to be felled in the neighbourhood of the *Hydaſpes*, through which he was to ſail into the *Indies*; he had cauſed the veſſels with which he had paſſed other rivers to be brought thither; and had aſſembled a vaſt number of artificers, capable of repairing, re-building and equipping his fleet, which, when finiſhed, and in a condition to be launched, conſiſted of eighty veſſels of three *banks* of *oars*, and of leſſer ſhips and tranſports about two thouſand. As for thoſe who were to manage this fleet, he collected them out of the *Phœnicians*, *Cyprians*, *Carians*, and *Egyptians* following his army, and who were held to be perfectly well verſed in all the branches of the *nautic art*. As for the diſpoſition of the army, it was ſettled thus; the archers, *Agrians*, the b light-armed foot, and ſome horſe, he took on board the fleet; *Craterus*, with a body of horſe and foot, marched on the right-hand *bank*; *Hephæſtion*, with the major part of the army, and two hundred elephants, on the left hand. *Nearchus* was admiral of the whole fleet; and *Oneſicritus* captain of the royal galley. When all things were ready, the army embarqued about break of day, the king, in the mean time, ſacrificing to the gods, according to the rites uſed in his own country, and to thoſe of that country where he now was. Then he himſelf went on board, and cauſing the ſignal to be given by ſound of trumpet, the fleet began to move. *Craterus* and *Hephæſtion* had marched ſome days before. From the third day, we are c informed by *Arrian*, *Alexander* came to that part of the river which was over-againſt their camps. Here he had information, that the *Oxydracæ* and the *Malli* were raiſing forces to oppoſe him; whereupon he determined to reduce them, for he made it a rule with him in the courſe of this voyage, to compel the inhabitants on both ſides the river to yield him obedience; but, before he arrived on the coaſts of the people before-mentioned, he himſelf ſuſtained no ſmall danger; for coming to the confluence of the *Aceſines* with the *Hydaſpis*, from whence both rivers roll together into the *Indus*, the eddies, whirlpools and rapid currents ruſhing with tremendous noiſe from the reſpective channels of thoſe rivers into the great one formed by them both, at once terrified thoſe who navigated his veſſels, and actually deſtroyed many of the d long veſſels, with all who were aboard them; the king himſelf being in ſome danger, and *Nearchus* the admiral not a little at a loſs. As ſoon as this danger was over, and the fleet and army had once more joined, he went himſelf on ſhore, and having ordered his elephants, with ſome troops of horſe and archers, to be carried acroſs, and put under the command of *Craterus*, he then divided his army on the left-hand bank into three bodies; the firſt commanded by himſelf; the ſecond by *Hephæſtion*; the third by *Ptolemy*. *Hephæſtion* had orders to move ſilently through the heart of the country, five days march before the king, that if, on *Alexander*'s approach, any of the barbarians ſhould attempt to ſhelter themſelves, by retiring into the heart of the country, they might fall into the hands of *Hephæſtion*'s forces. *Pto-* e *lemy Lagus* was commanded to march three days behind the king, that if any eſcaped his army, they might fall into *Ptolemy*'s hands. As for the fleet, it had orders to ſtop at the confluence of this river with the *Hydraotes*, till ſuch time as theſe ſeveral corps ſhould arrive [f].

Embarques his army.

Alexander himſelf, at the head of a body of horſe and light-armed foot, marched through a deſart country againſt the *Malli*, and ſcarce affording any reſt to his ſoldiers, arrived on the third day at a city into which they had put their wives and children for ſecurity, and a good gariſon for their defence. Theſe people having no apprehenſion that the king would attempt to march through a barren country, were all unarmed and in confuſion. Many of them therefore were ſlain in the field; the f reſt fled into the city, and ſhut the gates. But this only protracted their fate for a ſmall time; for the king having ordered the city to be inveſted by his horſe, attacked it, and, with ſome loſs, took both it and the caſtle by ſtorm, putting all he found therein to the ſword. He ſent at the ſame time *Perdiccas* with a con-

He reduces the Malli.

[f] ARRIAN. l. vi. c. 6. & ſeq. DIODOR. ubi ſupra.

others contradict him; but there is no need of troubling the reader with particular accounts, becauſe they are matters of ſmall importance, and ſuch as have in them more of the wonderful, than of the credible or the uſeful (89).

(89) *Curt. l.* ix. *Arrian. l.* vi. *c.* 2.

ſiderable detachment, to inveſt another city of the *Malli* at ſome diſtance; but when a
he arrived, he found it abandoned; however he purſued the inhabitants who had
but lately left it, and ſlew numbers of them on the road. After this the king took
ſeveral other cities, not without conſiderable reſiſtance; for the *Indians* ſometimes
choſe to burn their houſes and themſelves therein rather than ſurrender. He ſeems,
in reſpect to this nation, to have acted with more than ordinary reſentment, hunting
them rather as beaſts, than fighting with them as men, and taking pains to cut off
not only ſuch as reſiſted him, but thoſe who fled into woods and defarts to
eſcape him. At laſt he marched to their capital city, and finding that abandoned,
he proceeded to the river *Hydraotis*, where he found fifty thouſand men encamped
on the oppoſite bank. He heſitated not to enter the river, tho' he had with him b
only an inconſiderable party of horſe; and the *Indians* were ſo affrighted at his pre-
ſence, that even, with all theſe troops, they retired; but when they ſaw how few
accompanied the king, they returned, and charged him; but by this time the reſt
of his forces were paſſing the river, ſo that the *Indians* were conſtrained to retire to
a city which lay behind them, which *Alexander* inveſted that very night. The
next day he ſtormed the city with ſuch violence, that the inhabitants were compelled
to abandon it, and to retire to the citadel, where they prepared to make a very
reſolute defence. The king inſtantly gave orders for ſcaling its walls, and the ſol-
diers prepared to execute thoſe orders as faſt as they could; but the king, who was
impatient, catching hold of a ladder, clapped it againſt the wall, and mounted it c
himſelf, covering his body with his ſhield, *Peuceſtas* following him, after him *Leon-
natus*, all by the ſame ladder. *Abreas*, a man of great courage, who on that account
had double pay allowed him, mounted by another. The king having gained the top
of the battlements, cleared them quickly of the defendants, killing ſome of them with
his ſword, and puſhing others over the walls; but, when he had done this, he was in
more danger than ever, for the *Indians*, from the adjacent tower, galled him with
their arrows, tho' they durſt not come near enough to engage him. His own bat-
talion of targeteers mounting in haſte to ſecond him, broke the ladders; which
when *Alexander* perceived, he threw himſelf down into the caſtle, as did alſo *Peu-
ceſtes*, *Leonnatus* and *Abreas*. As ſoon as the king was on the ground, the *Indian* d
general ruſhed forward to attack him, whom the king ſlew preſently with his ſword,
as he did ſeveral of thoſe who followed him; upon which the reſt retired, and con-
tented themſelves with throwing ſtones and darts at him at a diſtance. *Abreas* was
ſtruck into the head with an arrow, and fell upon the ſpot, and ſhortly after another
ſtruck through the king's breaſt-plate into his body. As long as he had ſpirits he
defended himſelf valiantly, but, through a vaſt effuſion of blood, loſing his ſenſes,
he fell upon his ſhield. *Peuceſtas* then covered him with the ſacred ſhield of *Pallas*
on one ſide, as did *Leonnatus* with his own ſhield on the other, tho' they were them-
ſelves dreadfully wounded. The ſoldiers on the out-ſide, eager to ſave their prince,
ſupplied their want of ladders, by driving large iron pins into the walls. By the
help of this contrivance, many of them aſcended, and threw themſelves over, where e
ſome covering the body of the king, compelled the *Indians* to retire, and others
having pulled down the bars, broke down a gate between two towers, and thereby
gave admittance to their companions. The ſoldiers, in the heat of their reſentment,
put all that they found to the ſword, women and children not excepted. Then they
took up the king, and bore him away upon his ſhield to the camp. There he con-
tinued for ſome time in ſo weak a ſtate, that his recovery was very doubtful. The
news of this accident having reached the camp on the river ſide, where was the head
quarters of the whole army, it ſtruck ſuch a pannic, that they ſcarce knew what to
do; for they immediately reckoned that he was dead; and when, from time to
time, they were informed that he grew better, they attributed this to the arts of f
the general officers who were about him, nor would they ſuffer themſelves to be
convinced, even when they received advice that he was returning to the army. The
king was perfectly ſenſible of all the miſchiefs which might attend theſe fears and
apprehenſions of his ſoldiers: As ſoon therefore as his health would permit, he cauſed
himſelf to be put on board his galley, and rejoined his forces. When he came to
the camp, and ſhewed himſelf, both on horſeback and foot, the ſoldiers gathering
round him, eagerly kiſſed not only his hands and his knees, but his feet and his
robes, and reſumed in a moment that courage and alacrity which had hitherto ren-
dered them invincible. The officers however of the firſt rank, who were *Macedo-*

nians

a *nians* by birth, after the firſt compliments were over, did not ſpare to tell the king, that he had done very much amiſs in hazarding his perſon after ſuch a manner. At which *Alexander*, who was no longer a lover of truth, was very much diſpleaſed; but received into his favour, and ever after treated with the greateſt kindneſs, an old *Bœotian*, who told him, to ſooth his vanity, That ſuch extraordinary attempts became a hero (G).

The Malli *and* Oxydracæ *ſubmit.*

THE *Malli* being by this time convinced, that nothing but ſubmiſſion could ſave the ſmall remainder of them, ſent their deputies to beſeech *Alexander* to forget what was paſt, and to accept of the dominion of their country, which they offered him. At the ſame time arrived deputies from the *Oxydracæ*, to tender their ſubmiſ-
b ſion. They had formerly entered into an alliance with the *Malli*, to oppoſe *Alexander*, and put a ſtop to his conqueſts; and in order thereto, they aſſembled a great army, with which they propoſed to have joined the forces of the *Malli*; but *Alexander*'s marching through a deſart, and thereby entering the country of the laſt-mentioned people, when they did not in the leaſt expect it, rendered this project impracticable; and the ruin which then fell upon the *Malli*, induced this other *Indian* nation to ſeek their ſafety by a timely compliance with the king. Their deputies therefore acquainted him, that, not out of any diſreſpect to his perſon, but merely from the love of liberty, they had hitherto declined ſubmitting to him; but that now they were ready to accept of ſuch terms as he ſhould pleaſe to give them.
c *Alexander* commanded, that they ſhould ſend him no leſs than a thouſand of the principal men among them to ſerve in his army, and to remain as hoſtages for the fidelity of the reſt. As for the *Malli*, he added them to *Philip*'s province, commanding him to have a ſtrict eye over them. While he continued in this camp at the confluence of the *Hydraotes* with the *Aceſines*, for the recovery of his health, and in expectation of *Perdiccas*, the thouſand men he had demanded of the *Oxydracæ* arrived, together with five hundred chariots of war, properly harneſſed and equipped; which being over and above his demand, and a free gift of the people, he was ſo pleaſed therewith, that he gave the whole thouſand men leave to return home, adding, that the faith of ſo generous a nation was a full ſecurity for their obedience.
d Theſe affairs ſettled, he employed his thoughts, firſt about augmenting his fleet, to which end he cauſed ſeveral new veſſels to be built, as alſo in erecting a city; to which he was led from the commodious ſituation afforded by the confluence of two great rivers. *Oxyartes*, the father of his wife *Roxana*, came hither to pay his reſpects to him, and was kindly received, having the government of *Paropamiſis* beſtowed upon him, the old governor having been diſplaced for male-adminiſtration. To this province, that he might further gratify his father-in-law, the king joined all the country, from the falling of the *Aceſines* into the *Indus*, to the ſea joining *Python*, with him in commiſſion; then having tranſported *Craterus* and his forces croſs the river, and giving him ſuch directions as he thought fit, *Alexander*, with a larger
e part of his army than before, embarqued on board his fleet, and continued his

z ARRIAN. lib. vi. c. 12, 13. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. CURT. l. ix. c. 14. & ſeq. JUSTIN. l. xii. c. 9.

(G) *Arrian*, ſpeaking of the king's misfortune, vindicates his own credit, and that of his hiſtory. He tells us, that it is not certain, whether a phyſician or *Perdiccas* opened the king's wound, and drew out the arrow; but he aſſures us, that a great effuſion of blood happened at that time, and that the king's fainting ſaved his life; for the blood then ſtopping, gave them time to apply medicines and bandages, for want of which he muſt otherwiſe have periſhed. He then acquaints us, that many ſtrange things relating to this accident are to be found in hiſtorians, who drawing their materials from romantic memoirs, were in danger of deceiving poſterity, if no ſtop were put to that way of writing. He proceeds to give many inſtances of the ſlights of ſuch kind of writers, and then returning to the fact before us, takes notice, that it was the vulgar opinion, that *Alexander* received his wound before the capital of the *Oxydracæ* (90). It is not eaſy to pronounce what was *Diodorus*'s opinion; for in many copies we have *Syracuſians* inſtead of *Oxydracians*. However, it is moſt probable, that he held that which *Arrian* (91) calls the vulgar opinion, in which he is followed by *Curtius* (92). *Plutarch* is right as to the place; but he is among the number of thoſe authors, who report, that the king received a blow with a club upon his helmet, which ſo ſtunned him, that a miſt ſeeming to fall over his eyes, he fell down; but recovering his ſpirits, roſe again, and continued fighting till he was ſhot in the breaſt (93; yet *Ptolemy*, who could not but be well informed, wrote expreſly, that he was only wounded in the breaſt (94). We might inſiſt here on many other particulars, which, to avoid prolixity, we chuſe to omit. Theſe are ſufficient to ſhew what care ought to be taken in writing the hiſtory of *Alexander*, and how dangerous it is to truſt any author too much.

(90) *Arrian. l.* vi. *c.* 2. (91) *Diodor. Sicul. l.* xvii. (92) *Curt. l.* ix. (93) *Plut. in vit. Alex.* (94) *Arrian. ubi ſupra.*

voyage. He had received information, that the kingdom of *Muſicanus*, which lay a
at no great diſtance, was one of the richeſt and moſt populous in *India*. He was
therefore highly incenſed, that this prince ſhould neither have ſent embaſſadors to make
his ſubmiſſion, nor have taken any other method to beſpeak his favour; and for theſe
reaſons would not hear of making any ſtop or ſtay till his fleet arrived on the coaſts of
this kingdom. *Muſicanus*, ſurpriſed at his ſudden viſit, immediately went forth to meet
him, with all his elephants in his train, and having offered him preſents of the higheſt
value, delivered himſelf and realms into his hands, and acknowledged his offence;
which kind of behaviour always weighed much with *Alexander* towards obtaining
whatever was requeſted. Having therefore pardoned him, and admired at the
wealth and beauty of his kingdom and capital city, he delivered the government of
both again into his hands; but, leſt he ſhould attempt any innovation when he was b
at a diſtance, he ordered *Craterus* to build a caſtle in the city, and himſelf tarried
there to ſee it finiſhed. This done, he left a ſtrong gariſon therein; becauſe this
fort ſeemed extremely commodious for bridling the neighbouring nations, and
keeping them in ſubjection. Then, with his archers and *Agrians*, and all the troops
of horſe which he had on board his navy, he marched againſt a neighbouring prince
named *Oxycanus*, and invaded his dominions; becauſe he neither came forth to meet
him, nor ſent embaſſadors with the ſurrender of himſelf and country. He took two
of his chief cities at the firſt aſſault, in one of which the king himſelf was taken pri-
ſoner. *Alexander* gave the ſpoils of them to his ſoldiers, and carried away his ele-
phants; whereupon all the other cities belonging to *Oxycanus* immediately ſubmit- c
ted without blows. So much did the courage and fortune of *Alexander* prevail
againſt the *Indians* in thoſe parts. After this he led his forces againſt *Sambus*, whom
he had before declared governor of the *Indian* mountaineers; but who had fled,
when he heard that *Muſicanus* was diſmiſſed in a friendly manner, and had his do-
minions reſtored; for he was at enmity with *Muſicanus*. When *Alexander* ap-
proached the capital city of his province, called *Sindomana*, the gates being ſet open,
the friends and domeſtics of *Sambus* came forth to meet him, with preſents of money
and elephants, aſſuring him, that *Sambus* did not retire out of his territories by reaſon
of any ſiniſter deſigns againſt him, but for fear of *Muſicanus* after his inlargement.
Having then received the homage of theſe, he attacked, and won a city which had d
revolted from him, and put to death as many of the *Brachmans* as fell into his hands,
having charged them with being the authors of this rebellion. About this time he
received advice, that king *Muſicanus* was revolted; whereupon *Python* the ſon of
Agenor was diſpatched with a body of troops ſufficient to reduce that kingdom again,
which he performed effectually, diſtributing gariſons throughout all the country,
and bringing with him, on his return to the camp, *Muſicanus* in chains. *Alexander*
directed that prince to be carried back into his own dominions, and there crucified,
together with all the *Brachmans* who were about him, and had inſtigated him to
this revolt [h] (H).

THE

[h] ARRIAN. l. vi. c. 15. & ſeq. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. PLUT. in vit. Alex.

(H) *Diodorus*, from the embarkation of *Alexander*, to his entering the territories of *Sambus*, hath abundance of paſſages which are not to be found in *Arrian*. The reaſon ſeems to be, becauſe they are either ill-founded or trivial (95). *Curtius* however hath tranſcribed the ſame tales very carefully, and, as uſual, with ſome improvements (96). But what is not a little odd, neither of theſe writers have obliged us with any diſtinct account of *Alexander*'s war with *Muſicanus*, tho' they have both mentioned it ſlightly. *Strabo* treats of it accurately, as indeed he does of every thing, of which, by his ſubject, he is led to treat at all. He informs us, that the ſubjects of this prince were a very wiſe and polite people; and therefore we need not wonder, that they could not long brook ſlavery (97). As to *Oxycanus*, *Diodorus* and *Curtius* are alſo very conciſe; however, they differ with *Arrian*, for they expreſly affirm that the king was ſlain; whereas, he ſays, he was taken priſoner. *Diodorus* calls him *Porticanus*, and he is called ſo likewiſe in the beſt editions of *Curtius*. As to *Sambus*, whom *Diodorus* calls by the ſame name, but who is called by *Strabo Sabutas*, by *Plutarch Sabbas*, *Curtius*, who calls him *Sabus*, inliſts very largely (98), all authors agree, that the revolt of this prince was, by *Alexander*, charged upon the *brachmans*, whom he puniſhed moſt ſeverely for it, till ſuch time as he became acquainted with their wiſdom and generous notions; for then, if we may believe *Plutarch*, he reverenced and uſed them kindly, eſpecially on account of an excellent maxim in government taught him by *Calanus*, one of the principal philoſophers of the country; which happened thus: *Calanus*, through the intreaty of *Taxiles*, came, contrary to the cuſtom of the *Indian* ſages, to viſit the king; and when *Alexander* deſired to receive

(95) *Diodor. ubi ſupra.* (96) *Curt. ubi ſupra. Strabo. Geog. l.* XV. (98) *Ubi ſupra.* (97) *Diodor. Curt. ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit. Alex.*

a THE king of *Pattala*, a noble iſland in the river *Indus*, came and ſubmitted himſelf to *Alexander*, who reſtored him his dominions, promiſing to come ſhortly and viſit him, and directing him to furniſh all his army and fleet with proviſions. The king then diſpatched *Craterus* with a conſiderable body of horſe and foot to eſcort the invalids through the countries of *Arachoſia* and *Drangia* into *Caramania*, where they were to embark for *Macedon*, the elephants alſo being committed to his care. As to the reſt of his army, part of it, under the command of *Python*, marched on one ſide of the river; another part, under *Hephæſtion*, on the other ſide; the reſt remained on board with the king, who, as ſoon as his affairs would permit him, continued his voyage to *Pattala*. When he came thither, he was exceedingly ſur-
b priſed to find, that the prince who had lately ſubmitted to him, was fled with almoſt all his ſubjects, leaving the cities empty, and the fields deſtitute of husbandmen. The king thereupon diſpatched ſome light-armed troops, in order to make priſoners; which having done, and brought them to the camp, the king kindly diſmiſſed them, ordering them to tell their countrymen, that they might ſafely return to their habitations; for that he would do them no injury whatſoever. Perceiving that, at the point of the iſland *Pattala*, the river *Indus* divided itſelf into two vaſt branches, he ordered a haven and convenient docks to be there made for his ſhips; and when he had careened his fleet, he ſailed down the right-hand branch towards the ocean. In his paſſage however he ſuſtained great difficulties through the want of
c pilots, and at the mouth of the river *Indus* very narrowly miſſed being caſt away; yet all this did not hinder him from purſuing his firſt deſign, tho' it does not appear that he had any other motive thereto, than the vain deſire of boaſting he had entered the *ocean* beyond the *Indies*; and this is confirmed by what he performed when he did enter the *ocean*; for, having conſecrated certain bulls to *Neptune*, and thrown them into the ſea, performed libations out of golden cups, and thrown them alſo into the ocean, he came back again, having only ſurveyed two little iſlands, one at the mouth of the *Indus*, and one ſeated farther in the ocean [1] (I).

Alexander ſails into the ocean.

ON his return to *Pattala*, he found, that the commands he had iſſued when he left that place, were, in a great meaſure, complied with; that the fort was in a
d defenſible condition, and the dock capable of being made uſe of. He then reſolved to ſail down the other branch of the *Indus* into the *ocean*, that he might ſee whether it were ſafer and more commodious for his fleet than that which he had already tried; nor did he fail of offering very plauſible reaſons for his conduct in this reſpect. He was informed, that the ſeaſon of the year would not permit a favourite deſign of his

He reſolves to leave the navy, and proceed by land.

[1] ARRIAN. l. vi. c. 18, 19. DIODOR. ubi ſupra. PLUT. in vit. Alex.

receive from him ſome mark of his extraordinary ſcience, he called for a dry hide, and throwing it upon the floor, firſt trod on this ſide, and then on that; which made it continually riſe in one place, as it became flat in the other. At laſt he ſet his foot in the middle, which made the whole hide lie even; thereby inſtructing *Alexander*, that to keep ſo great an empire quiet, he ought to reſide in its centre, and not make expeditions into remote countries, to endanger the reſt of his dominions (99).

(I) When *Alexander* ſailed down the right-hand branch of the *Indus*, he found its mouth to be there two hundred furlongs broad. Here the flux and reflux of the ſea, with which himſelf and his principal commanders were unacquainted, exceedingly amazed them (100). *Curtius* has deſcribed their ſurpriſe in too rhetorical a manner, and for it has been ſeverely cenſured (1). At this mouth of the river there lay an iſland, called by *Arrian Cillutas*; by *Plutarch Scilluſtis* (2). *Curtius* has given it no name. Here his fleet anchored, while himſelf ſailed out farther to ſea, and took a view of another iſland; after which he returned to his fleet, offered ſacrifices on that iſland where he had left them, and afterwards ſailed again beyond the other iſland, that he might boaſt of his daring exploits in the ocean. He then ſacrificed once more to the gods, and beſought them, ſays *Plutarch*, that no other man might exceed the bounds of his expedition (3); which carries in it little probability. What is ſaid in the text of his ſacrificing for the ſafety of *Nearchus*, who was to ſail from thence through the *Perſian* gulph to the mouth of the river *Euphrates*, is reaſonable and juſt. It is ſaid, when this deſign was firſt undertaken by *Nearchus*, that *Alexander* affected a degree of coldneſs. He who feared nothing for himſelf, had a mind to paſs for one who was apprehenſive of all things for his friends, and who could ſcarce think of expoſing them to the peril of ſuch a voyage, when he was not to ſhare with them their dangers in perſon. But *Nearchus* overcame all theſe real or pretended ſcruples, by aſſuring the king, that he believed it very practicable for him to fulfil all that had been propoſed; and, on the other hand, *Alexander* was himſelf extremely cautious in providing for the ſafety of his fleet, by all the methods that human wit could deviſe, or human labour execute, as we have ſhewn in the text, therefore need not expatiate further on it here. The curious and inquiſitive reader may, if he pleaſes, inform himſelf further on this head, from the authors mentioned at the bottom of the page (4).

(99) *Plut. ubi ſupra.* (100) *Arrian. l.* vi. *c.* 19. (1) *Curt. l.* ix. *c.* 31. (2) *Plut. in vit. Alex.* (3) *Idem ibid.* (4) *Strab. Geog. l.* xv. *Arrian. Hiſt. Ind.*

to be executed; which deſign was this: He had reſolved to ſend *Nearchus* with his fleet by the ocean, through the *Perſian* gulf, up the river *Tigris*, to meet him and his army in *Meſopotamia*; but the poſſibility of this voyage depending on the ceaſing of the *Eteſian* winds, there was a neceſſity of laying up the fleet, till the ſeaſon ſhould prove favourable. *Alexander* therefore ſailing through this branch of the *Indus*, ſought on the ſea-coaſt for *Bays* and *Creeks*, where his fleet might anchor in ſafety; he cauſed alſo pits to be ſunk, that they might fill with freſh water for the uſe of his people, and took all imaginable precautions for preſerving them in eaſe and ſafety, till the ſeaſon would allow them to continue their voyage. In this he ſucceeded to his wiſh; for he found this branch of the river *Indus* at its mouth, ſpread over the plain country, and formed a kind of lake, wherein a fleet might ride without any danger; he therefore appointed *Leonnatus*, and a part of his army, to carry on ſuch works as were neceſſary, and cauſe them to be relieved, as occaſion required, by freſh troops. Then having given his laſt inſtructions to *Nearchus*, he departed with his army, in order to march back to *Babylon* by land. Before his departure, there wanted not ſome who had ſo much love for him, and concern for his army, as to inform him that nothing could be more raſh or dangerous than this reſolution. They acquainted him that the country through which he was to travel was a wild uncultivated deſart, where his ſoldiers would be doubly expoſed to the danger of dying for hunger, and to the peril of being loſt through heat and thirſt; they added, that *Semiramis*, when ſhe fled out of *India*, endeavouring to lead her army this way, brought but twenty of them home; and that *Cyrus* doing the ſame thing, eſcaped with but ſeven. This was ſo far from having the deſired effect, that it more than ever determined *Alexander* to this very method; for it was his peculiar vanity to deſire not only to overcome all nations, but even nature herſelf, and to attempt and perform thoſe things which none but himſelf would have dared to think of. He remained therefore fixed to his firſt purpoſe, and as ſoon as he had put things in order, marched at the head of a convenient body of troops to reduce the *Oritæ*, who had been hitherto free, and who had never vouchſafed either to make ſubmiſſion, or to court his friendſhip; their territories lay on the other ſide the river *Arabis*, which river *Alexander* croſſed ſo ſpeedily, that they had no intelligence of his march, and ſo made an eaſy and quick conqueſt of the whole country, though not of the inhabitants, for moſt of them fled into the deſarts. Their capital he found to be ſo well ſituated, that he reſolved to take it out of their hands, and to cauſe a new and noble city to be erected there, the care of which he committed to *Hephæſtion*; then he received the deputies of the *Oritæ*, and the *Gadroſi*, and having aſſured them, that if the people returned to their villages, they ſhould be kindly treated, and having appointed *Apollophanes* preſident of the *Oritæ*, and left a conſiderable body of troops under *Leonnatus* to ſecure their obedience, he began his arduous march through *Gadroſia*. The moſt ſober writers of the affairs of *Alexander* find themſelves conſtrained to launch out a little into rhetorical deſcriptions of this more than *Herculean* labour, which the king impoſed upon himſelf and his ſoldiers, merely that he might have the reputation of ſurpaſſing all the heroes of antiquity; we ſhall, as the nature of our work requires, give as diſtinct, but at the ſame time as ſhort an account of it as we may [k].

The miſeries ſuſtained by the Macedonians.

THE road itſelf was expoſed to many inconveniencies: For, firſt, it was very uncertain; ſecondly, it was extremely troubleſome on account of its lying through deep and looſe ſands, riſing in many places into hillocks, which forced the ſoldiers to climb, and at the ſame time ſunk under their feet: Thirdly, there were no towns, villages, or places of refreſhment to be met with, ſo that after exceſſive marches, they were forced to encamp among theſe dry ſands. As to proviſions, they hardly met with any during their whole march; the ſoldiers were therefore forced to kill their beaſts of carriage; and ſuch as were ſent to bring ſome corn from the ſea-ſide, were ſo grievouſly diſtreſſed, that though it was ſealed with the king's ſignet, they cut open the bags, chuſing rather to die a violent death for diſobedience, than to be famiſhed. But *Alexander*, when he was informed of the matter, freely pardoned them, conceiving that his own commands were diſpenſed with by the neceſſities of nature; he was likewiſe forced to overlook the excuſes that were daily made him for the loſs of mules, horſes, *&c.* by exceſſive heat, which were in truth eaten by the ſoldiers, and their carriages broke in pieces to avoid farther trouble. As for

[k] ARRIAN. lib. vi. c. 21—27. DIODOR. ubi ſupra. PLUT. in vit. Alex.

water,

a water, their want of it was a great misfortune, and yet their finding it ſometimes in plenty was a greater; for as by the firſt they periſhed thro' thirſt, ſo by the latter they were burſt, thrown into dropſies, and rendered incapable of travel. Frequently they met with no water for the whole day together; ſometimes were diſappointed of it at night, in which caſe, if they were able, they marched on, ſo that it was common with them to travel thirty, not ſeldom they were forced to march forty, ſometimes they were conſtrained to go fifty, nay, and ſixty miles without encamping; numbers through theſe hardſhips were conſtrained to lag behind; and of theſe, numbers, not to ſay few, for indeed ſcarce any ever joined the army again, but were left behind, and periſhed; ſo that of all others, this was the moſt dreadful
b misfortune that had ever befallen them, which however they ſuſtained with the more patience from the example of their king, who not only ſupported all theſe evils with invincible patience, but even carried his courage and ſelf-denial farther, and performed ſuch things as nothing but the authority of the authors who relate them could engage us to credit (K). When he arrived at the capital of *Gadroſia*, he allowed his fatigued army ſome reſt. Here he removed *Apollophanes* for non-execution of his orders. *Thoas* was the ſucceſſor aſſigned him, and he dying ſoon after, *Sibyrtius* had the government given to him. About this time *Alexander* was informed that *Philip*, whom he had left preſident in *India*, had been murdered by the mercenary ſoldiers, but that moſt of theſe had been put to death by the *Macedonians*; which occaſioned
c his writing to *Endemus* and *Taxiles* to take upon them the adminiſtration of affairs there, till ſuch time as he ſhould ſend another preſident. The king then began his march into *Caramania*, a very plentiful country, where the troops made themſelves amends for the hardſhips and fatigue they had ſuſtained. Here the king again halted to give time to thoſe who were appointed to meet him to come thither. *Craterus* firſt joined him with the troops and elephants; then came *Staſanor*, preſident of the *Arians*, and *Phariſmanes* the ſon of *Phrataphernes*, governor of *Parthia*; they brought with them camels, horſes, and other beaſts of burthen in vaſt numbers; for they foreſaw, that the king's march through *Gadroſia* would be attended with the loſs of moſt if not all the cavalry, and beaſts belonging to his army. Their care in this reſpect was highly com-
d mended, as alſo that of *Craterus*, who ſeized *Ordones* a *Perſian* nobleman, who had been practiſing to raiſe a rebellion [1].

The male-adminiſtration of governors puniſhed by the king.

THE king's return into *Caramania* made a vaſt alteration in the affairs of his empire; for as from the moment he entered it, he heard and redreſſed all grievances, ſo the people from all the neighbouring provinces, who had been grievouſly oppreſſed in his abſence, came readily to inform the king of their griefs. *Clitander*, *Sitalces*, and *Heracon*, who had ſince the death of *Parmenio* commanded in chief the forces quartered in *Media*, came hither with their troops; and were hardly arrived, when they were accuſed of many flagrant crimes, ſuch as ſuppreſſing the *Perſian* religion,

[1] ARRIAN. lib. vi. c. 27. DIODOR. PLUT. ubi ſupra.

(K) Theſe extraordinary acts of *Alexander* are recorded by *Arrian* after this manner. As the forces continued their march through theſe ſands, which reflected the burning rays of the ſun upon them, it was neceſſary that they ſhould ſend out parties daily to ſeek for water; the king, though ready to faint away with thirſt, marched on foot at the head of his troops, that his officers and ſoldiers, as is uſual in ſuch caſes, might the more patiently endure thoſe hardſhips which their general ſhared in common with them. In the mean while, ſome light-armed ſoldiers, who were diſpatched to ſearch for water, found a ſmall quantity not far from the army in the channel of a brook almoſt dried up, but it was very muddy: However they drew it up, and bringing it in a ſhield, preſented it to the king as a choice gift: He received it, and returning due thanks to thoſe who brought it, poured it immediately upon the ground in preſence of the army. This action of his encouraged the ſoldiers, as much as if every man had drank a ſhare of that water, which he refuſed to taſte; and his extraordinary ſelf-denial is no leſs praiſe-worthy than the noble example he ſhewed of a wiſe and conſummate general. Another accident happened here, which, if it had not been ſpeedily remedied, might have occaſioned the loſs of the whole army; for the ſands being moved to and fro by the winds, and all the ſurface reduced to a level, their guides themſelves were at a loſs how to conduct the army any further. In this difficulty *Alexander* was forced to proceed as chance directed him. However, he ordered his army to turn to the left, and himſelf with a few choice horſe went before to point out the road; but their horſes, quite ſpent with heat, were moſt of them left behind; inſomuch that only he, with five of his followers, paſſed through the ſands to the ſea-ſhore ſafe on horſeback. However on their arrival there, they dug nigh the coaſt, and found plenty of water ſweet and clear; whereupon he ordered the army thither, and after that travelled ſeven days along the ſea-coaſt, and always found plenty of water. Then his guides aſſuring him they knew the way again, they left the ſea, and led the army into the inland parts (95).

(95) *Arrian. lib.* vii. *c.* . . *Plut. in vit. Alex.*

extorting

extorting vaſt ſums of money from the people, raviſhing women, and in ſhort giving a looſe to their paſſions in all things. *Clitander* and *Sitalces* being fully convicted, were immediately put to death; but *Heracon*, baffling his accuſers, was acquitted; yet the inhabitants of *Suſa* preferring a new charge againſt him, he was ſeized, convicted, and executed; which effectually fixed the affections of the people in all the provinces to *Alexander*, and at the ſame time obliged all the magiſtrates acting under him to behave as became them. The king after a ſhort receſs continued his march through *Caramania*, not with a *Bacchanalian* ſolemnity, as ſome authors, and particularly *Plutarch*, have reported, but gravely, and in good order; as *Arrian* aſſures us from *Ptolemy* and *Ariſtobulus*, who in their memoirs contradicted the vain relations which others took pains to propagate (L). In his march, *Nearchus* his admiral joined him, and gave him an account that all under his command were in perfect ſafety, and in an excellent condition; with which the king was mightily pleaſed, and having treated him with ſingular marks of favour and reſpect, ſent him back to the navy. Some informations having reached the king's ear of great diſorders committed in *Perſia* during his abſence, he immediately ſet out with a body of horſe, and light-armed troops, for *Paſſargadæ*, where was the tomb of *Cyrus*. It was a ſmall, but neat pile of building, with a fine plantation about it; and near it a convenient houſe for ſome of the magi, who were appointed to take care of it. In the tomb itſelf lay the body of *Cyrus* in a coffin of gold, placed on a bed of ſtate, the appartment being in every reſpect royally furniſhed. This place to his great concern and amazement he found rifled, all things valuable taken away, except the coffin, which was ſtrangely battered and bruiſed. All the inquiry he could make produced no diſcovery of the authors of this villainy; for the magi either could not or would not declare by whom it was done. All that in ſuch a caſe therefore the king could do, was to direct that every thing ſhould be reſtored to the ſtate it was in before this accident, which accordingly was done, and *Ariſtobulus* was appointed to ſee thoſe orders executed. *Orſines* a *Perſian* acted at this time as governor of *Perſia*, not by any appointment from the king, but of his own head, the governor ſettled there by *Alexander* dying while he was in *India*; this *Orſines* was charged by the people with many grievous crimes, particularly with putting many perſons of diſtinction to death; merely to gratify his own reſentments. Upon which accuſations, after due proofs exhibited, he was condemned to be crucified. This ſtory by ſome authors is related in a very different manner, as if not he, but *Alexander* himſelf, had been the criminal; however, there ſeem to be no juſt grounds for any ſuch charge, and therefore we may juſtly wonder that modern writers of great credit have given into it, and thence taken occaſion to charge *Alexander* with a vice which the beſt authors tell us he vehemently deteſted (M). *Peuceſtas*, who had ſaved the king's life when he

(L) *Diodorus Siculus*, after having given us a dreadful picture of the miſerable condition of *Alexander's* army, when it returned out of *India*, tells us expreſsly, that as ſoon as they entered a rich and plentiful country, the king cauſed them to celebrate a feaſt to *Bacchus*, himſelf leading the dance, and the army following dreſſed in the *Bacchanalian* mode, ſeven whole days being ſpent in rioting and drunkenneſs (96). *Plutarch* heightens this ſcene a good deal, and runs into a long deſcription of the pomp and ſplendor of this romantic cavalcade (97). *Curtius* exceeds *Plutarch*, and diſplays his rhetoric in a very pompous detail of this *Dionyſian* feſtival. At the cloſe of his account he has added ſome political reflections, which do indeed ſhew that ſuch a march was exceſſively fooliſh and ridiculous, but at the ſame time bear ſo hard on the probability of the fact, that one would think they were ſufficient to overthrow it. He obſerves, that if but one thouſand men of courage had attacked this drunken and diſſolute rout, they muſt at leaſt have defeated, and might have eaſily cut them all to pieces (98). *Arrian* however aſſures us, that *Ptolemy* and *Ariſtobulus*, who accompanied the king in his march, ſaid nothing in their memoirs of the celebrating any ſuch feſtival (99). The great Sir *Walter Raleigh* (100), and the learned dean *Prideaux* (1), both mention this march, without giving their readers the leaſt notice, that there is reaſon to doubt what ſome authors have delivered about it. Nay, the latter actually quotes *Arrian* in ſupport of this paſſage, which however he flatly contradicts. This ſhews the neceſſity of ſeparating the relations of different authors; if we intend to inſtruct, and not to confound readers; and this ſhews too the uſe of a hiſtory written truly from what is delivered by the ancients, and not after the collections of the moderns, who are too apt to regard the ſymmetry and beauty of their own works, to interſperſe thoſe doubts which neceſſarily ariſe from the conſideration of divided authorities. We thought this no leſs neceſſary to be ſaid in defence of our own work, than proper for the information of the reader, ſince we preſume not to diſſent from the opinions of men of ſo great worth as *Raleigh* and *Prideaux*, but for the ſake of ſiding with truth and juſtice, which no authority ought to overbear.

(M) *Curtius* tells us, that *Orſines* the *Perſian* was lineally deſcended from *Cyrus*; that he met the king with a moſt prodigious train of carriages filled with all

(96) *Diodor. lib.* xvii. (97) *Plut. in vit. Alex.* (98) *Curt. lib.* ix. *prop. fin.* (99) *Arrian. lib.* vi. *c.* 28. (100) *Hiſtory of the world, Book II. ſect.* 22. (1) *Connection of the Old and New Teſtament, P.* 1. *B.* 8. *A. A. C.* 325.

a he fought againſt a whole gariſon, was appointed governor of *Perſia*. Which dignity was no ſooner conferred upon him, than he laid aſide the *Macedonian* garb, and put on the *Median* habit, being the only one of *Alexander*'s captains, who by complying with the manners of the people he governed, acquired their affection. *Baryaxes* a *Mede*, who had put on the royal tiara, and aſſumed the regal ſtyle, being brought priſoner hither by *Atropates*, governor of *Media*, with thoſe who had counſelled him to revolt, was with them by order of the king put to death: After which *Alexander* marched to *Perſepolis*, the ruins of which when he had a while conſidered, he is ſaid to have expreſſed great concern for what he had done. In theſe marches, *Calanus* the *Indian*, who had accompanied *Alexander* at his intreaty, finding himſelf decli-
b ning in health by reaſon of a flux which hung upon him, beſought the king that a funeral pile might be prepared, which with ſome difficulty was granted. The ſage, now ſo weak as to be carried in a litter, cauſed himſelf to be placed therein on the top of the pile, after having taken an affectionate leave of the *Macedonians*, particularly of *Lyſimachus*, who was his diſciple, and ſtretching himſelf at full length, remained without voice or motion in the midſt of the flames [m].

Endeavours to unite the Macedonians *and* Perſians.

The king having diſpatched *Atropates* to his government, marched himſelf to *Suſa*, where *Abulites* and his ſon *Oxathres* being charged with great crimes in the adminiſtration of public affairs, were put to death. Afterwards the king gave an extraordinary looſe to pleaſure, reſolving to make himſelf, his officers and ſoldiers, an
c amends for the difficulties they had hitherto undergone, purpoſing at the ſame time ſo effectually to unite his new-conquered with his hereditary ſubjects, that the jealouſies and fears which had hitherto tormented both ſhould no longer ſubſiſt. With this view he took himſelf two wives of the royal blood of *Perſia*, *Barſine*, or *Statira*, the daughter of *Darius*, and *Pariſatis* the daughter of *Ochus*. *Drypetis*, another daughter of *Darius*, he gave to *Hephæſtion*; *Amaſtrine* the daughter of *Oxyartes*, the brother of *Darius*, married *Craterus*; and to the reſt of his friends, to the number of eighty he gave other ladies of the greateſt quality. All theſe marriages were celebrated at once, *Alexander* himſelf beſtowing fortunes on them; he directed likewiſe that the numbers of his officers and ſoldiers who had married *Aſiatic* wives
d ſhould be taken; and though they appeared to be ten thouſand, yet he gratified each of them according to his rank. He reſolved next to pay the debts of his army, and thereupon iſſued an edict, directing every man to regiſter his name, and the ſum he owed; with which the ſoldiers complying ſlowly from an apprehenſion that there was ſomething elſe behind, he ordered tables heaped with money to be ſet in all the quarters of the camp, and cauſed every man's debts to be paid on his bare word, without ſo much as making any entry of his name; though the whole ſum came to twenty thouſand talents. On ſuch as had diſtinguiſhed them-

[m] Arrian. lib. vii. c. 3, 4, 5. Diodor. Plut. ubi ſupra.

all ſorts of proviſions and refreſhments; to which he added preſents of great value, and four thouſand talents in ready money. He was alſo, as the ſame author tells us, extremely liberal to *Alexander*'s friends; but paſſed by *Bagoas* the eunuch, whom this author makes *Alexander*'s catamite, without affording him any taſte of his bounty. Nay, when he was put in mind of him by his friends, he anſwered, that he loved the king, and honoured his counſellors and captains; but as for ſuch infamous fellows as *Bagoas*, he contemned and deſpiſed them; upon this the eunuch determined to deſtroy him, and for that purpoſe hired certain mean wretches to forſwear themſelves by vouching upon their oaths certain ſtories which he taught them. Himſelf took pains to poiſon the king's mind with the moſt malicious tales, and the moſt cruel ſuggeſtions againſt this innocent and worthy man, whom at length he took this opportunity to deſtroy: The king going to viſit the tomb of *Cyrus*, which we have elſewhere deſcribed, found it robbed of every thing valuable. *Bagoas* ſeeing *Alexander* ſurprized, immediately ſaid, he wondered not at all at it, for that ſome governors were ſo rich, that their houſes would not contain their wealth; and that in all probability *Orſines* would not have parted with his money ſo freely, if he had come by it very honeſtly. Then *Bagoas* put his falſe witneſſes upon accuſing *Orſines*, and on their teſtimony he was condemned and executed. *Curtius* tells us, that as he went to death, *Bagoas* ſtruck him; and that thereupon *Orſines* ſaid, *I have heretofore been informed that the* Perſian *empire hath been governed by women; but that it ſhould be ruled by an eunuch, is a new thing* (2). We are not able to trace any part of this ſtory in any of the hiſtories remaining of *Alexander*'s life, excepting this of *Curtius*. *Arrian* ſays expreſsly, that *Orſines* was put to death for ſacrilege, oppreſſion and cruelty (3). *Plutarch* ſpeaking of the robbery committed in *Cyrus*'s tomb, ſays, that *Alexander* put to death *Polymachus*, a man of quality, and native of *Pella* in *Macedonia* (4). As to the fact, we can ſay no more; but as to the dying words, they certainly belong to *Curtius*, for *Orſines* could not poſſibly uſe them. He muſt have remembered the empire ruled by a nameſake of this very eunuch; nay, he muſt have remembered this very eunuch in the higheſt favour with *Darius*. Let the reader decide of the reſt as he thinks fit.

(2) *Curt. lib.* x. (3) *Arrian. lib.* vi. *cap.* 30. (4) *Plutarch. in vit. Alex.*

ſelves in an extraordinary manner, he beſtowed crowns of gold. *Peuceſtas* had the a
firſt; *Leonnatus* the ſecond; *Nearchus* the third; *Oneſicritus* the fourth; *Hephæſtion* the fifth; and the reſt of his guards each of them one. After this he made other diſpoſitions proper for conciliating, as he ſuppoſed, the differences among all his ſubjects. He reviewed the thirty thouſand youths, whom at his departure for *India* he had ordered to be taught *Greek*, and the *Macedonian* diſcipline; expreſſing high ſatisfaction, that the fine appearance they made rendered them worthy of the appellation he had beſtowed on them, viz. *Epigoni*, *i. e.* ſucceſſors. He promoted alſo, without any diſtinction of nation, all thoſe who had ſerved him faithfully and valiantly in the *Indian* war. When all theſe regulations were made, he gave the command of his heavy-armed troops to *Hephæſtion*, and ordered him to march directly to b
the banks of the *Tigris*, while in the mean time a fleet was equipped to *Euleus* for carrying the king and the troops he retained with him down to the ocean [n].

The Macedonians *mutiny.*

It is clear from this ſhort expedition, that *Alexander* began to have a great taſte in maritime affairs, which had been too much neglected by his predeceſſors, his father *Philip* only excepted. It is ſaid, that he meditated a voyage to the coaſts of *Arabia* and *Ethiopia*, and thence round the whole continent of *Afric* to the ſtreights of *Gibraltar*. However, of this there ſeems to be no great certainty; but that he really intended to ſubdue the *Carthaginians*, and make ſome attempt on *Italy*, is more than probable. When he arrived with his fleet in the ocean, he directed his courſe to the mouth of the river *Tigris*, which he entered, and ſailed up to the camp of *Hephæſtion*, c
without meeting either with any extraordinary obſtacle, or himſelf performing any thing worth recording, except that he directed certain engines to be removed, which the *Perſians* had placed in the river to render it leſs navigable; for he conceiving this to be a cowardly and ſcandalous practice, worthy of the old maſters of the river, though not of him, would not permit theſe incumbrances to remain any longer, and therefore ſet the river free. When the king came to *Opis*, a city ſeated on the *Tigris*, he iſſued an edict, purporting that ſuch of the *Macedonians*, as through infirmity or wounds, were incapable of ſerving longer, or who through the hardſhips they had undergone, were unwilling to make any more campaigns, might have their diſcharges, and return home; but that ſuch as choſe rather to remain with him, d
ſhould receive ſo great encouragement, that thoſe in their own country ſhould envy their condition; this was certainly intended to pleaſe the ſoldiers, and to make them perfectly eaſy: It had however quite a contrary effect; for as ſoon as the army was informed of his intent, they began immediately to clamour in an unuſual manner, and to tranſgreſs all the bounds both of reaſon and duty; inſomuch that when the king mounted his tribunal, they aſſembled round it, demanded, *That they might all be diſcharged, reproached the king with the favours he had done to the* Barbarians, *bid him take his dancing boys and conquer nations*; and ſome of them had the inſolence to tell him, *That his father* Hammon *and he might go and ſubdue the world by themſelves.* It was upon this occaſion that the king performed the moſt ſhining action in his whole life; he leaped from his tribunal, and calling to his guards, made them ſeize e
one by one thirteen of the ring-leaders, whom he pointed out, and ordered to be put to death upon the ſpot; this ſtruck ſuch a terror into the reſt, that they were all ſilent; whereupon the king remounted his tribunal, and in an eloquent ſpeech, ſhewed the juſtice of his own conduct, and the folly of theirs. When he had done ſpeaking, he leaped again from his tribunal, and retired to his palace, where he neither put on his robes, nor admitted any of his friends for two days; on the third he called the *Perſian* nobility round him, promoted them to the principal commands in the army, and permitted ſuch of them as were become his relations by marriage to kiſs him. In the mean time the *Macedonians* ſtood moſt of them about the tribunal, like ſtatues; but when they were told that the king was forming a *Perſian* f
army after the *Grecian* manner, and that he intended to give the title of the royal regiment to a *Perſian* corps of horſe, they ran like diſtracted people to the palace; and ſurrounding it, laid down their arms, offered to deliver up the authors of the ſedition, and proteſted that they would remain there day and night, till the king had pity on them. When *Alexander* was informed of this, he came to the gate in order to ſpeak to them; but when he ſaw their arms upon the ground, and their dejected looks, he melted into tears, and loſt the power of ſpeaking. A quarter of

[n] Arrian. lib. vii. c. 6. Diodor. ubi ſupra. Plut. ubi ſupra. Curt. lib. x.

an

a an hour paſt in deep ſilence; at laſt *Callines*, an ancient man, who had ſerved in an auxiliary troop of horſe, broke it: *Thy* Macedonians, *O king!* ſaid he, *are full of grief, becauſe you have ſtyled the* Perſians *your kindred, and have ſuffered them to kiſs you, while they were excluded.* The king anſwered, *I now make you all my kindred, and henceforward will have you reputed ſo. Callines* thereupon ſtepping forward, kiſſed him, as did every one of the *Macedonians.* After this *Alexander* gave a ſolemn feaſt, at which were preſent nine thouſand perſons. The *Macedonians* ſat next the king, next them the *Perſians*, and after them perſons of all nations. This vaſt company eat together, and drank all out of one golden cup, to the proſperity and perpetual affection of all the nations over whom *Alexander* was king °.

b THE *Macedonians* who were ſent home as invalids, amounted to ten thouſand; they had each of them their pay, and a talent apiece given them over for their expences; *Craterus* was appointed their commander, and *Polyſperchon* nominated to aſſiſt him; orders were likewiſe ſent into *Macedonia*, directing that theſe old ſoldiers ſhould have great reſpect paid them, and themſelves and their children enjoy large privileges; their ſons however by *Aſiatic* women the king retained, appointing them ſchools and maſters at his own expence. The ſeverity with which he puniſhed ſuch of the governors as had offended during his abſence, as it extremely pleaſed the people in general, ſo it frightened ſuch as were guilty, as thoſe who were executed, inſomuch that many of them fled. Amongſt the reſt, *Harpalus*, who had done ſo c once before; but now, to ſecure himſelf effectually, he took five thouſand talents out of the king's treaſury, and having collected about ſix thouſand mercenary ſoldiers, he left them at *Tænarus*, and went himſelf to *Athens*; from whence, after ſome time, being obliged to withdraw, he returned to his troops, and was killed by *Thimbro*, one of his intimate friends. As for *Alexander*, having cured the army of ſedition, he was plagued with diſputes among his friends. *Hephæſtion* his favourite eſpecially preſumed too far on his kindneſs towards him, and had once the inſolence to remove *Eumenes*, the king's ſecretary, and the man of the cleareſt head in his whole army, out of his lodgings, for the ſake of a muſician belonging to himſelf; whereupon *Eumenes* went to the king, and in the height of his paſſion told him, d *That the way to be in his favour now was to lay down their arms, and turn fidlers.* The king was very angry with *Hephæſtion*, and after having reproved him ſharply, obliged him againſt his will to be reconciled to *Eumenes.* Then the king continued his march through *Media*, in which, as *Arrian* informs us, it was ſaid that he received from *Atrobates* a troop of female warriors, who were ſuppoſed to be *Amazons*; but the ſame author tells us, that no author of any dignity had preſumed to publiſh ſuch a ſtory in his writings; he therefore rejects it as a fiction, as we alſo do, nor ſhall we trouble the readers with what other authors relate of *Thaleſtris*, her corps of female warriors, and her deſiring *Alexander* to get her with child; tales fitter for a romance, than for any thing which bears the name of hiſtory, much leſs the hiſtory e of *Alexander*, the moſt proſperous captain of the *Greeks*, once the moſt eminent and deſerving people in the world. The cauſe of the king's march this way is not expreſſed by *Arrian*, or indeed by any other author; but it may with probability be imputed to *Harpalus*'s flight, and the danger there was, that the reſt of the royal treaſures might be diſſipated; however it was, the king continued his rout to *Ecbatana* by pretty quick marches P.

Alexander *marches into* Media.

ON his arrival at that noble capital, he offered ſacrifice to the gods, and exhibited ſolemn ſports and plays, making alſo a royal banquet on that occaſion; but the joy and mirth, as well of the king as of his army, was very ſhortly interrupted by *Hephæſtion*'s falling ſuddenly very ill, and appearing to be in great danger of death. f Authors are not agreed as to the occaſion of his ſickneſs; ſome expreſsly affirming that he over-drank himſelf; others, that he took a ſurfeit; however on the ſeventh day of his illneſs mortal ſigns appeared, of which when the king had notice, he immediately quitted the place of exerciſe, where he was at that time, and went to ſee him; but he came too late, for before he reached his lodgings, *Hephæſtion* was dead. It is ſaid, that his phyſician having preſcribed him a low diet, he refuſed to comply with it, eat a boiled capon, and drank freely of ſome wine which he liked that day; whereupon his fever returning with greater violence than ever, carried him off. The king expreſſed very deep concern for the loſs of his friend, and did him

The death of Hephæſtion.

° ARRIAN. DIODOR. PLUT. CURT. & JUST. ubi ſupra. PLUT. in vit. Alex. JUSTIN. lib. xii.

P ARRIAN. lib. vii. c. 13. DIODOR. SICUL. lib. xviii.

all

all the honours that he could poſſibly deviſe. *Plutarch* ſays, he ordered ten thouſand talents to be ſpent on his monument; *Arrian* mentions the ſame ſum ſpent in his obſequies at *Babylon*: As for what *Ælian* tells us, that he razed the caſtle of *Ecbatana*, crucified *Hephæſtion*'s phyſician, and forbad the ſound of the flute, or of any other muſical inſtrument in his camp; it really deſerves no credit [q]. One thing *Arrian* informs us relating to this buſineſs, which is more probable, and at the ſame time more curious, and better worth relating, *viz.* that all the great officers in *Alexander*'s army devoted themſelves and their arms to *Hephæſtion* at the motion of *Eumenes*, who took this method of ſhewing, that, far from being pleaſed at the death of a man who had differed with him, he was deeply concerned at it [r]. In the neighbourhood of *Ecbatana* dwelt the *Coſſeans*, a race of rude and barbarous people, ſheltering themſelves in the *Median* mountains, and whom ſome writers affirm never to have been ſubdued by the *Perſian* kings. Againſt theſe people on account of their having committed ſome new robberies, *Alexander*, though it was winter, reſolved to march, which accordingly he did, dividing his army into two bodies, one under his own command, the other under that of *Ptolomy Lagus*. The *Coſſeans*, as ſoon as they entered their country, fled to their old hiding places, ſuppoſing they would be now, as they had been heretofore, ſo many inacceſſible fortreſſes; but they were quite miſtaken, for *Alexander* and *Ptolemy* continually purſued them, and at the head of the light-armed foot clambered up the rocks, and either compelled thoſe who had taken ſhelter there to come down, or blocked up the mouths of their caves, and left them to ſtarve. Whereupon the *Coſſeans* in deſpair ſent deputies to ſubmit themſelves to *Alexander*'s mercy. Some authors have affected to call this expedition man-hunting, and tell us, that *Alexander*, having ſlain many thouſands of theſe poor people, called it offering a ſacrifice to the manes of *Hephæſtion*. But if, as all authors agree, the *Coſſeans* were no better than a race of highland robbers, who preſuming on the natural ſtrength of their country, thought to plunder ſuch as paſſed through the skirts of it with impunity; with what propriety can the king's puniſhing theſe criminals be ſtyled man-hunting; as to his ſacrificing to the manes of *Hephæſtion*, we are told, that at *Babylon* he offered ten thouſand beaſts of different kinds to him; yet even this is taken from romance writers; for neither *Ptolemy* nor *Ariſtobulus* mention any ſuch thing; what credit then ought we to give this ſtory of ſacrificing men? If we may be indulged a conjecture, we can offer ſome account of the origin of this tale. It is highly probable, that ſome of *Alexander*'s officers might propoſe the undertaking of this expedition to cure his grief, and in all likelihood ſome rhetorical flouriſher in his memoirs after *Alexander*'s death, took from thence a hint of calling this a ſacrifice to the manes of *Hephæſtion*, and, as is natural enough, ſome dull writer or other tranſcribed this flouriſh for truth. *Arrian* often complains of ſuch things, and *Eratoſthenes* had before expoſed them; we may therefore juſtly wonder when we find modern writers tranſcribing theſe improbable ſtories without giving their readers the leaſt caution, or putting them in mind that they are taken from writers of doubtful credit. If the following a different method hath ſomething lengthened this hiſtory, the judicious peruſer will not complain, ſince it is certainly of equal importance to be acquainted with the authority on which facts are founded, as to be told the facts themſelves [s]. But to return to *Alexander*; while he was at *Ecbatana*, he gave orders for felling a great quantity of timber in the mountains for building a navy, with which he deſigned to examine the *Hyrcanian* or *Caſpian* ſea, and to make himſelf as thoroughly acquainted therewith, as he now was with the coaſts of the ocean, and the paſſage into the *Tigris* by the *Perſian* gulph. Theſe directions given, and the neceſſary orders diſtributed for the quiet adminiſtration of affairs in the province, he ſet out for *Babylon*.

Alexander *marches to* Babylon.

IN his march from *Ecbatana* to the laſt mentioned city, he gave directions for collecting whatever *Grecian* ſtatues or other curioſities had been brought by *Xerxes* or any of his officers in any of their expeditions out of *Greece* into the *Perſian* dominions, and ordered they ſhould be carefully ſent back. He likewiſe gave audience to many embaſſadors, not only from the ſtates of *Greece*, but alſo from *Barbarian* princes, who came to congratulate him on his ſafe return from his *Indian* expedition, giving them not only courteous and obliging anſwers, but alſo gratifying them in whatever requeſts they

[q] ÆLIAN. Hiſt. Var. lib. ii. c. 41. [r] ARRIAN. ubi ſupra. [s] ATHEN. Deipnoſoph. lib. x. PLUT. in vit. Alex. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra.

made

a made him. When he drew near *Babylon*, the magi are ſaid to have ſent a deputation, requeſting the king not to enter that city, becauſe they foreſaw that it would be fatal to him. Others ſay, that they were afraid to deliver the meſſage they were charged with to the king himſelf, but that they applied themſelves to *Nearchus*, who was then at court, and informed him of the king's danger; however it was, all agree that the king had notice of theſe predictions of the magi, and that at firſt they made great impreſſion on him; but that when he had heard the *Grecian* philoſophers reaſon upon this ſubject, he began to ſlight ſuch things, and to return to his firſt reſolution of marching directly to *Babylon*. When the *Chaldeans* found this, they offered the king another piece of advice, which was this; that if he would needs enter *Babylon*,
b he ſhould march round it, and ſo enter it with his face towards the eaſt. To this the king aſſented; but when he attempted to put it in execution, he found it impracticable for the country on the other ſide of *Babylon*, being a deep impaſſable marſh, he was conſtrained to return, and to enter it with his face to the weſt. This with ſome other preſages, and unlucky omens, ſome of which fell out, and others were remembred about this time, gave the king great uneaſineſs (N). However, when he had been ſome time in *Babylon*, he reſumed his former ſpirit, and began to bend his thoughts to the execution of certain vaſt deſigns he had formed, ſuch as the conqueſt of the *Arabians*, the draining the *Babylonian* fens, and making a baſon at *Babylon* capable of containing a thouſand gallies. As to the firſt of theſe de-
c ſigns, he directed proper inquiries to be made concerning the country, people, and moſt proper time for invading *Arabia*. For his third project, he inſtantly aſſigned a number of ſhip-builders, architects, and labourers to carry it on; and as to the ſecond, he went in perſon down the *Euphrates*, about fourſcore of our miles, to examine the canal called *Pallacopas*; by which the waters of the *Euphrates* were let out in order to judge the better of the propoſals he ſhould receive for remedying thoſe evils which fell ſo heavy upon *Aſſyria*. From thence he paſſed to the mouth of the canal, and ſo to the *Arabian* confines, where finding an agreeable ſituation, he built a new city, and left in it a colony of *Greek* mercenaries. Then he determined to ſail back through the marſhes, having the city on his left hand. To ſhew the
d ſkill he had acquired in naval affairs, he directed the royal gally himſelf; but as he was upon deck for this purpoſe, his *tiara* and *fillet*, which, according to the eaſtern mode, he wore to denote his regal dignity, were blown off by the wind. The *tiara* by its weight was carried to the bottom of the river; but the *fillet* was born by the

(N) The preſages referred to in the text are thus related by *Arrian*. *Ariſtobulus* tells us a ſtrange ſtory which happened to one of *Alexander*'s men in this manner: When *Apollodorus* the *Amphipolitan*, one of the king's friends, who had been deputed to preſide over the army, which was left for the ſecurity of the province, *Mazeus* being then governor, met him at his return from *India*, and perceived how ſeverely he had treated ſeveral governors of provinces, he wrote to his brother *Pythagoras*, one of thoſe augurs who gave anſwers by inſpecting the intrails of beaſts, and conſulted him about his own ſafety. *Pythagoras* asked him in anſwer to his letter, of whom he principally ſtood in fear, that he might divine accordingly? and when he replied, that he chiefly dreaded *Alexander* and *Hephæſtion*, and when he ſaw the laps or fillets of the liver wanting, he wrote a letter, and ſent it ſealed to his brother *Apollodorus* then at *Ecbatana*, wherein he aſſured him he need not ſtand in fear of *Hephæſtion*, for he would ſhortly be taken off by death. And *Ariſtobulus* tells us, that *Apollodorus* received this letter the day before *Hephæſtion*'s deceaſe: Then *Pythagoras* again conſulting for *Alexander*, and finding the fillets of the liver wanting thereto, wrote to the ſame purpoſe a ſecond time to *Apollodorus*. He never ſo much as endeavoured to conceal the matter, but freely communicated the whole ſtory to the king, as a teſtimony of his ſincere good will towards him; and intreated him to beware of the danger which threatened. *Alexander* hereupon commended him for his fidelity, and when he entered into *Babylon*, he demanded of *Pythagoras* by what means he was informed of thoſe things which he had written to his brother concerning him? and being anſwered, that the livers of the ſacrifices offered for that purpoſe were defective; he again inquired what that portended? to which the *Augur* replied, ſome great miſchief. However, the king was ſo far from being offended at him, that he reſpected him the more for relating the whole matter to him ſimply and ſincerely. *Ariſtobulus* tells us, that he received this ſtory from *Pythagoras*'s own mouth, who alſo afterwards inſpected the intrails for *Perdiccas* and *Antigonus*, and gave the ſame reſponſes, and the events happened accordingly; for *Perdiccas* was ſlain making war againſt *Ptolemy*, and *Antigonus* loſt his life in a battle againſt *Seleucus* and *Lyſimachus*, at the river *Ipſus*. A ſtrange ſtory is alſo related concerning *Calanus* the *Sage*, to this effect: When he was carried towards the funeral pile, immediately before his death, he kiſſed all his friends, and took his leave of them, except *Alexander*, and when he drew near the king for that end, he refuſed to kiſs, and take his leave of him then; but told him, he would find him again at *Babylon*, and do it there. Theſe words were not at all regarded at that time by thoſe who heard them; but the deceaſe of *Alexander* afterwards at *Babylon* brought them freſh into their memories, and they then looked upon them as a prophecy of his death (5).

(5) *Arrian. lib.* vii. *c.* 18.

winds to the ſepulchre of one of the *Aſſyrian* kings, and there it ſtuck upon the reeds. A ſailor ſeeing this, and being deſirous to ſhew his zeal and courage in his maſter's ſervice, jumped into the water, ſwam to the monument, and recovered the fillet. But being afraid that it might be wet as he ſwam back again, he put it upon his head, which was believed to increaſe the preſage already held ominous enough [a]. Some writers have informed us, that this ſailor on his coming on board had a talent given him as a reward for his boldneſs, but that he was immediately put to death; but what *Ariſtobulus* ſays, beſides the credit it derives from his ſaying it, is much more probable, *viz.* that he was rewarded with a talent for ſaving the fillet, and ſcourged for his indiſcretion in putting it on his head. When the king returned to *Babylon*, he found there *Peuceſtas* who was come from *Perſia* with twenty thouſand regular troops, beſides a conſiderable corps of *Coſſeans* and *Tapurians*, nations lately reduced. *Philoxenus* alſo arrived with an army out of *Caria*, *Menander* with a body of troops from *Lydia*, and *Menidas* with ſeveral ſquadrons of horſe. Ambaſſadors from *Greece* alſo arrived, who approached the king with garlands on their heads, and preſented him with golden crowns, intending thereby to offer him divine honours, a thing which had been fatal to his father, and proved no leſs ſo to the ſon. He was extremely deſirous of forming the *Perſian* troops on the *Macedonian* model, and having firſt appointed them officers of that nation, he next determined to incorporate them into his grand army. For this purpoſe having directed a review, he aſſiſted thereat for ſome time with great pleaſure; but finding himſelf on a ſudden very dry, he quitted his throne to go and take ſome refreſhment. A mean fellow, who was a priſoner, but ſometimes permitted to go without chains, ſeeing the royal ſeat empty, paſſed briskly through the eunuchs, and ſat himſelf down on the throne. When the king was informed of this, he ordered the man to be ſeized, and examined whether any body put him upon this, or what was his motive, if he did it of his own accord. The man anſwered, that himſelf only was to blame, and that he did it from a levity of mind, for which he could not account. On this account the thing was held ſtill the more ominous, and the unhappy wretch for his unaccountable preſumption, immediately put to death. A few days after this, when he offered the accuſtomed ſacrifices for the ſucceſs of his affairs, and had added ſome new ones, by the advice of his ſoothſayers, he feaſted his friends, and continued the banquet till late at night. He is alſo ſaid to have given the fleſh of the ſacrificed beaſts to his army, and ordered wine to be diſtributed among them, according to their numbers in each troop and company. Some authors add, that he was then willing to have retired from the banquet to his bed-chamber, but was met on his way by *Medius*, one of his friends at that time in high favour, who intreated him to go and make merry with him that night, for that the ſports and entertainments in his apartments would not diſpleaſe him. The royal diary gives us an account that he eat and drank with *Medius*, and then retired to reſt; and when he awaked, and had waſhed and refreſhed himſelf, he again ſupped with *Medius*, and drank till late at night. When he retired from the banquet, and had waſhed, he eat a little, and lay down there, becauſe he had ſome ſymptoms of a fever. Afterwards he was carried in a chair to the temple, and there ſacrificed after his uſual manner, and this he repeated ſeveral days; and when the ſacrifices were performed, he lay in an apartment prepared on purpoſe for him, till the evening. In the mean time he iſſued out orders to the captain of his troops to make ready for a march in four days time, and even nominated thoſe who ſhould travel on foot; but thoſe that were to go on board the fleet with him were to prepare themſelves againſt the fifth day. After this he was carried to the river, and being put on board one of his gallies, was conveyed to ſome pleaſant gardens on the other ſide, where after he had waſhed, he went to reſt. The next day he again bathed, and performed his accuſtomed ſacrifices, which done, he entered his chamber, and held diſcourſe with *Medius*, having given orders to his officers to attend him in the morning. He then ſupped moderately, and being conveyed to bed, had a continued fever upon him all that night. However, the next morning he again waſhed and ſacrificed, and ordered *Nearchus* and the reſt of his captains to prepare for ſailing the third day. The next day he waſhed and ſacrificed as before, but his fever ſtill continued; notwithſtanding which, he again called his captains to him, and ordered all things to be made ready for a voyage, and having bathed, his fever increaſed towards the evening. The next day

a to b c d e f

[a] Arrian. lib. vii. c. 22. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xvii.

he

a he was carried into a houſe adjacent to the bath, where he performed his uſual ſacrifices, and once more called his chief officers about him, to give orders concerning the intended voyage. The day following he was with great difficulty carried to ſacrifice; however, he ſtill continued to renew his orders, and notwithſtanding he grew manifeſtly worſe, could not be reſtrained from ſacrificing the day after. He then commanded his chief officers to remain with him in the hall, and the inferior ones to wait at the gates, and growing ſtill worſe, he was conveyed from the hall in the garden, where he then was, into the palace; and his chief officers approaching near to pay their attendance, he made ſigns, that he knew them, but was not able to ſpeak, nor pronounce any thing articulate; and thus he remained all that night. The day following his fever ſtill increaſed, and all that night and the next day con-
b tinued ſtrong and violent. The army by this time began to ſuſpect that the king was dead; and as all crowds are violent in the purſuit of whatever they believe, they openly publiſhed this opinion of theirs, and when it was contradicted by thoſe about his perſon, ſome of the ſoldiers had the aſſurance to force into the royal apartments, and even into that where the king lay. He was by this time ſpeechleſs, and ſcarce able to ſtir; however he raiſed himſelf up, and made ſhift to extend his hand for them to kiſs; which when they had done, they retired. A little after *Python*, *Attalus*, *Demophoon*, *Peuceſtas*, *Cleomenes*, *Mænidas* and *Seleucus* came in. They had watched all night in the temple of *Serapis*, and had propoſed the following queſtion to the god, Whether *Alexander* ſhould be brought into his temple to recover his
c health? To which the oracle anſwered, That it would be beſt for him to remain where he was. They had been in the room but a ſmall time when the king expired, ſo that it was conjectured the oracle meant death was beſt for him. This is *Arrian*'s account. As for thoſe of other writers, the reader will find them in a note, it being abſolutely neceſſary to let whatever is ſaid upon that ſubject reſt on the particular credit of him who writes it [z] (O).

Other relations of the king's death.
Year after the flood 2676.
Year before Chriſt 323.

We have ſeen from the before-mentioned relation, as alſo from what we have noted out of other ancient writers, that *Alexander* died a natural death. There was however an opinion propagated very early, that he died of poiſon; and the ſtory is told thus. *Antipater*, ſay they, perceiving that he declined much in the king's favour,
d

[z] Arrian. l. viii. c. 24, 25, 26.

(O) *Diodorus Siculus*, ſpeaking of the death of *Alexander*, uſhers it in with an account of his loſing his *Tiara* and *Fillet*, to avert which ill omen, he informs us, the king was injoined to offer certain ſacrifices; which having performed, *Medius* invited him, on his return, to a banquet, where the king drinking off the *Herculean* cup, was immediately ſtruck with exceſſive pains, ſo that he was carried inſtantly to his lodgings. His ſickneſs increaſing, he began himſelf to deſpair of life, and gave his ring to *Perdiccas*. His friends inquiring to whom he left the kingdom, he anſwered, *To the moſt worthy*. He alſo intimated his foreſight of their broils, by ſaying, *He could already view the funeral games which would attend him*. This author mentions the report of *Alexander*'s dying by poiſon, through the contrivance of *Antipater*, with the circumſtances alledged to ſupport that opinion. But he leaves the reader to judge for himſelf on the facts and reaſons produced (5) *Pluſarch* relates the manner of his death circumſtantially. He ſays, that after having given an entertainment to *Nearchus*, as he was going from the bath to bed, *Medius* would needs conduct him to a banquet. There, he ſays, the king drank all night, and the next day, which threw him into a fever that carried him off. He expreſly rejects the ſtory of the *Herculean* bowl, and of the king's being taken in an extraordinary manner. As to his being poiſoned by *Antipater*'s contrivance, he mentions it, and all its circumſtances; but openly profeſſes his diſbelief of it. He cites the king's diary, as *Arrian* does; from whence it is clear, that there was nothing haſty or violent in *Alexander*'s death, but that he was taken off by a fever (6). *Curtius* copies the ſame authors with *Diodorus*, but either delivers what they ſay more at large, or amplifies out of his own head. He tells us, that the king directed his body to be carried to *Ammon*; that when *Perdiccas* demanded at what time divine honours ſhould be paid him? he anſwered him, *when you are all happy*. He is poſitive that the king was poiſoned, and affirms, that this black affair was ſtifled by the power of his ſucceſſors. This is at leaſt very improbable, for the king died at *Babylon*, *Antipater* commanded in *Greece*, a ſedition followed on the king's demiſe, is it not ſtrange none of the contending parties ſhould mention it then (7)? *Seneca*, ſpeaking of the dreadful effects of drunkenneſs, expatiates on the death of *Alexander*. "He who in ſo many marches "(ſays this elegant writer) ſo many battles, and ſo "many harſh ſeaſons, had vanquiſhed all the diffi-"culties of time and place; after ſo many rivers "and ſeas traced in ſafety, by intemperance in "drinking was deſtroyed, and by the fatal *Hercu-*"*lean* cup was ſent to his grave (8)." *Juſtin* writes more clearly than all the reſt as to the poiſoning, which he takes for an indubitable fact. In other circumſtances he agrees with *Diodorus* and *Curtius*. He is clear alſo as to the king's ſpeaking after the ſoldiers had quitted the room; and yet *Arrian* and *Ptolemy*, from the king's diary, ſeem to agree he was ſpeechleſs before they ſaw him. Perhaps he gave his ring to *Perdiccas*, and expreſſed his ſentiments to his friends juſt before he loſt his ſpeech (9).

(5) *Diodor. Sicul. l.* xvii. *prop. fin.* (6) *Plut. in vit. Alex. prop. fin.* (7) *Curt. l.* x. (8) *Senec. Epiſt.* lxxxiii. (9) *Juſtin. l.* xii.

that

that *Craterus* was aſſigned him for a ſucceſſor, and that himſelf was ſent for into *Perſia*, began to be fearful of the event. He therefore firſt of all ſent his ſon *Caſſander* to apologize for his conduct, with directions, if he found the king inexorable, to take him off; for which purpoſe, by the contrivance of *Ariſtotle*, who was in fear that the king would put in execution the threats thrown out againſt him when *Caliſthenes* was in priſon, *Caſſander* was furniſhed with ſome *Arcadian* water of a deadly nature, put up in a veſſel made of a mule's hoof, in which alone it could be contained. This water, it is ſaid, *Caſſander*, when he thought it neceſſary, gave to his brother *Jollas*, who was the king's cup-bearer, by whom it was mixed with the wine which the king drank at the banquet given by *Medius*. The whole tale was, in all probability, a contrivance of *Olympias*, who, to give it the greater colour, would not ſuffer the body of *Jollas*, who died not long after, to remain interred, but caſt out his remains, as if ſhe was ſatisfied that he had a hand in the death of his ſovereign. The hatred which *Caſſander* expreſſed towards the family of *Alexander*, hath been alſo uſed as an argument in ſupport of the probability of this ſtory; but it has little in it, for, as the reader will ſee hereafter, this antipathy of *Caſſander* may be accounted for as well, if not much better, from later cauſes. There is another ſtory relating to *Alexander*'s death, which, for its oddity, deſerves to be recorded. It is ſaid, that when he found himſelf paſt recovery, he deſired to be carried to the *Euphrates*, that throwing himſelf thereinto, poſterity might believe, as he came, ſo he was returned to the gods; but in this he was hindered by his wife *Roxana*, to whom upon that occaſion he ſaid, That ſhe envied him the honour of his divine origin. *Arrian*, from whom we have this, tells us, that he inſerted it in his hiſtory, only that it might appear that he was acquainted with ſuch reports, but that however he gave no credit to them [a].

Remarks on his character.

We are now come to the end of that famous reign which makes ſo great a figure in all hiſtory; but we ſhall not take upon us to conclude it with any character of *Alexander*, becauſe, in the beſt authors of antiquity, there are many characters of him already. To theſe we cannot altogether aſſent, and it would be perhaps ſetting our own authority too high, ſhould we attempt to cenſure them: We ſhall therefore obſerve, that in reading theſe characters, juſt regard ought to be had to the rank and credit of the ſeveral authors who have wrote them. Hiſtorians have conſidered him either as an enterpriſing and ſucceſsful prince, the glory of whoſe great actions ſcarce ſuffer the blemiſhes in his perſonal conduct to be ſeen; which is the light *Arrian* has placed him in; or they make his virtues and vices alike conſpicuous, which ſeems to be the view of *Curtius*. Philoſophers and moral writers have dealt more ſtrictly with him, and have therefore ſeldom run into high panegyrics, *Plutarch* only excepted, who, in his orations on the fortune and virtue of *Alexander*, ſpeaks as a rhetorician. The ſatyriſt *Lucian* hath depicted him with great ſpirit, and with conſummate judgment; but he ſeems to have kept his eye too cloſely on the latter ſcenes of his life, when his fortune, not his merit, was at its greateſt height. However it is conſidered, his character is always ſhining, as his actions were in themſelves very extraordinary. He died, according to the account of *Ariſtobulus*, in the hundred and fourteenth olympiad, when he had lived thirty-two years and eight months, and had reigned twelve years and eight months [b]. *Plutarch* agrees pretty well with this [c]; but *Juſtin* aſſerts, that he was thirty-three years old and one month, for which queſtionleſs he had ſome, tho', we think, not ſufficient authority (P).

As

[a] Arrian. l. vii. c. 27. [b] Ap. Arrian. l. vii. c. 28. [c] Plut. in vit. Alex. Justin. l. xii. c. ult.

(P) We propoſe, in this note, to ſay ſomewhat of the hiſtorians who have written of *Alexander*'s hiſtory, and of thoſe eſpecially from whom we have collected it. We will begin with *Ariſtobulus*. He was an eminent officer in *Alexander*'s army, and much in his favour, as is evident from his being intruſted with the care of ſeeing the tomb of *Cyrus* reſtored to its firſt condition (10). He wrote memoirs of what he ſaw, which are much commended, and in a great meaſure copied by *Arrian*, *Plutarch* and *Strabo*; yet they had not the good luck to pleaſe *Alexander*, who reading in them the ſtory of his engagement with *Porus*, threw the book into the river *Hydaſpes*. *Anaximenes* of *Lampſacus*, who had once been *Alexander*'s tutor, wrote of his actions; but his work, which was not much approved, hath been long loſt. *Baton*, who acted as engineer in *Alexander*'s army, publiſhed an account of *Alexander*'s encampments during his expedition (11). *Calliſthenes* the philoſopher, the hiſtory he wrote of *Alexander* is ſaid to have been excellent ſo far as it went; yet it is queſtionable whether he wrote any hiſtory at all (12). *Clytarchus*, another of his followers, wrote a very fabulous

(10) *Arrian. l.* vii. (11) *Joſeph. cont. Appion.* (12) *Arrian l.* iv. *c.* 15.

a As to the iſſue he left behind him, we ſhall ſpeak generally here, and more particularly in the ſubſequent chapter. By *Barſina* the daughter of *Artabazus*, and the widow of *Memnon*, a lady of great beauty and merit, he had a ſon named *Hercules*, who was afterwards murdered. By *Roxana* the daughter of *Oxyartes* the *Bactrian*, he had a poſthumous ſon named *Alexander*, who had for a time the title of king. By *Cleophes* queen of part of *India*, he had a ſon named *Alexander*, who ſucceeded his mother in her kingdom. By *Statira* the daughter of *Darius*, he had no children; nor by *Pariſatis* the daughter of *Ochus*. As to the former, the very judicious dean *Prideaux* ſeems to think, that *Arrian* miſtook her name when he called her *Barſine*, and that he confounded her with the widow of *Memnon* [d]; but, upon b looking farther into this matter, we find, that *Arrian* did not confound them, tho' there is a miſtake in the name in the preſent copies; for it appears from the excerpts in *Photius*, that ſhe was called by *Arrian*, not *Barſine*, but *Arſinoe*, which, for aught we know, might be her true name [e]. Of theſe ladies we have reaſon to ſuppoſe, that *Roxana* was the beſt beloved, ſince it appears, that he married her from the dictates of his paſſion, the reſt for reaſons of ſtate. *The wives and deſcendents of* Alexander.

We have now perfected the hiſtory of a reign, which beſtowed the epithet of *Great* on him of whom we have been ſpeaking, and extended his empire, in name at leaſt, over the world. This indeed was rather a flight of *Grecian* flattery than any adequate deſcription of his dominions. He was far from being maſter of the c world then known, for he poſſeſſed but part of *Aſia*, a ſmall part of *Afric*, and a ſtill ſmaller of *Europe*; yet he was the lord of a multitude of fair provinces, the ſovereign of many large and powerful kingdoms, and held an empire more extenſive than the world had till that time ſeen. *Macedon* was his hereditary kingdom; a great part of *Thrace* and *Illyria* he had ſubdued; all *Greece* was under his protection, and the protection of ſo great a prince always did, and always will include ſovereignty. His *Aſiatic* conqueſts reached from the *Helleſpont* to the *Indian* ocean, including all that the *great king* poſſeſſed, and more. *Egypt* and *Libya* were his; and all the *Greek* iſlands owned his authority. All theſe were the acquiſition of a few years, and many of them obtained in as little time as he could paſs through d them. We have, in the courſe of our hiſtory, endeavoured to place all theſe conqueſts according to the order of time in which they were made, as alſo according to their vicinity to each other. For the better underſtanding of the whole, we have ſubjoined a map of his dominions, wherein is marked the rout of his army, from his firſt march out of *Macedonia*, to his laſt coming to *Babylon*; and that this might be ſtill more intelligible, we have, in a note, ſhewn the value of that map in point of accuracy, and likewiſe explained its uſes (Q). Here then let us quit this ſubject, *The extent of the* Macedonian *empire.*

[d] Connection of the Old and New Teſtament. p. i. b. viii. A. A. C. 325. [e] Ap. Phot. p. 214.

lous hiſtory of his atchievements (13). *Marſyas*, the brother of *Antigonus*, and who commanded the fleet under his nephew *Demetrius*, wrote a complete hiſtory of *Macedon*, including the reign of *Alexander*, which was much eſteemed; and another treatiſe of the education of *Alexander*, for which he was exceedingly well qualified, becauſe he was educated with him (14). *Nearchus*, *Alexander*'s admiral, left the journal of his *Indian* voyage, which *Arrian* made uſe of in his *Indian* hiſtory, not without a gentle cenſure of the author's veracity (15). *Oneſicritus*, the captain of *Alexander*'s galley, writ a hiſtory, or rather a romance, in relation to his maſter's atchievements. This man had genius, was a great philoſopher, and had a good ſtile. It is ſaid, that *Alexander* having read this performance, ſaid, He ſhould be glad to come to life again after ſome time, to ſee what reception that book met with. Its author, it ſeems, read part of it once, which contained *Alexander*'s war againſt the *Amazons*, to *Lyſimachus*; And where, I pray, was I, ſaid the king, when all theſe ſtrange things happened (16)? There is ſtill a manuſcript hiſtory in *Latin*, which goes under the name of *Valerius*, ſtuffed with theſe romantic accounts, and for that reaſon never printed. As to authors in better repute, *Craterus* is ſaid to have written memoirs of his maſter's victories, which were alſo recorded in the commentaries of *Eumenes*, and in the hiſtory of *Ptolemy* the ſon of *Lagus*, whom, of all others, *Arrian* commends, and follows moſt. On this account it is, that we prefer his hiſtory to all that are now extant; and, amongſt other reaſons, it is valuable for this, that we have it intire, excepting only a paſſage of no great length in the ſeventh book. *Strabo*, as he has occaſion to mention the provinces conquered by *Alexander*, mentions alſo abundance of paſſages of his life, and furniſhes us with various particulars, which are not to be found elſewhere. *Diodorus Siculus* hath afforded us much aſſiſtance, and would have afforded more, if there had not been ſo large a chaſm in his ſeventeenth book. *Curtius* we have all along examined, and, where it was neceſſary, made uſe of him, as alſo of *Juſtin*. *Ælian*, *Polyænus*, and *Frontinus* have been conſulted as to particular facts, together with *Lucian*, *Seneca*, and with many others, whoſe names it is unneceſſary to retail to the reader.

(Q) The map which we have given our readers, was drawn by the famous M. *De Liſle*, in the year 1729, for the uſe of the *French* king. There is therefore all the reaſon in the world to believe, from

(13) *Curt. l.* ix. (14) *Athen. Diepnoſoph. l.* xiv. *Diodor. Sicul. l.* xx. (15) *Arrian. Hiſt. Ind.c. Strabon. Geog. l.* xi. (16) *Plut. in vit. Alex.*

with this remark, that the foregoing hiſtory is not collected from any one author, or with a partial regard to any of thoſe it is collected from. We have compared the beſt writers of antiquity on this ſubject, and have from them laid down a regular ſeries of events, diſtinguiſhing, as far as we were able, the probable from the improbable, the certain from the doubtful; and where we were not able thus to diſtinguiſh, we have cited the authorities which hindred us from diſtinguiſhing, and have placed the evidence before our readers, that they may decide for themſelves. Such is this hiſtory of the riſe, progreſs and eſtabliſhment of the *Macedonian* empire, which, we hope, will be found conſiſtent with the plan laid down of this work, and very different from any other yet extant in our language.

SECT. VII.

The diviſion of the Macedonian *empire.*

State of things at the death of Alexander.

THE death of *Alexander* had well nigh proved the diſſolution of his empire; for at firſt the extreme grief of every body hindered them from paying a proper reſpect to public affairs; and when theſe high tranſports of affection were over, their feuds and jealouſies had almoſt occaſioned the ſhedding a deluge of *Macedonian* blood round the dead body of their king. The want of an hiſtorian who might be depended on, and the having many on whoſe works we cannot ſo well rely, have concurred in throwing a dark veil of obſcurity over this part of our hiſtory; which, from the beſt materials we have, and in the beſt manner we can, we will endeavour to remove. A day or two after the death of the king, his friends aſſembled in the council-room, and ſummoned thither all the principal commanders of the army; but the ſoldiers and people who were not ſummoned, and who neither ought, nor with any propriety could have any ſhare in ſuch conſultations, came in vaſt crowds, and ſo blocked up the paſſages, that many of the great officers could not get in. Proclamation was then made by a herald, that none ſhould preſume to approach the aſſembly, or to remain there, but ſuch as were called by name; which proclamation however was very little regarded; and we mention this as a remarkable inſtance of the difference between *authority* and *power*. Thoſe who had commanded this proclamation to be made, had aſſumed the adminiſtration; but the people preſuming on their own power, and knowing that theſe governors had none but what they ſhould think fit to lend them, gave little heed to their commands; but, on the contrary, made them give way to their own curioſity, ſo that numbers of mean rank and little conſideration remained at preſent in the council. *Perdiccas*, as ſoon as ſilence could be obtained, ordered the chair of *Alexander* to be brought forth, and having placed the robes and regalia upon it, laid upon them the royal ring, declaring, that he moſt willingly reſigned any authority that might be intended him

from the known ability of the author, and from the deſign of his work, that it is excellent in its kind, and was performed with all imaginable accuracy. In this map there is a double deſcription of the countries laid down therein. One by M. *De Liſle*, founded upon aſtronomical obſervations; the other according to our modern geographers in general. The reader will have the ſatisfaction of comparing both, and of ſeeing all *Alexander*'s marches and conqueſts, as they are delineated in one and in the other. The ſituation of places in M. *De Liſle*'s map were, as we have ſaid, determined by obſervations, where they were to be had, and, where they were not, from the geographical tables of the eaſtern aſtronomers, who, by compariſon of the ſituations aſſigned of places where obſervations had been made, were judged to come very near the truth. Where both of theſe were wanting, the diſtances ſet down in the relations of travellers in the higheſt credit were made uſe of. The inquiſitive reader may be further ſatisfied of the care and nicety with which this map was done, if he will take the trouble of peruſing a ſhort, but very full memoir on that ſubject, written by the author's ſon-in-law (17). We ourſelves have taken ſome pains in the ſame way, and have compared the ſituation of the *Caſpian* ſea in M. *De Liſle*'s map, by the chart of the ſame ſea drawn by order of the *Czar*, and publiſhed in the year 1731, and find them to correſpond very well. We have alſo found, that M. *De Liſle*'s map reconciles the deſcriptions given by ancient authors, with thoſe which have been delivered to us by the moſt judicious modern travellers. On the whole therefore we are well ſatisfied, that what we have juſt now ſaid, and alſo what we have advanced in the text, is agreeable to truth, and no more than what every judicious reader will readily diſcern; to add more on this head therefore would be tedious.

(17) *Recherches Geographiques ſur l'etendue de l'empire D'Alexandre, &c. Par M. Baucle. Memoires de l'Academie Royale des Sciences.* 1731.

by

a by the king when this ring was delivered to him. However, he propoſed it as a thing not only expedient, but neceſſary, that the empire ſhould have a head; and when he had demonſtrated this by proper arguments, he told them, that *Roxana* was with child, and that, if ſhe brought forth a ſon, he ought to be acknowledged his father's ſucceſſor. *Nearchus* applauded the deſign of preſerving the regal dignity in the family of *Alexander*; but ſaid, it would be too long to wait for *Roxana*'s delivery, eſpecially as it would be attended with uncertainty. He therefore put them in mind of *Hercules* the ſon of *Alexander* by *Barſina*. The ſoldiers ſignified their diſlike of this by the clangour of their arms. *Ptolemy* then propounded, that the chair of *Alexander* ſhould retain the ſhadow of ſovereignty, and that the
b ſtate ſhould be governed by a council of officers; but this being diſliked, a motion was made in favour of *Perdiccas*; but he, out of modeſty, refuſed it. At laſt ſomebody mentioned *Aridæus* the brother of *Alexander*, who had always accompanied the king, and was wont to ſacrifice with him. The *Macedonian* phalanx, full of affection, as all brave and honeſt nations are to the hereditary line of their ancient kings, cloſed immediately with this propoſition, and called for *Aridæus*. *Perdiccas*, *Ptolemy* and moſt of the horſe officers, were extremely averſe to this meaſure; and they carried their obſtinacy ſo far, as to retire from the aſſembly, and even to quit the city. However, *Meleager*, at the head of the phalanx, ſupported vigorouſly their firſt reſolution, and threatned loudly to ſhed the blood of thoſe
c who affected to rule over their equals, and to aſſume a kingdom which no way belonged to them. *Aridæus* they arrayed in royal robes, put him on the arms of *Alexander*, and ſaluted him by the name of *Philip*, that he might be rendered more popular [a]. While things remained in this ſituation, *Meleager* managed affairs about the new-created king, and *Perdiccas* tranſacted all things for the other party. Both pretended vaſt concern for the public, yet, at the bottom, intended nothing ſo much as their own private advantage, each having formed a ſcheme of ingroſſing the adminiſtration, under colour of ſerving the intereſts of thoſe they had drawn, not to favour them perſonally, but their ſpecious pretences. In order to apprehend theſe things clearly, let us view all theſe great ones in their proper lights.

The characters of Perdiccas, Meleager, *&c.*

d *Perdiccas* was a man of high birth, had a ſupreme command in the army, was much in favour with *Alexander*, and ſtrongly confided in by the nobility. *Meleager* had rendered himſelf formidable by uniting the *Macedonians* who compoſed the phalanx in one opinion, and by raiſing one to the kingdom who was wholly under his direction [b]. *Aridæus* was, as we have heretofore ſhewn, the ſon of *Philip* by a dancer named *Phillina*; he was of ſmall parts, not by nature, but by the practices of *Olympias*, who by poiſonous draughts had taken care to weaken both his conſtitution and his mind. He had however for his wife *Eurydice* his couſin, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, by whoſe aſſiſtance he was able to manage pretty well. At preſent alone, and without counſellors, he acted as the times required, he did what *Meleager* would
e have him, but he declared that whatever he did he did to the advice of *Meleager*, ſo that he made his miniſter accountable for his own ſchemes, and no way indangered himſelf. The *Macedonians* beſides their affection for the royal houſe, began to entertain a perſonal love for *Aridæus*, now called *Philip* on account of his mildneſs and moderation [c]. Beſides theſe who were the principal characters on the ſtage at this time, there was another who through modeſty declined public notice, and was notwithſtanding a prime inſtrument in adjuſting the differences which were now on foot, and made a moſt ſhining figure in public affairs afterwards. This was *Eumenes* the *Cardian*, the late king's ſecretary. He was, as far as we find, little diſtinguiſhed by birth, though his father could not have been a waggoner, as ſome report, becauſe he
f was *Philip* of *Macedon*'s hoſt, who taking a fancy to his ſon, retained him about his perſon, and having tried his fidelity, at length made him his ſecretary, in which poſt *Alexander* found and continued him. This poſt alone would have rendered him very conſiderable, but the king had raiſed him beſide to the higheſt military commands, he being one of ſo rare a genius as to be alike ſuited to a camp or court, and no leſs capable of commanding in the field, than of giving advice in the cloſet. When the marriages were made by the king's directions at *Suſa*, *Eumenes* was in ſome meaſure allied to him, for he had then given him *Artonis*, whom ſome call *Barſine* the

[a] Curt. lib. x. Diodor. Sicul. lib. xviii. Justin. lib. xiii. Oros. lib. iii. Plut. in vit. Alex. & Eumen. [b] Plut. in vit. Eumen. Diodor. Curt. ubi ſupra. [c] Arrian. apud. Phot. Biblioth. Cod. xcii. Justin. Curt. ubi ſupra.

daughter

daughter of *Artabazus*, and ſiſter to *Barſina*, who was the mother of *Hercules* by *Alexander*. Theſe were the buſy actors at this period, *Perdiccas* full of ambition, *Meleager* ſelfiſh and revengeful, *Aridæus* or *Philip* weak and timorous, *Eumenes* brave, wiſe, and inviolably attached to the royal houſe [d]. a

The ſedition appeaſed.

THE foot under *Meleager* held *Babylon*, had the king's perſon in their hands, and were cloathed with his authority, which however *Meleager* overſtretched when he ſent ſome to ſeize *Perdiccas*, for that great officer ſo frighted them with his frowns, and words, that they returned *re infecta*, and ſo made the breach the wider. The cavalry under *Perdiccas*, *Ptolemy Lagus*, and other generals, inveſted the city, or rather ſhut up the paſſages thereto, ſo that preſently famine began to appear, and even to be felt. The inhabitants of the adjacent villages fled for ſafety to *Babylon*, and multitudes, pinched by hunger, iſſued from the city to ſeek ſubſiſtence in the country. This confuſion compelled the phalanx to think of treating, and *Eumenes*, who, as a ſtranger by birth, had hitherto affected a neutrality, eaſily brought about an accommodation by blending both ſchemes together, allowing *Aridæus* or *Philip* the regal title, and veſting the authority in the great officers, of whom *Meleager* was to be held the third. In conſequence of this accommodation, all the great officers of the army came to court, eſpecially *Perdiccas* and *Ptolemy*, the former eagerly deſiring to aſſume the ſovereignty under the ſpecious title of protector, and the latter ſecretly aiming at the diviſion of the empire, that under the name of a goverment he might ſecure a kingdom to himſelf. *Perdiccas* ſoon gained an aſcendancy over *Philip*, inſomuch that he conducted all things according to his own will, though in the name of that prince. The firſt deſign of conſequence he aimed at putting in execution was the taking of *Meleager*, in order to which he framed a plot equally ſubtil and ſucceſsful; he put ſome of his own adherents on complaining openly of *Meleager*'s being made equal to *Perdiccas*; this naturally led *Meleager* to expoſtulate with him; upon which *Perdiccas* with an air of frankneſs told him, that ſuch incendiaries ought immediately to be puniſhed, and propoſed a general luſtration of the army, as the only probable method of taking off ſuch diſturbers of the public peace. *Meleager* readily came into this, looking upon it as an indubitable teſtimony of *Perdiccas*'s friendſhip. But when the horſe and foot were drawn into the field, and the king quitting the phalanx, rode along the firſt line of the right wing with *Perdiccas*; the foot began to be in ſome terror, and in that terror all their courage forſook them; ſometimes they thought of retiring into the city, at others of oppoſing force by force. *Meleager* of all others was leaſt preſent to himſelf, ſo that after deliberating long, and propoſing many things, they reſolved on nothing, till *Perdiccas* formed the horſe over-againſt them with the elephants in front. Then taking the king with him, he rode along the firſt line of the phalanx, and demanded the authors of the late ſedition. *Meleager* and his ſoldiers anſwered nothing, yet by the dejection of their countenances, they plainly ſhewed how low their ſpirits were ſunk; this encouraged *Perdiccas* to draw out by force three hundred, who in the late affair had been moſt active for *Meleager*, whom without more ado he caſt to the elephants, and ſuffered to be trampled to death in the ſight of the army; the king looking on rather as a ſurprized ſpectator, than as the author of ſo cruel a deed. As no body pretended to lay hands on *Meleager* himſelf, he neither ſpoke nor ſtirred to ſave thoſe who had acted by his authority, which anſwered the end of *Perdiccas*, for on his return to *Babylon* every body ſhunned and was afraid of him, which had ſuch an effect on his mind, already diſordered, that he took ſanctuary in a temple, vainly hoping that his enemies would not purſue him to the altar; whereas ambitious men ſhew no reſpect to religion, but when it is their tool, and therefore *Perdiccas*, who thought himſelf not ſafe while this man lived, ordered him without ceremony there to be ſlain, which was accordingly performed; and thus the authority of *Perdiccas* was for the preſent eſtabliſhed [e] (A). b c d e f

To

[d] PLUT. in vit. Eumen. & CORN. NEPOS. in vit. ejuſd. [e] DIODOR. CURT. JUSTIN. ubi ſupra.

(A) In this note we intend to acquaint the reader with the authors on whoſe authority we build what is delivered in this ſection. The firſt of theſe is *Arrian*, the ſame whom we chiefly followed in our hiſtory of *Alexander the Great*. He wrote upon this ſubject a treatiſe conſiſting of ten books, which are all unfortunately loſt, and what we quote in their ſtead is no more than a very brief account of their contents preſerved by the famous *Photius*, who at the end of his extract hath added a character of this author worthy of the ſervice which he has done to the commonwealth of letters. He tells us, that as an hiſtorian he knows none who ought to be preferred before him, his ſtile, continues he, is ſtrong and

a To ſatisfy the ambition of the principal commanders in the army, to provide for the ſafety of the empire, and to free himſelf from competitors, *Perdiccas* quickly called a general council, wherein the following diſtribution of honours and governments was made. *Aridæus*, and the ſon of *Roxana* now born, and named *Alexander*, were to enjoy the regal authority. *Antipater* had the government of the *European* provinces as general of the army there. *Craterus* had the title of protector. *Perdiccas* had in reality the office, with the ſtyle of general of the houſhold troops, in the room of *Hephæſtion*. *Ptolemy* the ſon of *Lagus* had *Egypt*, *Libya*, and that part of *Arabia* which borders upon *Egypt*. *Cleomenes*, a man of infamous character, whom *Alexander* had made receiver-general in *Egypt*, was made *Ptolemy*'s deputy. *Leomedon* had *Syria*, *Philotas Cilicia*, *Pithon Media*, *Eumenes Cappadocia*, *Paphlagonia*, b and all the country bordering on the *Euxine* ſea, as far as *Trapezus*; but theſe were not yet conquered, ſo that he was a governor without a province. *Antigonus* had *Pamphilia*, *Lycia*, and *Phrygia Major*, *Caſſander Caria*, *Menander Lydia*, *Leonnatus Phrygia*, on the *Helleſpont*. In *Europe*, *Thrace*, the *Cherſoneſe*, and the countries adjoining as far as *Salmydeſſus* on the *Euxine Sea* were given to *Lyſimachus*; the reſt of the countries ſubject to the *Macedonians*, as far as the *Ceraunian* mountains, with all *Greece*, were left to *Craterus* and *Antipater*. As to the reſt of the provinces not mentioned in this diviſion, they remained under the governors appointed them by *Alexander*. We have on this account followed our old guide *Arrian*; what other c authors have delivered on this ſubject, the readers will perceive by a note; for to have inſerted in the text the different accounts we have of this matter would have taken up much time, and room, at the ſame time that it would have perplexed the reader, and interrupted the thread of our narration [f] (B).

The empire divided.

[f] Arrian. apud. Phot. ubi ſupra. Curt. ubi ſupra.

and uniform, his narration ſeldom interrupted by digreſſions; thoſe there are alike pertinent and ſhort. His eloquence never miſleads him into any thing forced, or hard to be underſtood, and while he preſerves all the dignity of hiſtory, he introduces nothing of that unintelligible ſublime, which is the bane of writers of warm imaginations, and who have judgments as warm. Yet in point of elegance his work is no leſs valuable than in point of veracity; his periods are ſweet and perfectly well turned; his language ſo accurately proper, that it is impoſſible to ſay he ever riſes above, or ſinks below his ſubject. In a word, there is ſuch a harmony, perſpicuity, and noble ſimplicity in the works of this writer, that to add or take away from them, would be doing viſible injury both to the author and reader(1). *Diodorus Siculus* hath written as well and more copiouſly than any on the matters of which we treat in this ſection (2). *Curtius* at the cloſe of his work treats very fully of what happened at and immediately after the death of *Alexander*, in which he the rather deſerves credit, becauſe what he relates agrees very well with *Arrian*, particularly in the diviſion of the provinces (3). *Plutarch* in the cloſe of his life of *Alexander*, in his lives of *Eumenes* and *Demetrius*, and in many other treatiſes of his, hath afforded us frequently materials. To theſe we may add *Juſtin* (4). We have collated them all; and where they differ have ſelected what was moſt probable, and moſt conſiſtent with other parts of the narration. In moſt of our collections of general hiſtory, this period is remarkably diſtracted and confuſed, not ſo much for want of authorities, as for want of uſing them; as alſo from a prejudice againſt the matter itſelf, as if the wars of *Alexander*'s ſucceſſors, till ſuch time as the four capital empires into which his was broken, aroſe, were of little importance. Whereas the giving a full, diſtinct, and perſpicuous account of ſuch perplexed parts of hiſtory, is one of the greateſt ſervices a writer can render to poſterity; and in ſupport to this obſervation, we beg leave to remark, that though *Arrian* wrote but ſeven books of the life of *Alexander*, yet he wrote ten of the diviſion of his empire, notwithſtanding he carries his hiſtory no lower than *Antipater*'s return to *Europe*; ſo neceſſary it appeared to him that the tranſactions in this period ſhould be well underſtood. Add to this, that the latter extract in *Photius* is four times as long as the former (5).

(B) The diviſion of *Alexander*'s empire, according to other authors, ran thus: *Diodorus Siculus* affirms, that *Perdiccas* confirmed the kingdom to *Aridæus*, gave to *Ptolemy Egypt*; to *Python Media*; to *Eumenes Paphlagonia*, with *Cappadocia*, and the neighbouring countries; to *Caſſander Caria*; to *Meleager Lydia*; to *Leonnatus Phrygia* upon the *Helleſpont*; to *Lyſimachus Thrace*, with the adjacent nations as far as the ſea; to *Antipater Macedonia*, with the neighbouring countries; to the reſt of the officers he diſtributed the other provinces in *Aſia*; to *Oxyartes Caucaſus*, and the *Paropamiſis*; to *Sybirtius Arachoſia* and *Gedroſia*; to *Staſanor* the *Solian*, *Aria* and *Drangiana*; to *Philip* the prætor *Bactria* and *Sogdia*; to *Phrataphernes Parthia* and *Hyrcania*; to *Peuceſtes Perſis*; to *Tlepolemus Carmania*; to *Atropas Media*; to *Archon Babylonia*; to *Arceſilaus Meſopotamia*; to *Seleucus* the command of the royal cavalry, which *Hephæſtion* had firſt, and *Perdiccas* afterwards; to *Taxiles* and *Porus* each their own kingdoms, as reſtored and augmented by *Alexander*. The king kept *Perdiccas* with him, and conſtituted him captain of the guards, and the forces which attended him (6). According to *Juſtin*, the provinces and chief commands were thus divided. *Ptolemy* had *Egypt*, *Afric*, and part of *Arabia*; *Laomedon Syria*; *Philotas* and his ſon *Cilicia* and *Illyricum*; *Atropatos*, it ſhould be *Atropates*, *Media* the greater; *Alcetas* the brother of *Perdiccas Media* the leſs; *Scynus Suſiana*; *Antigonus* the ſon of *Philip Phrygia* the greater; to *Nearchus Lycia* and *Pamphilia*;

(1) *Phot. Bibliothec. Cod.* xcii. (2) *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* xviii. (3) *Curt. lib.* x. (4) *Juſtin. l.* xiii.
(5) *Vide Phot. Bibl. Cod.* xci. xcii. (6) *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* xviii.

Perdiccas *aſſumes regal power.*

THIS diviſion of the empire, as well as all other things, had the ſanction of the a
royal name, and ſeemed to be done by authority of king *Philip*; but in truth, it was the mere act of *Perdiccas* and his aſſociates, who ſhared at their pleaſure the empire of their deceaſed maſter, treating his lawful heirs as pageants and cyphers; but we need not wonder at this when we find that *Alexander* himſelf was no leſs ſlighted, for while theſe diſputes were on foot, his body was altogether neglected, and ſeven days elapſed before any orders were given for its embalment. It is ſaid that the *Egyptians* and *Chaldeans* who were ordered to perform this office, found the royal corps not only perfectly ſound, and free from corruption, but with ſo lively a countenance, that they were afraid to touch it. Some have conceived that this ſtory took riſe from flattery, and that thoſe who made it their buſineſs to magnify the actions of *Alexander*, b
as if they were incompatible with mortality, had a mind to carry their ſervile panegyrics ſtill farther, by repreſenting his very dead body as incorruptible. But as thoſe who are beſt verſed in theſe things agree, that without any miracle dead bodies remain ſometimes a conſiderable ſpace without corrupting, the fact may be believed, and the inferences rejected. However it was, *Alexander* was at length embalmed, and *Aridæus*, not the king, but a commander ſo called, was charged with the care of the royal funeral. As they had taken ſo little notice of his body, they made no ſcruple of vacating his will, becauſe it contained in it nothing beneficial for them. What we call his will, was a ſhort memorandom of things he would have done; thoſe were reduced to five points: The firſt concerned the building of a fleet of a thouſand ſtout c
gallies to be made uſe of againſt the *Carthaginians*, and other nations, who ſhould oppoſe the reduction of the ſea-coaſts of *Africa* and *Spain*, with all the adjacent iſlands, as far as *Sicily*. The ſecond directed a large and regular high-way along the ſea-coaſt of *Afric*, as far as *Ceuta* or *Tangier*. The third ordered the erecting ſix temples of extraordinary magnificence at the expence of fifteen hundred talents each. The fourth appointed forts, arſenals, havens, docks and yards for building ſhips to be ſettled in proper places throughout his empire. By the fifth he propoſed the building in proper ſituations ſeveral new cities in *Europe* and *Aſia*; thoſe in *Aſia* to be inhabited by colonies from *Europe*; and thoſe in *Europe* to be filled with *Aſiatics*, that by blending their people and their manners, that hereditary antipathy might be d
eradicated, which had hitherto ſubſiſted between ſuch as dwelt in different continents. Laſtly, he had projected the erecting a pyramid equal in bulk and beauty to the biggeſt in *Egypt*, in honour to his father *Philip*. All theſe deſigns, under pretence of their being exceſſively expenſive, were referred to a council of *Macedonians* to be held no body knew when or where. The proceedings of the new government, which was intirely in the hands of *Perdiccas* and *Roxana*, grew quickly very cruel, and of conſequence generally diſtaſteful. Before *Alexander* was well dead, *Roxana* diſpatched letters under his ſeal to *Statira* and *Drypetis*, the daughters of *Darius*, directing them in his name to come to *Babylon*, where when they arrived, ſhe got them into her power, and by the aſſiſtance of *Perdiccas*, murdered them, that no ſon either of *Alexander* or *Hepheſtion* might give any trouble to her or her ſon *Alexander*. As for

philia; to *Caſſander Caria*; *Menander Lydia*; *Leonnatus Phrygia* the leſs; *Lyſimachus Thrace*, and the countries adjacent to the *Pontic* ſea; *Eumenes Cappadocia*, and *Paphlagonia*; to *Seleucus* the ſon of *Antiochus* the chief command of the forces; to *Caſſander* the ſon of *Antipater* the command of the king's guards; *Taxiles* the countries between the rivers *Indus* and *Hydaſpes*; *Pithon* the ſon of *Agenor* the colonies ſettled in *India*; *Parapomenus* the borderers on mount *Caucaſus*; *Extarches* the —— *Argæans*; *Amyntas* the *Bactrians*; *Scythæus* the *Sogdians*; *Nicanor* the *Parthians*; *Philip* the *Hyrcanians*; *Phrataphernes* the *Armenians*; *Tlepolemus* the *Perſæ*; *Peuceſtes* the *Babylonians*; *Archos* the *Pelaſgæ*; *Archeſilaus Meſopotamia*. There are other accounts of this diviſion which agree not either with theſe or with that of *Arrian* in the text; but in producing thoſe of *Diodorus* and *Juſtin*, we have done enough to put it in the readers power plainly to perceive the ſources of theſe diſcordances (7). For, firſt, here are ſome names miſ-ſpelt, or changed through the ignorance of tranſcribers, which creates a ſeeming without a real difference. As for inſtance, *Scynus* is undoubtedly put for *Antigonus*, though there is not the leaſt conformity between them. *Extarches* is for *Oxyartes*, and *Scythæus*, is put for *Sybirtius*, and in *Diodorus* the ſame perſon is called *Ibirtius*. Secondly, *Juſtin* does not diſtinguiſh between the firſt and ſecond diviſion, neither do *Dexippus*, *Oroſius*, or other authors; whence their differences with *Arrian*. *Diodorus* indeed mentions both the diviſions by *Perdiccas*, and by *Antipater*, and is in all reſpects more correct as well as more copious than the reſt. The author of the firſt book of *Maccabees* hath a very ſhort and very expreſſive account of this matter in the beginning of his work. *So* Alexander *reigned twelve years, and then died, and his ſervants bare rule every one in his place, and after his death they all put crowns upon themſelves, ſo did their ſons after them many years, and evils were multiplied in the earth* (8).

(7) *Juſtin. lib.* xiii. (8) *Maccab.* i. 7, 8.

Syſigambis

a *Syſigambis*, the mother of *Darius*, as ſoon as the news of *Alexander*'s death reached her ears, ſhe reſolved to take away her own life, which accordingly ſhe did, ſinking under this, though ſhe had born up againſt many other misfortunes. For her father and a multitude of her brethren had been put to death by *Ochus*; and her ſon *Darius* had loſt both the empire and his life through force and fraud. The mercenary *Greeks* who were diſpoſed up and down the inland provinces of *Aſia*, deſpairing now of ever ſeeing their own countries by fair means, reſolved to attempt ſomething by force. With this view they choſe one *Philo* to be their general, and aſſembled an army of twenty thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe, marching directly towards the ſea. As ſoon as *Perdiccas* received advice of this, he made choice of *Pithon* to
b command the forces deſtined to march againſt theſe rebels, as he called them. Theſe forces conſiſted of three thouſand foot, and eight hundred horſe, all *Macedonians*; but *Pithon* carried with him orders to the governors to furniſh him with ten thouſand foot, and eight thouſand horſe, out of the provinces through which he paſſed, which accordingly they performed. From the moment he was appointed to this command, *Pithon* had formed a ſcheme of ſetting up for himſelf, by offering the rebels any terms, if they would join with him. *Perdiccas* was aware of this, and therefore he publicly gave him orders to put the rebels without mercy to the ſword, and to diſtribute all their effects among his ſoldiers, whereby every man he commanded was made a check upon him. *Pithon* when he drew near *Philo* and his troops, found means to cor-
c rupt one *Lipodorus*, who commanded a body of three thouſand men. This traitor, in the midſt of a general engagement, when the victory was doubtful, retired with his troops to the top of a hill, which ſo diſordered *Philo*'s army, that a general defeat enſued. After this *Pithon* ſent to *Lipodorus* to come down with his troops and join him, aſſuring him that he and his ſhould be treated as well as his own ſoldiers. *Lipodorus* coming accordingly into his camp, the *Grecians* were mingled with the *Macedonians*, and *Pithon* began to reſume his former ideas, when of a ſudden the *Macedonians* conceiving that their new oath was incompatible with their old oath to *Perdiccas*, cut the throats of the *Greek* mercenaries, and ſeized all they had; after which bloody action, *Pithon* wholly diſappointed, returned with his forces to *Perdiccas* g.

A war in Thrace. Year after the flood 2677. *Before Chriſt* 322.

d ACCORDING to the chronological order of events, we ought now to ſpeak of the *Lamian* war in *Greece*; but inaſmuch as we ſhall in the next chapter treat expreſsly of the affairs of *Macedon*, we will refer that account thither as to its proper place, and confine ourſelves here to the diſputes which happened in *Aſia*, and elſewhere, till the governors of provinces aſſumed the regal dignity. *Lyſimachus* who was in *Thrace*, the province aſſigned him, found himſelf on a ſudden in danger of being entirely ſtript thereof. For *Seuthes* deſcended of the ancient race of the *Odryſſian* kings, had ſet up a claim to the dominions of his anceſtors, and had raiſed an army of twenty thouſand foot, and eight thouſand horſe. *Lyſimachus* had no more than four thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe, yet he was forc'd to come to an engagement, wherein, as he was not defeated, he may be ſaid to have gained a victory; for he
e kept the field of battle, and preſerved that part of the province which he held h.

Eumenes *put in poſſeſſion of* Cappadocia.

As for *Perdiccas*, he was full of great projects, and very induſtrious in procuring means and inſtruments to execute them, though as yet he did not think fit to produce them to light. Firſt of all he choſe *Eumenes* for his confident, and prime miniſter, whoſe character we have given before. He knew that this man was thoroughly loyal to the kings, and therefore doubted not his friendſhip to himſelf, wherein he was by no means deceived; for *Eumenes* was as careful of his intereſts, as if they had been his own; and, notwithſtanding *Perdiccas* was a man of great parts, underſtood and would have conducted them better than he himſelf did. In the firſt place
f it was held requiſite to put this man in poſſeſſion of his government, which, though ſtiled a province, was in truth an unconquered kingdom; *Alexander* when he firſt invaded *Aſia*, paſſing by *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia*, and never had time afterwards to reduce him. This prince knowing well that it would one time or other fall to his lot to fight for the kingdom of his anceſtors, made uſe of that repoſe, which in the midſt of general confuſion his territories injoyed, to lay up great ſums of money, and to hire mercenary troops for the defence of them. *Perdiccas* knowing as well how the matter ſtood, directed *Antigonus* and *Leonnatus* by letters in the names of the kings to march againſt the *Cappadocian* prince, and to put *Eumenes* in poſſeſſion of

g Diodor. lib. xviii. Olymp. cxiv. 2. h Id. ibid.

his

his province: As to *Antigonus*, he was now become too haughty to think of paying any reſpect to the commands of another. *Leonnatus* indeed marched with an army, as if he intended to perform what *Perdiccas* had directed, and therefore *Eumenes* was ſent to join him. This friend of *Perdiccas* had not been long in the army before *Hecataeus* the tyrant of *Cardia*, his native country, arrived, and began to treat with *Leonnatus* to come to the aſſiſtance of *Antipater*; to which the latter agreed. Yet he confeſſed to *Eumenes*, that his true deſign was to marry *Cleopatra* the ſiſter of *Alexander the Great*, and in her right to ſeize the kingdom. *Eumenes* thereupon laying hold of his treaſure, which conſiſted of five thouſand talents, quitted the camp in the night with his attendants, and retired to *Perdiccas*. This was a new proof of his fidelity, and *Perdiccas* was ſo pleaſed with it, that he determined to march in perſon with an army to execute what *Leonnatus* ought to have performed, which accordingly he did, carrying the kings with him. *Ariarathes* with an army of thirty thouſand foot, and fifteen thouſand horſe, met him on the frontiers of his dominions, where a very obſtinate battle was fought, in which the *Cappadocian* was entirely defeated with the loſs of one thouſand men upon the ſpot, himſelf with ſix thouſand more being taken priſoners. Upon which to prevent any further diſturbance, and to ſecure *Eumenes* in the peaceable poſſeſſion of his province, *Perdiccas* ordered *Ariarathes* to be crucified, which was certainly a very arbitrary and cruel act [i].

Lauranda and Iſaurus taken.

THIS expedition over, *Perdiccas* determined to reduce *Lauranda* and *Iſaurus*, two cities of *Piſidia*, becauſe they had ſlain *Balacrus* the ſon of *Nicanor*, whom *Alexander* had appointed their governor. *Lauranda* was not very ſtrong, *Perdiccas* therefore took it by aſſault, and dealt with the inhabitants very ſeverely. All who were able to bear arms, he put to the ſword; for the youths, women and children, he ſold them for ſlaves. He next inveſted *Iſaurus*, which being a ſtrong and populous place, held out gallantly for a time, till the number of the defendants being greatly reduced, thoſe who remained reſolved not to ſhare the ſame fate with the *Laurandians*; but having appointed a ſufficient number to defend the walls, they ſet the city on fire in all quarters, conſuming their parents, wives, and children, in their houſes, while themſelves repelled the *Macedonians*, who ſought to break in and extinguiſh the flames; and when *Perdiccas* had drawn off his troops, jumped into the fire. The *Macedonian* army having collected what gold and ſilver they could find in the aſhes, *Perdiccas* led them into winter quarters, and left the conquered countries under the care of *Eumenes* [k].

The projects of Perdiccas.

AT the firſt diviſion of the provinces, *Perdiccas*, to ſtrengthen himſelf, had propoſed to marry *Nicaea* the daughter of *Antipater*, and this was ſo well reliſhed, that her brethren *Jollas* and *Archias* now conducted her to him, in order to be preſent at the celebration of the nuptials. But *Perdiccas* had other things in his head. *Olympias*, who had always hated *Antipater*, had privately ſolicited him to marry her daughter *Cleopatra*; this lady was the widow of *Alexander*, king of *Epirus*, at whoſe marriage *Philip* was ſlain, and ſhe now reſided at *Sardis* in *Lydia*. *Eumenes* ſtrongly perſuaded this match without doubt, becauſe he believed it would prove beneficial to the royal family, and his reaſons had ſuch weight with *Perdiccas*, that he was diſpatched to *Sardis* to compliment *Cleopatra*, and to carry her preſents in the name of her new lover. In the abſence of *Eumenes*, *Alcetas* the brother of *Perdiccas* perſuaded him to marry *Nicaea*, which he accordingly did to ſooth *Antipater* and his family, and that he might carry on his own deſigns more ſafely. Theſe deſigns tended all to gratify his ambition; for firſt he reſolved to repudiate the wife he had juſt married: Next he intended to marry *Cleopatra*; this he conceived would give him a pretence for altering the government in *Macedon*; and as a neceſſary meaſure preparative to theſe, he entered into contrivances for taking off *Antigonus*. With this view he cauſed numberleſs accuſations to be ſet on foot againſt the laſt-mentioned perſon, who was a man not eaſy to be dealt with; for he had a ſpirit not to be tamed, and an underſtanding too penetrating ever to be impoſed on. He therefore put on an appearance of ſubmitting to *Perdiccas*, and pretended to buſy himſelf in collecting proofs of his innocence againſt the day of trial; while he ſecretly intended nothing leſs. An accident happened which compelled him to diſcloſe his purpoſe ſooner than he deſigned. *Cynane* the daughter of *Philip* of *Macedon* by his ſecond wife, who by *Amyntas*, the true heir of the *Macedonian* crown had a child, brought her daughter *Ada*, who was afterwards

[i] PLUT. in vit. Eumen. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. [k] ARRIAN. ap. Phot. ubi ſupra. DIODOR. ubi ſupra. PLUT. in vit. Eumen.

called

a called *Eurydice* to court, in hopes that *Aridæus* or *Philip* might marry her. Againſt this lady *Cynane*, *Perdiccas* on ſome political motives conceived ſuch a grudge, that he cauſed her to be murdered, which made a great noiſe, the ſoldiers retaining not only a great love for *Alexander* her brother, but a high veneration for *Philip* her father; this ſo frightened *Perdiccas*, that to ſtill the ſtorm he had raiſed, he promoted the match between king *Philip* and *Eurydice*, to prevent which he had taken off her mother. *Antigonus* liked this ſhort method of proceeding ſo little, that as ſoon as he was informed of it, he put himſelf, his ſon *Demetrius*, and all his domeſtics in whom he could confide, on board of ſome *Athenian* veſſels, and ſailed over to *Greece*, there to take ſhelter under the protection of *Antipater* and *Craterus*, whom b he informed of the deſigns of *Perdiccas*; above all, ſetting forth the murder of *Cynane* in the blackeſt colours [l].

The ſucceſs of Ptolemy *in* Egypt. *Year after the flood* 2678. *Before Chriſt* 321.

Ptolemy in the mean time remained in peaceable poſſeſſion of *Egypt*, which he governed with ſo much wiſdom, clemency, and juſtice, that all who were willing to enjoy peace, and ſecure protection, reſorted out of *Europe* and *Aſia* thither, and thought themſelves happy under his government. *Thimbro*, who, as we have ſeen, had ſlain *Harpalus*, and poſſeſſed himſelf both of his army and his treaſure, landed in *Cyrene*, where at firſt he had great ſucceſs; but at laſt after a long war, one *Ophellas* who had fled into *Egypt*, and requeſted ſuccours againſt this robber, returning into *Cyrene*, fought and routed him, himſelf being taken priſoner in the battle. He c was immediately crucified, as his crimes juſtly deſerved; and thus the *Cyrenians* loſt their freedom, and became ſubjects to *Ptolemy*. He, thus ſtrengthened by ſo conſiderable an acceſſion, gave a willing ear to the embaſſadors from *Antipater* and *Craterus*, who propoſed to him a league againſt *Perdiccas* to ſet bounds to his power at leaſt, who plainly ſet none to his ambition [m].

The corps of Alexander *conveyed to* Ptolemy.

Aridæus, to whoſe care the funeral of *Alexander* had been committed, having now ſpent two years in making preparations for it, much againſt the will of *Perdiccas*, ſet out from *Babylon* for *Damaſcus*, with intent to carry the king's body into *Egypt*. There was, it ſeems, a ſuperſtitious report, that where-ever his body was laid, that country ſhould flouriſh moſt. *Perdiccas* therefore, out of love to his na- d tive ſoil, would have ſent it to the royal ſepulchres in *Macedon*; but *Aridæus* pleading the king's expreſs direction, would carry it into *Egypt*, which *Perdiccas* could not hinder. That commander therefore executed his intention with all imaginable magnificence, *Ptolemy*, as ſoon as he knew of his coming, marched in perſon to meet the corpſe as far as *Syria*; he did not however convey it to the temple of *Hammon*, but contented himſelf with repoſing it in a noble temple, which for this purpoſe he built in the city of *Alexandria*, and by this reſpect ſhewn to his dead maſter, drew numbers of his veteran ſoldiers to his ſervice, which proved of mighty conſequence to him in his affairs, as we ſhall quickly ſee [n].

Perdiccas *makes war on him.*

Perdiccas having full intelligence of his enemies deſigns, and perceiving that he ſhould have to deal with a veteran army out of *Greece*, and with the numerous forces e of *Ptolemy* at once, he called a council of his friends, in order to reſolve on the meaſures proper to be taken in ſo nice a conjuncture. In this council it was unanimouſly determined, that it would be beſt for *Perdiccas* to march with the kings, and the gallant army attending on their perſons, into *Egypt* againſt *Ptolemy*, while ſome commander of approved abilities ſhould make head againſt *Antipater* and *Craterus*, who, it was foreſeen, would tranſport an army from *Macedonia* to make war upon *Perdiccas*. This captain was immediately found in *Eumenes*; him *Perdiccas* ordered to his government, creating him at the ſame time captain general of the countries as far as the *Helleſpont*. *Alcetas* the brother of *Perdiccas*, and *Neoptolemus* the governor of *Ar-* f *menia*, had directions to obey the orders of *Eumenes*, which not a little diſpleaſed them. Theſe things ſettled, *Perdiccas* began his march towards *Egypt* [o].

Eumenes *defeats* Neoptolemus *and* Craterus.

Eumenes, when he came to his province, found things in a very uncouth ſituation; he had indeed an excellent body of foot, but they were much inclined to mutiny. *Neoptolemus*, who ſhould have aſſiſted him, began already to betray an inclination to deſert him, and *Alcetas*, as ſoon as *Antipater* and *Craterus* approached, was prevailed on to be neuter in a war made againſt his brother. Larger offers than had corrupted theſe two were made to *Eumenes*, if he would concur with *Antipater* and *Craterus*. He anſwered, *That he believed it would be ſome time before he could reconcile himſelf to*

[l] Arrian. Diodor. Plut. ubi ſupra. [m] Diodor. ubi ſupra. Justin. lib. xiii. c. 6. [n] Diodor. & Justin. ubi ſupra. [o] Arrian. Diodor. Plut. Justin. ubi ſupra.

Antipater *his old enemy, the rather, becauſe he had a way of treating his friends like enemies. As for* Craterus *his old friend, he would be glad to be an inſtrument of reconciling him to* Perdiccas, *whom he was determined not to deſert.* During theſe negotiations, *Eumenes* had raiſed a body of three thouſand ſix hundred horſe, partly by beſtowing horſes on the ſoldiers he could confide in, and partly by encouraging the *Cappadocians* to addict themſelves to military affairs. By this contrivance he gained not only a great body of cavalry on which he might depend, but alſo ſtruck the phalanx with ſuch awe, that they in ſome meaſure left off their old turbulent humour. *Neoptolemus* earneſtly deſiring to gain the friendſhip of *Craterus* by ſubduing his old friend *Eumenes*, contrived to attack him ſuddenly; but *Eumenes* was too quick for him, and falling in the beginning of the engagement on his horſe, routed them intirely, compelling *Neoptolemus* to make his eſcape with only three hundred men to *Antipater* and *Craterus*; then he fell upon the phalanx of *Neoptolemus*'s army, and having diſordered them, offered to receive them into his own troops, if they would take an oath of fidelity to the kings, which they readily did. This ſucceſs was far from making *Eumenes* ſecure; he knew very well, that though he had beaten *Neoptolemus*, and increaſed his own army, yet he had ſtill to deal with very odd people; for he was conſcious to himſelf, that if his own army knew they were to fight againſt *Craterus*, they would be ſo far from executing his commands, that they would infallibly deſert him. When therefore he had intelligence that *Antipater* was marched into *Cilicia*, and that *Craterus* and *Neoptolemus* were in full march againſt him, he told his own army, that *Neoptolemus* and *Pigris*, with ſome *Cappadocian* and *Paphlagonian* horſe, were marching to ſurprize them; wherefore he intended to decamp, and meet them in the night. When they came to engage, he placed a body of foreign horſe over-againſt *Craterus*, commanded by *Pharnabazus* and *Phœnix*, ordering them to charge home, and not to give the enemy any time to ſend heralds or meſſengers. They performed their commiſſion ſo well, that *Craterus*, who fought bravely at the head of his troops, was mortally wounded before he was known. *Eumenes* in the mean time engaged *Neoptolemus* perſonally, and both of them falling together from their horſes, fought it out afterwards on foot, till *Eumenes* gave *Neoptolemus* a mortal wound in the neck, and proceeded to ſtrip him of his arms, inveighing bitterly againſt him for his vanity and perfidy, whereby ſo much miſchief had been wrought; then returning to the center of his army, he found *Craterus* yet living, over whom he wept and lamented, permitting the *Macedonian* phalanx, after they had taken an oath of fidelity, to retire to their quarters; yet in breach of that oath, they privately ſtole away to *Antipater* in *Cilicia*, leaving *Eumenes* the reputation of having gained two ſignal victories in ten days, which however was more than ballanced by the envy which other commanders conceived againſt him, and by the hatred his own army bore him for making them the inſtruments of ſlaying their favourite *Craterus*. But it is now time to follow *Perdiccas* P.

a b c d

Perdiccas *ſlain.* The royal army marched as far as *Damaſcus* with all imaginable tranquillity; but when they came there, and heard every-where as they paſſed the character of *Ptolemy*, they began to grow diffident and uneaſy; and when they entered *Egypt*, they grew more and more turbulent. *Perdiccas* being a man of high ſpirit, treated them with a good deal of haughtineſs, and threatened to puniſh them as rebels. This was ſo far from mending the matter, that it made it much worſe, his ſoldiers beginning to mutter, that he, who was but tutor to their princes, ſhould never become a tyrant over them who had been allowed all liberty even by *Alexander* himſelf; neither was it the private men only who were offended with his conduct, ſome of the chief officers were no leſs diſcontented, inſomuch that they took the firſt opportunity of deſerting him. This brought *Perdiccas* to a true ſenſe of his error; he therefore altered his whole conduct, careſſed the ſoldiers, treated the officers familiarly, and encouraged all by fair words and fine promiſes. Then he brought them to paſs the river *Nile*, and to attack *Ptolemy* in his retrenchments. The army on this occaſion behaved with all the bravery imaginable, and as they had the advantage in numbers, attacked ſeveral times. But *Ptolemy* on the other hand fighting in a fortification, being himſelf a great captain, expoſing his perſon freely, and having ſcarce a man in his troops who was not deſirous of loſing his life in his cauſe, maintained his poſt ſo well, that *Perdiccas* was forced to retire; and having marched a great part of the

e f

P Arrian. Diodor. Plut. ubi ſupra.

night,

a night, attempted to repaſs the river. Part of his forces actually got over by wading up to the chin; but on a ſudden the river grew deeper, and the ſtream ſo much ſtronger, that no more could paſs: This accident occaſioned a great deal of ſpeculation; but the true cauſe was this; ſo great a body as at firſt paſſed having ſtirred, and, as it were, digged the looſe ſand at the bottom of the river, the ſtream had carried it away. *Perdiccas*, like an indefatigable officer, had recourſe to various expedients; but they all proved ineffectual; at laſt he ordered the forces which had paſſed to return, which they accordingly did, but with the loſs of two thouſand men, half drowned, and half eaten by the crocodiles. Upon this misfortune the phalanx mutinied, and a hundred principal officers, among whom was *Pithon*, immediately
b went over to *Ptolemy*. A troop of horſe following the example, mutinied alſo, and having ſurrounded the general's tent, ſome of them entered and murdered him. The next day they held a conſultation; but before they reſolved upon any thing, *Ptolemy* came to them, and brought with him a vaſt quantity of proviſions, which he freely beſtowed upon them, kindly ſaluting every battalion of *Macedonians*, embracing their officers, and offering them all that was in his power. In this aſſembly *Aridæus* and *Pithon* were choſen protectors of the kings [q].

Two days after the death of *Perdiccas*, news arrived in the camp of the victory gained by *Eumenes*, which, had it arrived ſooner, would certainly have ſaved that general's life. As it was, it ſerved only to heighten the misfortunes of his friends; for
c the ſoldiers in a rage put all of them to death on whom they could lay hands; amongſt the reſt *Atalanta* the ſiſter of *Perdiccas*, and wife to *Attalus* the admiral; they likewiſe proſcribed *Eumenes*, and fifty perſons of quality with him; amongſt whom was *Alcetas*, *Perdiccas*'s brother, who had ſo ſcandalouſly ſat ſtill at the beginning of the war. Having thus glutted their reſentment, they quitted *Egypt*, and under the command of *Aridæus* and *Pithon*, they marched back again into *Cælo-Syria*. In this march, *Eurydice* the wife of king *Philip* began to take pretty much upon her, which *Aridæus* and *Pithon* were very much diſpleaſed at; yet finding the army more inclined to favour her than themſelves, they were forced to temporize till they come to *Triparadiſus*, where *Antipater* joined them. There a grand council was held,
d in which the new elected tutors of the kings reſigned their offices, and *Antipater* was choſen ſole protector with ſovereign power. He was no leſs diſſatisfied with *Eurydice*'s behaviour than his predeceſſors had been, and therefore began to check her, which irritated her ſo much, that in a ſet oration ſhe accuſed him to the army; and though he made a long and laboured anſwer, yet ſuch a ſedition enſued, that *Antigonus* and *Seleucus* were forced to reſcue him at the peril of their lives, as well as his. However, after ſome days the matter was adjuſted, and the adminiſtration again put into the hands of *Antipater*. When things were a little quiet, and the army pacified with promiſes as to their pay, *Antipater* proceeded to make a new diviſion of the provinces [r].

Pithon *and* Aridæus *ſucceed* Perdiccas.

e *Egypt*, *Libya*, and the parts adjacent, were given to *Ptolemy*, which could not be avoided; for he would not have parted with them, if *Antipater* had given them to any body elſe. *Syria* was confirmed to *Leomedon*. *Philoxenus* had *Cilicia*. *Meſopotamia* and *Arbelitis* were given to *Amphimachus*. *Babylon* was beſtowed on *Seleucus*. *Suſiana* fell to *Antigenes*, who commanded the *Macedonian ſilver-ſhields*, becauſe he was the firſt who oppoſed *Perdiccas*. *Peuceſtas* held *Perſia*. *Tlepolemus* had *Caramania* given him. *Pithon* held *Media*, as far as the *Caſpian* ſtreights. *Staſander* had *Aria* and *Drangia*. *Philip Parthia*. *Staſanor Bactria* and *Sogdia*. *Sybirtius Aracoſia*. *Oxyartes* the father of *Roxana*, *Parapomiſis*. *Python* the country between this province and *India*. *Porus* and *Taxiles* held what *Alexander* had given them, be-
f cauſe they would not part with any of their dominions. *Cappadocia* was aſſigned to *Nicanor*. *Phrygia Major*, *Lycaonia*, *Pamphylia* and *Lycia* were given to *Antigonus*. *Caria* to *Caſſander*. *Lydia* to *Clytus*. *Phrygia* the leſs to *Aridæus*. *Caſſander* was appointed general of the horſe. The command of the houſhold troops was given to *Antigonus*, with orders to proſecute the war againſt *Eumenes*, who was now reputed a public enemy. *Antipater*, when he had thus ſettled all things, returned home to his own province with the kings, much commended, and highly admired by all the *Macedonians* [s].

Antipater *divides the provinces anew.*

[q] Arrian. ubi ſupra. Diodor. ubi ſupra. Justin. ubi ſupra. [r] Arrian. ubi ſupra. Diodor. ubi ſupra. [s] Arrian. & Diodor. ubi ſupra.

Eumenes prepares to defend himſelf. Year after the flood 2679. Year before Chriſt 320.

As for *Eumenes*, he began to provide for the war, which he foreſaw was breaking upon him, with all imaginable prudence. *Alcetas* the brother of *Perdiccas* joined him; ſo did *Attalus* with the fleet. This officer, on the firſt news of the death of his brother and his wife, ſailed with the navy under his command to *Tyre*, where *Archelaus* was governor, by the appointment of *Perdiccas*, who had alſo intruſted him with eight hundred talents. This governor retained ſo grateful a ſenſe of the favours done him by his deceaſed patron, that he willingly received *Attalus*, and readily paid him the money which had been left in his hands. Here alſo *Attalus* collected ſuch of the friends and ſoldiers of *Perdiccas*, as repaired to him, with whom he afterwards ſailed to *Eumenes*. Among the principal officers in the camp of the laſt-mentioned general, there was one *Perdiccas*, whom he truſted much. This man prevailed on a body of three thouſand five hundred horſe to deſert with him, and with them marched a conſiderable diſtance from the camp. *Eumenes* did not purſue him the firſt night; but, as the ſecond drew on, he ſent one *Phœnix*, with four thouſand choice foot, and a thouſand horſe, through certain by-ways. Theſe ſurpriſed the traitor and his ſoldiers, and brought them all priſoners to the camp of *Eumenes*, who hanged *Perdiccas*, and a few of thoſe who were principally concerned, receiving the reſt into favour. It was not long before a general engagement happened, wherein *Eumenes*, through the treachery of *Apollonides*, general of his horſe, was totally routed, with the loſs of eight thouſand men. However, he performed on this occaſion one of the moſt extraordinary actions that we find recorded in hiſtory; for, with the ſcattered remains of his army, ſtriking off into a road parallel to that by which the enemy purſued him, he paſſed by them unperceived, and returned to the field of battle, where gathering all the wood that could be found in the adjacent villages, he burned all the dead bodies of his ſoldiers in one heap, and thoſe of his officers in another; covering the aſhes of each with a large mount of earth. Then, diſmiſſing ſuch of his ſoldiers as were ſick, wounded, or were unable to bear fatigue, he, with ſix hundred men, retired into the caſtle of *Nora*, a place exceedingly ſtrong, by its ſituation on the top of an inacceſſible rock, well fortified, and ſtored with all ſorts of proviſions, where he reſolved to abide a ſiege, hoping that *Alcetas* and *Attalus* would be able to raiſe ſuch a body of troops, as might enable them to deliver him before the caſtle could be reduced. *Antigonus* immediately cauſed the place to be inveſted; but when he was informed how well it was provided, and how reſolute thoſe men were who had choſen to be ſhut up therein, for *Eumenes* had none with him but ſuch as requeſted it as a favour, he began to deſpair of taking it by force. In order therefore to get over this matter as ſoon as poſſible, he ſent to deſire a conference with *Eumenes*. *Eumenes* anſwered, that he had many eminent commanders in his army; but, if himſelf ſhould be taken off, thoſe in the fort would be deſtitute of any commander. *Antigonus* returned, That, as he was the greater man, he expected that he ſhould wave ſuch excuſes, and come to him. To which *Eumenes* replied, That while he had his ſword in his hand, he held no man greater than himſelf. *Antigonus* thereupon ſent him hoſtages; and *Eumenes* coming to the foot of the rock, *Antigonus* went thither to meet him. As ſoon as they met together, they embraced, having been formerly intimate friends. Then *Eumenes* demanded to have the provinces reſtored to him, exhorted *Antigonus* to act dutifully towards the kings, and behaved in all things as if they had treated upon equal terms. The *Macedonians* who were near, admired the courage and ſpirit of the man. Thoſe who could only ſee him, were charmed with the ſweetneſs of his aſpect, and the beauty of his perſon; for he was one of the handſomeſt men of his age, the moſt perfect in his exerciſes, and abſolutely free either from paſſion or pride. At laſt the throng of the ſpectators grew ſo great, that *Antigonus* was in pain for his perſon; finding therefore that no accommodation could be made, he took *Eumenes* in his arms, and ſo brought him to the paſſage of the rock, where they parted. *Antigonus* perceiving that the ſiege would much incommode his affairs, ordered the place to be ſurrounded with a ſtrong wall, and leaving a ſufficient body of troops to guard it, he marched againſt *Alcetas* and *Attalus*.

Alcetas defeated and killed.

THE celerity with which *Antigonus* marched into *Piſidia*, where *Alcetas* and *Attalus* with their army lay, was ſuch, that he ſurpriſed them; and tho' their troops behaved very well, yet overcome with numbers, with elephants, and the ſuperior skill of the old *Macedonian* ſoldiers, they were totally beaten. *Attalus*, *Docimus* and *Polemon* were taken; but *Alcetas*, with about ſix thouſand men, eſcaped to *Termeſſus*.

a *Termeſſus*. *Antigonus* followed him, and inveſted the city, demanding *Alcetas*. The magiſtrates were all for delivering him up; but the people of the city, to whom *Alcetas* had done innumerable favours, ſwore ſolemnly they would live and die with him. In this the magiſtrates acquieſced; but while the citizens were at their poſts, they ſent ſome of their ſervants to murder *Alcetas*, who perceiving their intention, killed himſelf. His body being delivered to *Antigonus*, he firſt uſed it deſpitefully, and after two days, when it began to corrupt, cauſed it to be thrown into the road, whence it was taken by the *Termeſſians*, and honourably buried, who were very hardly deterred from burning their magiſtrates in their houſes [t].

Antigonus receiving the news of the death of *Antipater*, and that he had, by his will, appointed *Polyſperchon* tutor to the kings, he immediately conceived a great contempt of them all, reſolving to make himſelf lord of *Aſia*. He had now an army of ſixty thouſand foot, and nineteen thouſand horſe, many elephants, and treaſure in abundance. He began therefore to make no ſecret of his deſigns; but to remove all the governors of provinces who were not in his intereſts. In this however he had not very great ſucceſs; for *Aridæus* governor of *Phrygia* immediately began to arm, and when *Antigonus* threatned to deprive him of his province, as one who affected regal authority, he ſent him word his own intentions were honeſt, and that he armed, becauſe he looked upon him, *Antigonus*, to be a traitor. The next ſtep *Antigonus* took, was to bring over *Eumenes*, in order to which he ſent a truſty perſon to confer with that great captain in his caſtle of *Nora*, to deſire him to forget the battle in *Cappadocia*, and to aſſure him, that if he would become his friend, he ſhould be the ſecond perſon in his court. *Eumenes* gave a proper reception to theſe overtures; whereupon *Antigonus* framed an oath, which he ſent to the commanders of the troops forming the blockade of the caſtle of *Nora*, with inſtructions, that on *Eumenes*'s ſwearing thereto, they ſhould raiſe the ſiege. The purport of this oath was, that he ſhould be faithful to *Antigonus*, and have the ſame friends and enemies with him. When this oath was tendered to *Eumenes*, he obſerved that it was not properly drawn; wherefore, inſtead of *Antigonus*, he inſerted *Olympias*, the *kings*, and the *royal family*. This change the *Macedonians* immediately approved, and on *Eumenes* ſwearing, they inſtantly ſet him and his friends at liberty. He no ſooner regained his freedom than he began to collect forces for the defence of the kings, whoſe authority, he ſaw clearly, was on the very point of being extinguiſhed in *Aſia*. But when *Antigonus* was informed of what had happened, he was extremely angry, and ſent to his generals to make war on *Eumenes*, and, if poſſible, to ſecure his perſon; but theſe orders came too late, for *Eumenes* having collected about two thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe, quitted *Cappadocia*, and marched towards mount *Taurus* [u].

Antigonus reſolves to ſeize Aſia.

Polyſperchon finding himſelf exceedingly diſtreſſed, through the wickedneſs of many, and the extraordinary power of *Antigonus*, ſought out all poſſible methods to ſecure himſelf and the kings from deſtruction. To this end he invited *Olympias*, who, for fear of *Antipater* and his contrivances, had fled from *Macedon* to *Epirus*, to return, and take upon her the education of *Alexander*'s young ſon. He likewiſe diſpatched letters in his own name and hers, to *Eumenes*, whereby he conſtituted him general for the kings in *Aſia*, ordering the governors to pay him five hundred talents to indemnify him for his loſſes, and aſſigning him a *thouſand ſilver ſhields* for his guard. *Olympias* alſo wrote to him herſelf to deſire his advice, whether ſhe ſhould remain ſtill in *Epirus*, or return into *Macedonia*. She likewiſe exhorted him to remain firm to the intereſts of the royal family, for that ſhe and her children put their whole confidence in him. *Eumenes* in anſwer wrote her word, that to him it appeared moſt adviſeable for her to remain in *Epirus*, where ſhe was, till the war was over. As for himſelf, he promiſed to be ever obſervant of the intereſt of the royal family, and to hazard all things in order to check the torrent of *Antigonus*'s ambition. He ſaid he was the rather inclined to this, becauſe the tenderneſs of the young *Alexander*'s age, and the all-graſping diſpoſition of his father's captains, left an honeſt man no part to act but that of ſacrificing his own concerns to the public ſafety. To ſhew that his loyalty did not conſiſt in words, when his enemies were retired into *Cappadocia*, he made a quick turn into *Cilicia*, where he joined *Antigenes* and *Tutamus*, who had three thouſand of the *Argyraſpidæ* or *ſilver ſhields* under their command. They

The kings create Eumenes general in Aſia.

[t] Diodor. ubi ſupra. [u] Diodor. ubi ſupra.

received him with all the marks of deference and reſpect which they could poſſibly a
deviſe; but he very quickly perceived, that neither they, nor the reſt of the commanders who reſorted to him, eſteemed him in their hearts; but, on the contrary, envied him. He therefore applied himſelf to two things; firſt, the leſſening their malice; and ſecondly, providing for his own ſafety. With reſpect to this he refuſed the five hundred talents, and the title of general, ſaying, *That great wealth and high titles were of no uſe to a man who ſought to ſerve his ſovereign, and not to be a prince himſelf.* As to that, he borrowed large ſums of thoſe who hated him moſt, and thereby made them careful of his ſafety, leſt they ſhould loſe their money. With this money he furniſhed ſuch friends as he could truſt, ordering them to raiſe ſoldiers, and to give them more pay than was abſolutely neceſſary, rightly conceiving, that numbers would reſort to him, in hopes of extraordinary pay, who might afterwards be b
induced to ſerve on moderate terms. By theſe arts, before *Antigonus* was aware, he had aſſembled an army of fifteen thouſand men. Theſe proceedings raiſed the admiration of all his cotemporaries; but however they were ſo far from raiſing him in his own mind, that he contrived therein a ſcheme for leſſening his own authority, and putting himſelf upon the ſame rank with all the reſt of the captains. He told the officers of the army, that he had in a dream ſeen *Alexander*, adorned in his royal robes, ſitting on his throne, and giving orders, as he was wont, to all his commanders. He gave it therefore as his advice, that a tent of ſtate ſhould be erected, wherein there ſhould be placed a throne of gold, with all the enſigns of royalty thereon, before it an altar of the ſame metal, whereon each of the captains ſhould c
offer incenſe, after which they ſhould take their ſeats indiſcriminately, and conſult for the public ſafety. By this means he appeaſed the diſſenſions among the great, and inſpired the common ſoldiers with enthuſiaſtic bravery. *Antigonus*, in the mean time, ſent *Philotas* with letters to the army, promiſing the ſilver ſhields mighty rewards, if they would deliver up *Eumenes*. They read the letters, and debated upon them, of which *Eumenes* having ſome notice, he went into the aſſembly, and told them, that the *Macedonians* were not wont to conſult, whether they ſhould obey their prince, or deliver up his officers to traitors; and that it leſs became them ſo to do, whom not *Antigonus*, but *Alexander* had ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed. This determined the ſoldiers at that time to reject the offers of *Antigonus*. *Eumenes* then d
marched into *Phœnicia*, that he might be near the ſea. This province *Ptolemy* had ſeized; wherefore *Eumenes* made no ſcruple of conquering it, ſaying, That all were his enemies who knew not their duty. But when *Antigonus* had defeated the royal navy, and then marched againſt him in perſon, *Eumenes* thought it more expedient to retire into the higher provinces, which he did ſafely, notwithſtanding that he paſſed over the rivers *Tigris* and *Euphrates* in ſight of the enemy [w].

The governors of the upper provinces join him.

Eumenes wintered with his army on the frontiers of the province of *Babylon*. *Pithon* and *Seleucus*, who were governors, one of *Media*, the other of the territory of *Babylon*, ſought by all means to debauch his ſoldiers. Theſe attempts were however ſtill ineffectual, and *Eumenes* having paſſed the river *Tigris* in ſpight of them, e
advanced into *Suſiana*, where he was immediately joined by *Peuceſtas*, *Polemon*, *Sybirtius*, *Staſander*, *Androbazus* and *Eudames*, with upwards of twenty thouſand men, and twenty elephants. The firſt thing that happened after this junction, was a diſpute about the command, to which every one of the governors laid claim, and *Eumenes* was never thought of. At laſt they were forced to come into his expedient of meeting in a tent. This was done for the preſent; for every one of them hoped, by careſſing the ſoldiers, to carry his point in time; and indeed they all carried it in their turns, for the army ſaluted every one of them general when they were eating at his coſt. But when *Antigonus* drew near, they called out for *Eumenes*, ſaying openly, that, when fighting was the buſineſs, they would have no general f
but him. This however occaſioned no diſturbance, for the generals were as ready to ſubmit to him as the ſoldiers, none caring to charge themſelves with the weight of a command, where the leaſt wrong ſtep would forfeit all their power, and their lives into the bargain. *Eumenes* then led the army to the *Tigris*, drawing them up in excellent order on the banks, where he waited for *Antigonus*. That ambitious captain marched firſt to *Suſa*, and finding that caſtle held by *Xenophilus*, he left *Seleucus* with a corps of troops to beſiege it, and then marched on to fight *Eumenes*. The

[w] DIODOR ubi ſupra. PLUT. in vit. Eumen.

climate

a climate was exceſſively hot, the ſoil dry and ſandy, ſo that his troops were prodigiouſly fatigued. At laſt he arrived on the banks of the *Copares*, a very rapid river running into the *Tigris* about eight miles from the camp of *Eumenes*. Here, with a few flat-bottomed boats, he paſſed over ſix thouſand horſe, and two thouſand foot, giving ſtrict orders to the latter to entrench themſelves as ſoon as they were over. As for the horſe, they diſperſed themſelves for the conveniency of forage. The foot had ſcarce formed themſelves, and conſidered the ſituation of the place, before they found themſelves in danger of being puſhed into the river by their own horſe, whom *Eumenes* had ſurprized, and entirely defeated. They covered them as well as they could, and received bravely the charge of *Eumenes* at the head of five thouſand men, with
b whom he had paſſed the *Tigris*; but finding themſelves unable to bear up againſt theſe freſh troops, they threw themſelves in heaps into the boats, till they ſunk, affording *Antigonus*, and the reſt of his army, the melancholy ſpectacle of four thouſand of their companions killed and drowned, and as many taken priſoners, themſelves looking on. *Antigonus* was ſo effectually checked by this ſudden blow, that he immediately retired, and left the army of the kings in poſſeſſion of the field [x].

Antigonus *marches into* Media.

THE deſign of *Antigonus* in retiring, was not to quit the war, but remove the ſcene of it to ſome part of *Aſia*, where he might act with more advantage; with this view he determined to march into *Media*, to which there were two roads, the one ſafe and pleaſant, the other through the country of the *Coſſeans*, the ſame baſe and
c barbarous people, againſt whom *Alexander* made an expedition immediately after the death of *Hephæſtion*. *Pithon* knowing well the temper of theſe mountaineers, very prudently adviſed *Antigonus* rather to quiet them with a ſum of money, than to attempt to paſs through their territories by force; but that little ſuited the haughty diſpoſition of him to whom the counſel was given. *Antigonus* thought it unworthy of himſelf, and of the great army he commanded, to pay theſe highlanders for a paſſage. He therefore ſent *Nearchus* with the light-armed troops before in order to drive the *Coſſeans* from their poſts, and directed him when he had ſo done to line the roads with his men. *Antigonus* led the phalanx himſelf, *Pithon* and a choice body of horſe bringing up the rear. The army however paid dearly in their march for their re-
d jecting *Pithon*'s advice. The *Coſſeans* attacking them on all ſides with equal bravery and reſolution, ſo that for nine days together, they ſuſtained the greateſt hardſhips; but at laſt coming down into *Media*, they were there ſo plentifully provided for, and through the care of *Pithon*, the cavalry ſo well remounted, and the ſoldiers ſo effectually indemnified for their loſſes, that the army reſumed its wonted alacrity; whereupon *Antigonus* determined to penetrate into the higher countries, in order to diſplace thoſe governors who had ſided with *Eumenes* [y].

Eumenes *marches into the upper provinces.*

THE confederate lords underſtanding that *Antigonus* again drew near them, were much divided in their councils; ſome of them were for retiring to the ſea-coaſts, where,
e in caſe of any misfortune, they might receive aid from *Polyſperchon*. The governors of the upper provinces, mindful of their private concerns, were for marching back with the army, that they might ſecure their friends. *Eumenes* agreed in opinion with the former, yet ſided againſt his own opinion with the latter, foreſeeing that if he had declared for marching into the maritime provinces, the army would neceſſarily have been divided, and thereby become too weak to effect any thing any where. His aſſent therefore having determined the queſtion, they immediately marched into *Perſis*, and in twenty-four days march reached *Perſepolis*. Here *Peuceſtas* made a grand feaſt for the army, and having them now in his own province, he loaded them with ſuch extravagant favours, that *Eumenes* began to ſuſpect he aimed at ſomewhat more than
f he ought. As ſoon as he entertained theſe ſuſpicions, he ſtruck out an expedient for bringing the army back to their former temper without hurting *Peuceſtas*. He cauſed a letter to be writ in *Syrian* characters, in the name of *Orontes*, governor of *Armenia*, importing, that the party of *Olympias* had killed *Caſſander*, and that the power of the kings being thoroughly ſettled in *Macedon*, *Polyſperchon* was about to paſs with a great army into *Aſia*. This letter being directed to *Peuceſtas*, he readily gave credit to it, and publiſhed it in the army; whereupon all the officers paid their court to *Eumenes*, and thoſe were the forwardeſt who hated him moſt. *Eumenes* took all in good part, and according to cuſtom borrowed money of thoſe he feared, and thereby became maſter of their councils. The news which *Peuceſtas* had received, occaſioned more

[x] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. PLUT. & CORN. NEPOS. in vit. Eumen. [y] DIODOR. ubi ſupra.

feaſting,

feaſting, and *Eumenes*, contrary to his nature, was forced to drink hard, which a threw him into a fever, out of which, as he recovered, the generals received advice, that *Antigonus* drew near them. Immediately the army marched under the command of *Peuceſtas* and *Antigenes*, *Eumenes* being carried in the rear in a litter. But when they were in the midſt of their march, the van of *Antigonus*'s army appeared. *Peuceſtas* inſtantly gave directions for forming a line of battle, but the ſoldiers abſolutely refuſed to move any way till *Eumenes* ſhould appear. Hereupon he was brought in his litter with the curtains drawn back, and after he had thanked the ſoldiers for their confidence in him, he made the neceſſary diſpoſitions. When *Antigonus* drew near enough to perceive in what manner the confederate army was drawn up, he was ex- b ceedingly ſurprized, for he depended on the ſickneſs of *Eumenes*. At laſt perceiving the litter paſſing through the lines, he burſt out a laughing; and turning to the officers who were near him, ſaid, *It is not that army but yon litter that bids us battle.* However he ordered a retreat to be ſounded, and contented himſelf with encamping in a very advantagious poſt [z] (C).

A battle enſues.

WHILE the armies lay over-againſt each other, *Eumenes* received intelligence that *Antigonus* intended to decamp in the night, he thereupon preſently gueſſed that his deſign was to put his army into quarters of refreſhment in the rich diſtrict of *Gabene*. To prevent this, and at the ſame time to gain a paſſage into that country, he inſtructed ſome ſoldiers to pretend they were deſerters whom he ſent into the camp of *Antigonus*, where c they reported that *Eumenes* intended to attack them in their trenches that very night. But while *Antigonus*'s troops were under arms, *Eumenes* marched for *Gabene*, which at length *Antigonus* ſuſpected, and having given proper orders to his foot, marched immediately after him with his horſe, ſending alſo his baggage to an adjacent city, that it might not incommode him. Freed from all incumbrances, pretty early in the morning he from the top of a hill diſcerned *Eumenes* with his army marching below; whereupon he immediately diſpoſed his horſe, as if his infantry had been behind the hill, whereby he deceived *Eumenes* who would otherwiſe have marched on. Whereas believing the whole army of *Antigonus* to be at hand, he faced about, and diſpoſed his troops in order of battle. By degrees the infantry of *Antigonus* came up, and as d they came up, formed behind the horſe. The whole of *Eumenes*'s forces conſiſted of thirty-five thouſand foot, ſix thouſand horſe, and one hundred and fourteen elephants. In the army of *Antigonus* was twenty-eight thouſand foot, eight thouſand five hundred horſe, and ſixty-five elephants. *Antigonus* charged the troops under *Eumenes* with great bravery. The battle was moſt obſtinately fought, and the victory won and loſt ſeveral times by each party. At laſt after a whole day's engagement, the ſtars began to appear, when *Antigonus* had viſibly the worſt, yet his officers could not prevail upon him to retire from the field of battle; on the contrary, he encamped there with the troops yet unbroken, and ſent ſeveral perſons well mounted to give notice to thoſe who fled, that it would be their ſafeſt way to repair to his camp, which e accordingly they did. He then buried his dead, which done by forced marches, he withdrew into *Media*, where he took up his winter quarters. If *Eumenes* had been as abſolute in the command of his army, as *Antigonus* was, the latter would not have eſcaped ſo well, for *Eumenes* without doubt would have attacked him again, and in all probability would have totally routed him; for whereas *Antigonus* had almoſt eight thouſand men killed and wounded, *Eumenes* did not loſe in

[z] Id. ibid.

(C) *Antigonus* a ſhort time after this finding the country where he lay exceſſively waſted, and that it would be very difficult for him to ſubſiſt, ſent deputies to the confederate army to ſolicit them, eſpecially the governors of provinces and the old *Macedonian* corps to deſert *Eumenes*, and to join him, which at this time they rejected with the higheſt indignation. After the deputies were diſmiſſed, *Eumenes* came into the aſſembly, and delivered himſelf in theſe words: "Once upon a time a lion fall- "ing in love with a young damſel, demanded her in "marriage of her father. The father made anſwer, "that he looked on ſuch an alliance as a great ho- "nour to his family, but ſtood in fear of his paws "and teeth, leſt upon any trifling diſpute that might "happen between them after they were married, he "might exerciſe them a little too haſtily upon his "daughter. To remove this objection, the amorous "lion cauſed both his nails and teeth to be drawn "immediately, whereupon the father took a cudgel, "and ſoon got rid of his enemy". This, continued he, is the very thing aimed at by *Antigonus*, who makes you large promiſes, till he has made himſelf maſter of your forces, and then beware of his teeth and paws (9).

(9) *Plut. in vit. Eumen. Diodor. Sicul. lib.* XVIII.

the

a the whole quite fifteen hundred; but the diviſions which reigned in the confederate army, and the inſolence of the ſoldiers, hindered any thing more from being done, and even permitted *Antigonus* to interr the ſlain, whereby their victory was called in queſtion. However, according to the modern rules of war, *Eumenes* was the conqueror, inaſmuch as he carried his point, and actually brought his forces to winter in the rich country of *Gabene*, where they were five and twenty days march from the enemy *.

As ſoon as the army was in winter quarters, and began to taſte thoſe advantages which the wiſdom of their general had procured for them, they very gratefully began to deſpiſe him, and to pay all their court to the generals who treated beſt, and for the greater conveniency of receiving entertainments, ſpread themſelves all over the country. *Antigonus* had his ſpies amongſt them, and from them he quickly re- b ceived intelligence of the bad ſituation of their affairs. As ſoon as *Antigonus* received theſe accounts, he reſolved, notwithſtanding it was the very depth of winter, to attempt ſurprizing them; of which deſign he conceived the greater hopes, becauſe he was informed that there lay a paſſage through the deſarts, which in nine or ten days time would bring him to *Gabene*; though by the ordinary rout it was twenty-five days march from his quarters. Full of this mighty project, he gave out his orders for the ſoldiers to provide themſelves with ſuch proviſion for ten days, as required no dreſſing, hoping by this contrivance to avoid lighting fires. But this proved ineffectual, for after five days march he and his forces found the cold ſo intenſe, that to preſerve themſelves from periſhing, they were forced to make fires in the nights. c Some ſhepherds who were upon the hills ſurrounding theſe deſarts, perceiving theſe fires, diſpatched away meſſengers on dromedaries to carry advice to the confederate generals, who inſtantly called a council, wherein they ſhewed all the marks of terror and confuſion, and acknowledging the miſerable ſituation of their affairs, by the troops being quartered at many days march diſtance, they neither propoſed nor reſolved on any method for defence. *Eumenes* obſerving their diſtreſs, told them, that he would undertake to retard the march of the enemy for four or five days, if in the interim they would aſſemble the troops. This promiſe, which to them appeared impoſſible to be fulfilled, they readily laid hold of, and immediately transferred to *Eumenes* the command of the troops which lay in the neighbourhood of the place where d they were. As ſoon as *Eumenes* could draw them together, he marched directly towards the enemy, and when he was near enough for them to ſee the fires in his camp, he extended his troops as much in front, as if the whole confederate army had been there, and cauſed as many or more fires to be lighted than would then have been neceſſary. When *Antigonus* perceived this, he concluded that *Eumenes*, having intelligence of his march, had led all his troops out of freſh quarters to meet him; he therefore quitted the road through the deſart, and turned through the ordinary one through towns and villages, that his ſoldiers might receive ſome refreſhment, and not be expoſed, after ſuſtaining ſo great fatigues, to an unequal engagement with troops juſt come out of quarters. This was exactly what *Eumenes* foreſaw, and conſequently by e that time *Antigonus* by the ordinary road arrived on the frontiers, the whole confederate army was aſſembled, and ready to give him battle, which *Antigonus* did not decline. In the private councils held by the generals and governors of provinces, it was unanimouſly determined to make uſe of *Eumenes* in the approaching battle, and then to rid themſelves of him; for they ſaw clearly in matters of moment, they neither conſidered each other, nor were conſidered by the army; but his advice and his conduct only were relied on. *Eudamus* and *Phadimus*, two principal perſons in the army, immediately gave *Eumenes* notice, not out of any good-will to him, for they hated him as much or more than any of the reſt, but becauſe he was very deeply in their debt. As ſoon as he was acquainted with this treacherous conſpiracy, *Eu-* f *menes* retired to his tent, and in the firſt place put all his papers out of the way, that in caſe of the worſt none of his friends might be prejudiced; he then conſidered with himſelf whether it might not be poſſible for him to eſcape into *Cappadocia*; but then reflecting that his eſcape would be abdicating his command, and giving up the cauſe of *Alexander*'s family, he generouſly reſolved to die, as he had lived, with the glory of never having done a baſe or unbecoming action. This reſolution once taken, he came out and encouraged the ſoldiers, the major part of whom were well-affected to him, and ſaluted him with loud acclamations. *Eumenes* thanked them for thoſe

Eumenes *laſt campaign.* *Year after the flood,* 2684. *Before Chriſt* 315.

* Diodor. Sicul. Plut. & Corn. Nepos. ibid.

marks of their favour, and diſpoſed all things for a battle, never divulging any part of the information he had received, though he could not help ſaying ſometimes to his intimate friends, that he lived amongſt wild beaſts, by whom he expected ſome time or other to be torn in pieces. The battle was fought on the ſea ſhore, and *Eumenes* having the advantage in infantry, effectually routed the phalanx of *Antigonus*; but his cavalry having the advantage, though the baſe treachery of *Peuceſtas*, *Antigonus*, who was alike preſent to himſelf in all circumſtances, perceiving that the engagement had raiſed a miſt of ſmall white duſt by the violent toſſing of the ſand, he made uſe of the obſcurity of the air to wheel round the army of *Eumenes*, and to poſſeſs himſelf of their baggage, a contrivance which availed him more than a victory would have done. As ſoon as the forces of *Eumenes* were returned into their camp, and were acquainted with the loſs of their baggage with the women and children, they were ready to mutiny. *Teutamus*, who commanded a battalion of the *ſilver ſhields*, and who had long inclined to *Antigonus*, took this opportunity of ſending to him, and demanding of him the booty he had lately taken. *Antigonus* returned him for anſwer, that he would willingly reſtore the *ſilver ſhields*, the baggage, and all elſe that belonged to them, and would be ready to do them what farther favours they ſhould requeſt, provided they would do him one, which was to deliver up *Eumenes* a *ſtranger, a perſon once condemned by the* Macedonians, *and who had ſince attained power enough to do them conſiderable miſchiefs.* The *ſilver ſhields* immediately cloſed with this propoſition, ſcandalous as it was, and gathering about their unſuſpecting general, ſeized his ſword, pinioned his arms behind him, and in this plight prepared to deliver him up who had ſo long protected them from their enemies. As ſoon as that illuſtrious perſon perceived what they were about, he moſt earneſtly deſired that he might have leave to ſpeak to them, which when he had obtained, he in a very pathetic oration ſhewed them the folly and ill conſequences of ſuch a procedure, beſides the diſgrace that it would bring upon them. Concluding with this petition, that ſince they were determined to part with their general to regain their lumber, they would have the goodneſs to put him to death with their own hands, and not deliver him up to his and their old enemy *Antigonus*, whom under his command they had ſo often beaten. The reſt of the army wept and lamented, but the *ſilver ſhields* cried out, *Away with him! Let us hear none of his fine ſpeeches, carry him to* Antigonus, *and bring us again our wives and children.* This being accordingly performed, *Antigonus*, in purſuance of his promiſe, delivered up the baggage with all the women and children. As to *Eumenes*, when thoſe who had him in cuſtody demanded how he ſhould be kept? *As you would keep an elephant or a lion*, anſwered their general. The fate of *Aſia* was now decided, for *Eumenes* being given up, the governors ſubmitted, and made the beſt terms they could, ſuffering their troops to be incorporated into thoſe of *Antigonus*. The only point which remained to be ſettled was the fate of the captive general. At firſt he was not only very ſtrictly confined, but loaded with heavy irons; but after ſome time, *Antigonus* was prevailed on to command part of the irons to be taken off; to allow him a ſervant to wait on him, and to permit his friends to viſit him. While things continued in this ſtate, *Eumenes* would often ſay to thoſe who came to him, *I wonder* Antigonus *protracts my affair thus, and that he has not courage enough to put me to death as an enemy, or by ſetting me free to make me his friend.* There was indeed a party in the army of *Antigonus*, at the head of whom was *Demetrius* his ſon, who would have had him ſet *Eumenes* free, ſuppoſing that this would have bound him to his intereſts. But the reſt of his friends, and the bulk of the army, earneſtly intreated him to put him to death, which when the army was about to march, he accordingly did. However he and all his troops aſſiſted with great ſolemnity at his funeral, and after the body was burnt, he cauſed the aſhes to be put up in a ſilver urn, and ordered them to be tranſmitted to his wife and children in *Cappadocia*. *Hieronymus* the *Cardian*, his moſt intimate friend, was taken by *Antigonus* into his favour and councils. *Antigenes*, commander in chief of the *ſilver ſhields*, was by his order put into a coffin, and burnt alive. *Eudamus*, *Celbanus*, and many others of the enemies of *Eumenes*, experienced a like fate [h].

He reſolves to change the governors in all the provinces.

Antigonus had now nothing in his head but the executing of his old ſcheme of making himſelf lord of *Aſia*; in order to which he reſolved to ſacrifice all ſuch as he ſuſpected, all who had obſtinately oppoſed him, and all who by the fickleneſs of their conduct had ſhewn they were not to be depended on by any party. In the firſt place he re-

[h] DIODOR. SICUL. PLUT. & CORN. NEPOS, ubi ſupra. JUSTIN. lib. xii. cap. 2.

ſolved

a ſolved to take off *Pithon*, who had done him ſuch eminent ſervice; but who while they were in winter quarters in *Media*, had been tampering with the ſoldiers. *Antigonus*, to carry on his deſign, brow-beat all ſuch as found fault with *Pithon*'s conduct, gave out to his friends that he intended to make him governor of all the upper provinces, and under this pretence drew him out of his own province of *Media*; but as ſoon as he got him into his hands, he called a council of war, wherein charging him with treaſon, thoſe who had been formerly concerned with him were now out of fear moſt ready to give him up, ſo that he was preſently convicted, and thereon inſtantly executed. He then appointed *Orontobates* a *Mede* governor of *Media*, but made *Hipſoſtratus* general of the forces, which he left for the preſervation of the
b province. Such of the governors as he found could not be diſpoſſeſſed, he confirmed in their provinces. Laſt of all, he ſent for *Sibyrtius*, governor of *Aracoſia*, in whom he confided. To this man he transferred the *ſilver ſhields*, openly affirming that they would ſerve him to awe the barbarous nations; but giving him privately to underſtand that it was his deſire that they ſhould be put out of the way as expeditiouſly as poſſible, as a race of ſeditious villains unworthy of returning to *Greece*. Theſe things performed, he ſtript *Peuceſtas* of the government of *Perſia*, where he was prodigiouſly beloved, and appointed *Aſclepiodorus* in his ſtead. All the money and rich curioſities which were in the treaſury of *Suſa*, he ſeized to the value of fifteen thouſand talents, and out of the ſpoils and the treaſure he found in other places, he col-
c lected ten thouſand talents more, with which prodigious maſs of wealth, he doubted not to carry all his deſigns into execution. Being not a little encouraged alſo from this conſideration, that by this time not only the famous captains, but many of the inferior officers who had ſerved under *Alexander* were deſtroyed, and put out of his way [c].

Antigonus *marches to* Babylon.

As ſoon as the ſeaſon of the year permitted, *Antigonus* marched with all his army, and with the mighty treaſures he had collected, to *Babylon*, where *Seleucus* was gover-
nor. This man had done the higheſt ſervices to *Antigonus*, and among theſe ſome very late ones; for through him the citadel of *Suſa*, and all the wealth therein, had been delivered up to *Antigonus*. Upon this occaſion too, he did all, or rather more,
d than could be expected; for he feaſted the whole army at his own expence, and ſeemed to be no leſs pleaſed with the ſucceſs of *Antigonus* than he himſelf was. All this however could not ſecure him. The ambitious have no friends: All who pretend to ſerve them muſt be abſolutely their creatures. When therefore *Seleucus* had done all that was in his power, *Antigonus* demanded of him an account of the revenues of the province, which plainly diſcovered that he looked on him as a mere dependent. *Seleucus* however was very far from making any ſervile ſubmiſſions, or even ſeeking to temporize any longer with a man whom he eſteemed no more than his equal. He told him the province of *Babylon* was conferred upon himſelf by the *Macedonians* as the reward of his ſervices, and that therefore he did not conceive he was any more bound
e to give account than he had a right to demand one. But when he had conſidered attentively the great power of *Antigonus*, and the ſmall capacity he had of reſiſting him, he began to conceive that he was in no ſmall danger, eſpecially when he called to mind what had befallen *Eumenes*, *Pithon*, and *Peuceſtas*: To ſecure himſelf therefore from ſuch treatment as they met with, and to eſcape being either murdered or depoſed, he with fifty horſe inſtantly made his eſcape, in order to fly to *Ptolemy*. When this was firſt known to *Antigonus*, he rejoiced at it exceedingly, being extremely pleaſed, that by this means he had got the province to himſelf, without proceeding haſtily with his old friend, and a man in high credit with the army, ſuppoſing that now he ſhould diſpoſe of every thing according to his pleaſure. But when the
f *Chaldæan* prieſts informed him that they by their *aſtrological rules* were certain, that if *Seleucus* eſcaped at preſent, he would be in proceſs of time not only a formidable, but ſucceſsful enemy, and that himſelf would fall in battle againſt him; *Antigonus* took it much to heart, remembering how theſe people had before foretold the death of *Hephæſtion*, as well as that of *Alexander*. Terrified therefore with gloomy apprehenſions, he diſpatched away ſome choſen ſquadrons of horſe to ſeize on *Seleucus*; but this method was taken too late, he had already reached the territories of *Ptolemy*, where he remained in perfect ſafety. The chagrin this accident gave *Antigonus* made him redouble his diligence, in diſpoſing of the reſt of the provinces to his own ad-

[c] Diodor. Sicul. Plut. & Corn. Nepos. ubi ſupra.

vantage.

vantage. He quickly found how neceſſary all his care was, for before he had well taken theſe precautions, *Seleucus* had raiſed him ſuch a number of enemies, that with all his mighty power, he had enough to do to defend himſelf. *Ptolemy*, *Lyſimachus*, *Caſſander*, all leagued with *Seleucus*, in order to reduce the power of *Antigonus*, that they might themſelves be ſecure in their poſſeſſions: For though *Alexander* the ſon of *Roxana* was ſtill living, yet *Caſſander* impriſoned both him and his mother, and treated them only as private perſons, of which though *Antigonus* might be ſecretly glad, yet conceiving rightly that the putting on a contrary character would be of ſervice to his affairs, he openly inveighed againſt *Caſſander*'s conduct, and alledged that he took up arms to vindicate the rights of the *royal houſe*; whereas in truth he was the firſt who openly invaded them by aſſuming ſovereign power, though he did not indeed as yet take upon him the *title* of *king* [d].

Antigonus ſeizes Syria *and* Phœnicia. *Year after the flood* 2685. *Before Chriſt* 314.

As *Antigonus* immediately after the eſcape of *Seleucus* had marched into *Cilicia*, in order to refreſh and to recruit his army, ſo aſſoon as he was thoroughly informed of the confederacy ſet on foot againſt him, he determined to proceed firſt to hoſtilities, and to ſecure the provinces of *Syria* and *Phœnicia* at preſent in the hands of *Ptolemy*. He perfectly well diſcerned, that in caſe of a war againſt ſo many princes, his being maſter at ſea would be of the laſt importance; and he hoped by conquering theſe countries, not only to have the *Syrian* and *Phœnician* ports, but alſo their ſhipping at his devotion. In the former deſign he ſucceeded, yet with great difficulty; but in the latter he was totally diſappointed. *Joppa* and *Gaza* he reduced by force; as for *Tyre* it ſuſtained a ſiege of many months; with reſpect to the ſhipping, *Ptolemy* foreſeeing what would come to paſs, had withdrawn them to *Egypt*. However, *Antigonus* perſiſted in his former reſolution of being maſter of the ſea; in order to which, he ordered vaſt quantities of timber to be cut down in mount *Libanus*, and other places in his dominions, which being ſent to the ports reſpectively neareſt to the places where they were cut, he had a vaſt fleet immediately upon the ſtocks. The wiſdom of his proceeding appeared evidently from an accident which happened to him at the ſiege of *Tyre*, where while he lay with his army on the ſea coaſt, *Seleucus* with part of *Ptolemy*'s fleet paſſed by in ſpight of him, which exceedingly diſpirited his forces; but *Antigonus* reſtored their courage by aſſuring them that before the end of that ſummer he would have five hundred ſhips of war at ſea, which would be more than ſufficient to drive the enemy out of it; and this promiſe by his great care and regular payment of all demands, he effectually performed. But as all human abilities are circumſcribed, whence it becomes impoſſible for one man to attend to all things, while *Antigonus* was intent upon theſe important affairs, the army of *Caſſander* made a great progreſs in the *Leſſer Aſia* [e].

Antigonus repels Caſſander.

To remedy this evil, *Antigonus* marched thither with a great part of his army, leaving his ſon *Demetrius* with the reſt to preſerve the conqueſts he had made in *Syria* and *Phœnice*. That prince was not above twenty-two years old, but of abilities far beyond his years; he was brave and generous in the higheſt degree, well verſed in war, and a great deſpiſer of thoſe arts and ſhifts by which cunning men paſs for wiſe ones; he was kind to his friends, gentle to his enemies, and had an innate clemency untinctured with private deſigns, or future proſpects; if with all this his greatneſs had not ſupplied him with flatterers who led him not to pollute, but to plunge himſelf into the groſſeſt vices, he would have been the worthieſt, as well as one of the moſt remarkable princes of the age in which he lived. His amiable qualities gained him the love of the army committed by his father to his charge, and he became very agreeable to the inhabitants of the provinces over which he preſided for the ſpace of a year, while his father made war up *Caſſander*, and ſo effectually humbled him, that he was content to make a peace on very indifferent terms, which however when he had better conſidered of it, he preſently broke and joined again with *Ptolemy* and *Seleucus*, to give *Antigonus* all the trouble he could [f].

Ptolemy recovers Syria.

The diverſions given by *Caſſander* to the arms of *Antigonus* afforded *Ptolemy* an opportunity of making a deſcent in *Celo-Syria*, and afterwards in *Cilicia*, out of which province he carried great ſpoils into *Egypt*. On his return thither, *Seleucus* inſtigated him to invade *Syria* and *Phœnicia*, ſhewing how detrimental a thing it was to his affairs for theſe provinces to remain in the hands of his enemies. *Ptolemy* entering readily into the reaſon of the thing, began inſtantly to ſet on foot all the neceſſary prepara-

[d] Diodor. Plut. ubi ſupra. [e] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Plut. in Demetrio. Justin. lib. xiv.
[f] Diodor. & Plut. ubi ſupra.

a tions for a war in thoſe parts. At laſt, when all things were in readineſs, he entered *Syria* with a gallant army; but he had advanced no farther than *Gaza*, when *Demetrius* put a ſtop to his progreſs by offering him battle; a general engagement enſued, which was very obſtinate and bloody; it ended however in the total overthrow of *Demetrius*, who had five thouſand men ſlain, and eight thouſand taken priſoners. Among the former was *Python*, whom his father had aſſigned him for his collegue; he had been a principal officer in the army of *Alexander*, was a man of great abilities, and after the death of *Eumenes* had been received by *Antigonus* into the firſt place of his confidence and eſteem. After this rout, *Demetrius* retired with the remains of his army to *Azotus*, from whence he ſent deputies to *Ptolemy* to beg leave
b to bury his dead, which favour was not only granted him, but *Ptolemy* and *Seleucus* ſent him back his royal pavillion, his whole equipage, and all the priſoners who had any dependence on his family. The reſt of the priſoners were ſent into *Egypt*. *Demetrius* finding it impoſſible for him to make head againſt the victorious army, abandoned *Phœnicia*, *Paleſtine*, and *Syria*, to the victor. *Tyre* indeed made ſome reſiſtance. *Andronicus* commanded therein, who not long before had taken it for *Antigonus*. He was a man of ſpirit, and therefore abſolutely refuſed to part with a place of ſuch importance tamely. The city therefore was inveſted, but in a little time the gariſon mutinied, and *Andronicus* was forced to give it up to *Ptolemy*, who therewith recovered all that *Antigonus* had taken from him. *Seleucus* took this opportunity of
c requeſting his friend to complying with the promiſe he had made him, of furniſhing him with a body of troops for the recovery of the province of *Babylon*. *Ptolemy* very readily agreed to it, and aſſigned him a thouſand foot, and three hundred horſe, with which inconſiderable aſſiſtance, *Seleucus* not only poſſeſſed himſelf of *Babylon*, but alſo of *Media* and *Suſiana*, after having defeated *Nicanor*, who was governor of the former province for *Antigonus*. While *Seleucus* went on thus triumphantly, *Ptolemy* had a very unlucky accident; he had ſent *Cilles* his general with a conſiderable army to drive *Demetrius* out of *Upper Syria*, where he with the remains of his army ſtill continued. This *Cilles* being a bold improvident man, highly contemned in himſelf an enemy ſo often beaten; for *Demetrius* had been drive from poſt to poſt
d after the battle of *Gaza*, without being able to make any conſiderable ſtand, which was the reaſon that *Cilles* doubted not but he would now retire as faſt as he ſhould preſs upon him; *Demetrius* having intelligence of this, reſolved to repair the falſe ſtep he had made at *Gaza*, by a quick proceeding here; he therefore ſent a ſmall party of horſe to view the camp of *Cilles*, and being informed that all things there were in a very careleſs condition, he inſtantly determined with himſelf to fall upon them; which reſolution he executed with ſuch celerity, that he totally defeated the enemy, and took *Cilles* himſelf with ſeven thouſand men priſoners. This action, as it contributed much to the glory of *Demetrius*, and to the intereſt of his father *Antigonus*, ſo it gave the former an opportunity of returning that civility which *Ptolemy*
e had done him after the battle of *Gaza*, in reſtoring the principal priſoners then taken. *Demetrius* therefore immediately ſent back *Cilles* and all his friends to the camp of *Ptolemy*, with the ſame compliment which had formerly been made to himſelf; that he fought not ſo much for intereſt, as for glory. As ſoon as *Antigonus*, who was at that time in *Phrygia*, received advice of this victory, he inſtantly paſſed mount *Taurus*, and marched with all imaginable ſpeed to join his ſon, which having once performed, they marched with all their forces againſt *Ptolemy*, who clearly perceiving that he ſhould not be able to reſiſt ſo numerous an army, fluſhed with victory, demoliſhed moſt of the cities which were fortified in the provinces he had conquered, and then retired into *Egypt* with an immenſe load of ſpoil, and a vaſt number of people,
f not carried priſoners againſt their will, but who voluntarily followed his fortunes. Thus the provinces of *Syria*, *Phœnicia*, and *Judea*, returned again to their old maſter [g].

Antigonus, elated with this high run of fortune, conceived in his mind a deſire of ſubduing the *Nabathæans* or *Arabs*, inhabiting the deſcents bordering on *Judea*. Againſt theſe he diſpatched his general *Athenæus*, who at firſt proceeded very warily in his expedition; for having with him but four thouſand foot, and ſix hundred horſe, he knew that in attacking ſo numerous a people, conduct would be of greater uſe than courage. He had intelligence that moſt of the *Arabs* were gone to a mart

Antigonus *makes war on the* Arabs. *Year after the flood* 2688. *Year before Chriſt* 311.

[g] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Plutarch. in Demetrio.

or fair, where the *Syrians* and they bartered their commodities, and that on this account their chief city *Petra*, where they left their wives and children, and their wealth, was but ſlenderly guarded. Upon this he marched with his forces three days and three nights at an incredible rate; for, if the numbers are right in *Diodorus*, they muſt have gone ſixty miles in twenty-four hours. This expedition effectually anſwered their end, for they inveſted the place before the *Arabs* had the leaſt intelligence; and having cut the guards to pieces, plundered the city, carried away a prodigious booty, beſides five hundred talents in ready money; they then marched back again about twenty miles, when, through exceſſive fatigue, they were conſtrained to halt; and lying in a careleſs manner, the *Arabs*, who had by this time intelligence of what had happened, followed them with ſuch expedition, that ſurrounding their camp, they put all therein to the ſword, ſixty horſe excepted, who made their eſcape at the beginning of the attack. The *Arabs* were not ſatisfied with this; they ſent immediately deputies to *Antigonus* to complain of the injury offered them by *Athenæus*, and to ſhew the neceſſity they were under of treating him and his troops as they did. *Antigonus* knowing that it was not in his power to revenge what had happened at preſent, ſent them for anſwer, That *Athenæus* had made this expedition of his own head, and that he was very well pleaſed at what had befallen him. The *Arabs*, who knew how to diſſemble as well as he, feigned to be perfectly well ſatisfied of the truth of what he ſaid; but in the mean time, they poſted advanced guards at all the avenues into their country, and placed men in all their watch-towers to prevent their being ſurprized again in the ſame manner. Their ſuſpicions and precautions were perfectly juſt; for *Antigonus*, as ſoon as he had recruited his army, ſent his ſon *Demetrius* with four thouſand light-armed foot, and as many horſe, to revenge the death of *Athenæus*. The young prince at the head of his forces paſſed in three days time through the deſart; but when he arrived at the city of *Petra*, he found it well gariſoned, and that the country being thoroughly alarmed, all the cattle, and whatever elſe was worth taking away, had been long ſince ſecured. However, he cauſed it to be inveſted, and afterwards formally beſieged the place; the gariſon however made a glorious defence, and refuſed to hear of any terms, declaring that if they could have borne ſlavery, they needed not have retired, as it were, out of the world, and placed all hopes of ſafety in the ſtrength of a fortreſs, and their own valour. *Demetrius* therefore finding that this would be a work of time, and knowing that his retreat would be attended with great hazard, gave the beſieged to underſtand, that provided they ſent deputies to appeaſe his father *Antigonus*, made himſelf certain preſents, and ſent refreſhments to his army, he would be content to leave them. With theſe propoſitions they immediately complied, and *Demetrius* thereupon marched back to the lake of *Aſphaltes*, of which he cauſed an exact deſcription to be made, as alſo ſome computation to be framed of the profit of the *bitumen* taken thence, and of the quantity of *balm* gathered from the famous plantation not far from that place, ſo much admired, and prized under the name of *balm* of *Gilead*. Theſe things performed, he returned to his father, and gave him an account of his proceedings. *Antigonus* was very little pleaſed with the peace he had concluded with the *Nabathæans*; but he highly applauded his ſon's diſcoveries, eſpecially on account of the profit he hoped to make of the *bitumen* and *balm*. He appointed therefore *Hieronymus* the *Cardian* one of the friends of *Eumenes*, and now his own, to ſuperintend thoſe he ſent to the lake to collect all the *bitumen* they could find, and to carry it to a place aſſigned, in order to be ſold for the uſe of *Antigonus*. *Hieronymus*, who was now a man in years, executed this commiſſion with all the prudence and fidelity imaginable, neither did he meet with any interruption from the *Arabs*, till ſuch time as they had collected the *bitumen*, and were carrying it away. Then with ſix thouſand men they came down, and ſurrounded thoſe who were employed in the work, and having cut moſt of them to pieces, carried the *bitumen* clear off. *Hieronymus* himſelf eſcaped, and thus ended all attempts upon the *Arabians* [h].

Demetrius *ſent againſt* Seleucus.

As ſoon as *Antigonus* had received advice of the mighty progreſs made by *Seleucus* in the eaſt, he determined to ſend away his ſon *Demetrius* with an army to oppoſe him, which accordingly he did; this army conſiſted of five thouſand *Macedonian* foot, ten thouſand mercenaries, and four thouſand horſe, with whom the prince immediately marched towards *Babylon*. *Seleucus* was at this time in *Media*, intent on ſettling his affairs in the upper provinces, and *Patrocles* whom he had left preſident of *Babylon*,

[h] DIODOR. ubi ſupra. PLUT. in Demetrio.

perceiving

a perceiving that his force would not be able to reſiſt the army of *Demetrius*, he firſt of all compelled the citizens of *Babylon* to abandon the place, and to retire, ſome into the deſarts, ſome into *Suſiana*, and ſome to fly much farther; he then withdrew himſelf and his troops into ſuch faſtneſſes as he thought would effectually enable them to defend themſelves. When therefore *Demetrius* entered *Babylon*, he to his great amazement found it deſerted, except the caſtles, in which there were good gariſons, both of which he beſieged; one he quickly reduced, and gave the ſpoil thereof to his ſoldiers; but the other holding out till the time was expired, which his father had allotted him for this expedition, *Demetrius* left five thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe under the command of *Archelaus* to carry on the ſiege, and with the reſt
b of his forces marched away, ſuffering his ſoldiers to live, as he retired, at diſcretion; whereby the hearts of the people were ſo eſtranged from himſelf and his father, that the *Babylonians* were ever after as firmly attached to *Seleucus*, as if he had been their natural prince (D). *Demetrius* marching with his army into the *Leſſer Aſia*, found the city of *Halicarnaſſus* beſieged by *Ptolemy*; whereupon he took ſuch meaſures as obliged that prince to raiſe his ſiege, whereby he acquired great reputation, and did his father eminent ſervice; for immediately upon this, the confederate princes entered into a treaty with *Antigonus*, whereby it was agreed that *Caſſander* ſhould hold *Macedonia*, *Lyſimachus Thrace*, *Ptolemy*, *Egypt*, and its dependencies, and *Antigonus* all *Aſia*; with a proviſo that the *Grecian* cities ſhould every-where be free. In this treaty it was
c alſo mentioned, that theſe provinces were held in truſt only for *Alexander Ægus* the ſon of *Alexander the Great* by *Roxana*, who had now held the regal title ſeven years alone, that is, from the time his collegue *Aridæus* or *Philip* was murdered by *Olympias*. But very ſoon after this peace was made, *Caſſander*, who had before put to death the mother of *Alexander*, cauſed his wife and ſon, now about fourteen years of age, to be privately ſlain alſo by the keeper of the caſtle, wherein they were confined. From this time therefore thoſe who had been before governors of provinces were now ſovereigns, and we might here very well commence the reign of *Antigonus*, and his ſon *Demetrius* in *Aſia*; but inaſmuch as they did not aſſume the title of kings till ſometime afterwards, we are inclined to follow the example of *Ptolemy*,
d who notwithſtanding the death of *Alexander Ægus*, reckons ſtill by the years of his reign, till *Ptolemy Soter* aſſumed the regal title as well as authority. But to proceed; this peace was broke almoſt as ſoon as it was made, under pretence that *Antigonus* had put gariſons into ſome of the *Greek* cities. *Ptolemy* then invaded *Cilicia*, and took ſeveral cities, while the reſt of his confederates attacked *Antigonus* elſewhere, all with very indifferent ſucceſs. *Demetrius* was ſent by his father into *Cilicia* to recover the cities there loſt, which he effectually performed; but in the mean time, *Ptolemy* reduced the greateſt part of the iſland of *Cyprus*, which was of great advantage to him. Soon after he made a deſcent into the *Leſſer Aſia*, where he made various conqueſts, as alſo

(D) In this part of our work we make uſe of two authors, viz. *Diodorus* and *Plutarch*, who differ from each other very often; it is therefore but reaſonable that we ſhould acquaint our readers where, and upon what reaſons we prefer one to the other, and this we ſhall do in few words. *Diodorus* had in view the writing a complete body of hiſtory, and therefore he is very exact in his chronology, and very nice in his deſcriptions; with reſpect to both, uſing the beſt authorities that were to be had in his days. *Plutarch* intended his lives chiefly as a moral performance, and therefore he is more careful in marking out of characters, than in accurately digeſting facts. On this account, in the order of time, and in the deſcription of ſieges and battles, we moſtly follow *Diodorus*; but as to perſonal circumſtances, and what was either ſaid or done by the kings themſelves, we take *Plutarch* for our guide. On this occaſion it may not be amiſs to mention a particular fact, wherein theſe hiſtorians do not agree, and wherein we ourſelves have taken the liberty to differ from a very judicious writer of our own nation. *Diodorus* informs us, that when *Demetrius* quitted *Babylon*, he left behind him *Archelaus* with five thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe, to beſiege one of the caſtles, the other of which he told us *Demetrius* had taken and ſpoiled (10). *Plutarch* in his account of this tranſaction affirms, that *Demetrius* put a gariſon of ſeven thouſand men into the caſtle which he had reduced, but he ſays nothing of his leaving an army behind him (11). Dean *Prideaux* joins theſe facts together, and makes *Demetrius* leave a gariſon of ſeven thouſand men, and an army of ſix (12). It is expreſsly ſaid by *Diodorus*, that his whole army conſiſted but of nineteen thouſand men; it ſeems to us therefore improbable, that he ſhould leave thirteen thouſand behind him, and eſpecially when we conſider, that *Plutarch* ſays in ſo many words, he led back the groſs of his army. If we might have leave to offer a conjecture, we think it not impoſſible that *Archelaus*, when he found he could not take the other caſtle, repaired and gariſoned that which had been taken, with his corps of between ſix and ſeven thouſand men. This reconciles both the ſtories, offers violence to neither, and is perfectly conſiſtent with the rules of good ſenſe, and of war.

(10) *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* xix. (11) *Plutarch. in Demetrio, & in Apophthegm. Reg.* (12) *Connection of the Old with the New Teſtament, P.* 1. *Book* viii.

in

5

in the *Archipelago*; he likewiſe entered into a treaty with *Cleopatra*, ſiſter to *Alexander the Great*, who reſided at *Sardis*, and who in her turn had been ſolicited by *Caſſander*, *Antigonus*, and *Lyſimachus*, to marriage, but in vain. Yet now either out of regard to *Ptolemy*, who was every-where applauded for an excellent prince, or out of pique to *Antigonus*, on account of her being very ſtrictly looked after, ſhe began to liſten to the propoſitions made her, and actually attempted to make her eſcape to *Ptolemy*'s camp. The governor of *Sardis* having intelligence of this, cauſed her and the ladies who were with her to be arreſted, as alſo the women attending on her perſon; and to thoſe in purſuance of the orders of *Antigonus*, he gave directions that they ſhould put her to death, which accordingly they did. When *Antigonus* received advice of this, he abſolutely diſclaimed all knowledge of the fact; and to make his innocence appear the clearer, he ordered the heads of the women concerned to be ſtruck off, and buried *Cleopatra* with great ſolemnity. Happy for him, if with her he could have buried the odium, which in ſpite of all his artful contrivances her death brought upon him [1]!

Demetrius *defeats* Ptolemy *in a ſea-fight.* *Year after the flood* 2693. *Before Chriſt* 306.

AN eager thirſt of glory put *Demetrius* the ſon of *Antigonus* on an expedition into *Greece*: his pretence was the ſetting the *Grecian* cities free; his real intent to aggrandize his father and himſelf by leſſening the power of *Caſſander*, who had gariſoned many of thoſe cities. We ſhall not here meddle with that war, becauſe we have elſewhere given a very full account of it; we ſhall content ourſelves with ſaying, that he performed very well all he promiſed, and as he diſpoſſeſſed *Caſſander* of the cities, ſo he put no gariſons into them himſelf, but left them intirely at liberty, and according to his father's commands, prepared to carry on the war againſt *Ptolemy*. In the firſt place he landed in *Caria*; then he ſailed into *Cilicia*, and having there recruited his army to fifteen thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe, and got together a fleet of upwards of one hundred and fifty ſail of long ſhips, beſides tranſports, he made a deſcent on *Cyprus*. As ſoon as he had landed his troops, he, like a wiſe commander, drew his veſſels aſhore, and took ſuch precautions for their ſafety as were neceſſary, and then beſieged the cities of *Urania* and *Carpaſia*, and took them. After this ſucceſs he advanced towards *Salamis*, the capital city, wherein *Menelaus* the brother of *Ptolemy* commanded. This man was not only a bold and vigilant, but alſo a very enterprizing officer. He reſolved to fight before he was ſhut up, that he might have ſome trial of the invader's forces, and alſo diminiſh them a little before they undertook a ſiege. With this view having collected twelve thouſand foot, and eight hundred horſe, he preſented himſelf to *Demetrius*, as he was marching to *Salamis* in order of battle. This young captain, no leſs fond of fighting than he, immediately engaged and routed his forces, killing a thouſand on the ſpot, and taking three thouſand priſoners, whereupon *Menelaus* fled with the reſt into *Salamis*, and prepared to make an obſtinate defence. *Demetrius* inſtantly inveſted the city, and as he piqued himſelf particularly on being a great engineer, carried on his attacks with much skill, and wonderful vigour, inſomuch that *Salamis* was on the point of falling into his hands, when *Ptolemy* being informed of its condition, came in perſon to ſave it. He arrived with his fleet at *Citium* about twenty miles from *Salamis*, and immediately ſent to deſire his brother to ſend ſixty ſhips which lay in the harbour to join his fleet; but that was found impracticable, for *Demetrius* on the firſt intelligence had equipped his fleet, and blocked up the mouth of the haven therewith. *Ptolemy*, notwithſtanding this diſappointment, weighed anchor, and ſtood for *Salamis*, having with him one hundred and forty ſhips of war, and ten thouſand men on board two hundred tranſports. *Demetrius* had but a hundred and eight ſhips of war, beſides ten which were left to guard the mouth of the haven; however, he reſolved not to ſhun an engagement. By way of precaution, he drew his cavalry down to the ſtrand, that they might cover any veſſels compelled to run aſhore, and receive ſuch as might be driven to ſwim for ſafety. The battle was very obſtinate and bloody: *Ptolemy* broke that wing againſt which he fought in perſon; but *Demetrius*, chiefly through his own courage and skill in naval affairs, broke through the centre, and entirely defeated his enemies fleet. Juſt as the fight was over, and *Demetrius* returning in triumph, the ſixty ſail of ſhips broke out of the haven of *Salamis*, but were conſtrained to ſail back again for fear of *Demetrius*.

[1] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. PLUTARCH. in Demetrio. JUSTIN. lib. xiv.

This

a This was reputed the moſt glorious action of his life; for here he took forty ſhips of war, and ſunk fourſcore; he alſo took a hundred tranſports, with eight thouſand ſoldiers on board, which proved of the laſt conſequence to him, for he incorporated moſt of them into his army. The largeſt ſhip in the fleet he cauſed to be fitted up after the beſt manner poſſible, in order to ſend in it certain lords to carry the news of his victory to *Antigonus*, which however he delayed, till *Salamis* ſurrendered, whereby his priſoners were encreaſed to ſeventeen thouſand; among whom were *Menelaus* the brother, and *Leontiſcus* the ſon of *Ptolemy*, both of whom he immediately diſcharged, and ſent home to *Egypt*, with all their friends and dependents, deſiring them to acquaint *Ptolemy* that he had not forgot the kindneſs done him in *Ci-*
b *licia*. While *Demetrius* was ſettling his affairs in *Cyprus*, the meſſengers on board the galleon ſailed to the coaſts of *Syria*; and *Ariſtodemus*, who was the chief of them, went on ſhore, and with great parade informed *Antigonus* of the complete victory gained by his ſon. It was upon this occaſion that the old man conceiving it of no longer uſe, laid aſide his modeſty, and took the title of king, putting a crown upon his head, and ſending another to his ſon with a letter of congratulation, thus addreſſed, *To the excellent majeſty of king* Demetrius. As ſoon as this was known in *Egypt*, the people, to ſhew their love for *Ptolemy*, compelled him to accept the ſame title; upon which *Lyſimachus* alſo aſſumed it, as did likewiſe *Seleucus*; and *Caſſander* ſuffered it to be given him, though he did not make uſe of it in any of his writings [k].

c It may ſeem ſtrange that ſo politic, as well as ſo ambitious a prince as *Antigonus* was, ſhould thus aſſociate his ſon in the empire, and permit him not only to wear the title of king, but to ſhare alſo in the adminiſtration; but if we conſider attentively this tranſaction, we ſhall agree, that in this he was more happy, than either in his titles, or in his kingdoms. For *Demetrius* was not only dutiful and loyal to his father, but had ſo warm an affection for his perſon, that he was, in the ſtricteſt ſenſe of the word, *Antigonus*'s beſt friend. As all degrees of bliſs are either heightened or leſſened by compariſon, ſo the happineſs of *Antigonus* in this reſpect appeared with the brighter luſtre on account of the family diſſenſions in the courts of his ſeveral rivals; of which he was ſo ſenſible, that having given audience one day to the em-
d baſſadors of *Caſſander*, *Ptolemy*, and *Lyſimachus*, and they being withdrawn, he ordered them to be called back, becauſe his ſon *Demetrius* coming in warm from hunting, went into his father's apartment, kiſſed him, and then ſat down with his javelins in his hand. When the embaſſadors demanded what his pleaſure was, *Tell your maſters*, ſaid *Antigonus*, *beſides what I before mentioned to you, upon what terms my ſon and I live.* The ſenſe the father had of the ſon's inviolable attachment to him, made him ſo readily compliment him with the regal dignity; we ſhall ſee this old politician miſtaken in many inſtances, but never in this, in which ſo many fathers have erred. But theſe events we reſerve for the following ſection [l].

State of Antigonus's *court.*

[k] Diodor. Plut. Justin. ubi ſupra. [l] Diodor. Plut. Justin. ubi ſupra.

SECT. VII.

The Hiſtory of the reign of Antigonus, *and his ſon* Demetrius *in* Aſia.

e As we are for the future to ſpeak of *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* as kings, it is fit that we ſhould open this ſection with ſome account of their family. *Antigonus* was the ſon of *Philip* a nobleman; he eſpouſed *Stratonice* the daughter of *Correus*, a lady of remarkable beauty; by her he had two ſons, *Demetrius* and *Philip*, the former named after his uncle, the latter after his father. We have ſeen after what manner he roſe from being an officer in *Alexander*'s army, to be lord of many of the faireſt provinces, of which his empire was compoſed; but hitherto we have ſpoke but ſlightly of the manner in which he ruled them. Ambition was his capital vice, and indeed it led him into a multitude of very bad actions; he had however ſeveral great qualities, and ſome good ones. In the midſt of his proſperity, he was wiſer than his maſter.
f For when *Hermodotus* a *Greek* poet, not contented with making him a god, ſtiled him alſo the *offſpring* of the *ſun*, *I can't tell how that is*, ſaid *Antigonus*; *but he that empties*

The character of Antigonus. *Year after the flood* 2695. *Before Chriſt* 304.

empties my cloſe-ſtool, never ſaid any thing of my celeſtial origin. At another time when he was complimented upon his recovery from ſickneſs, *This diſeaſe*, ſaid he, *was ſent to put me in mind, that being a mortal, I ſhould not graſp at any thing above a mortal.* In his diſpoſition he was rough and boiſterous, and as he was a great ſoldier, ſo he truſted too much to arms; for though by them he acquired large territories, yet he could not keep them ſo eaſily as *Ptolemy* and *Seleucus* did their dominions, who made uſe of beneficence and clemency as the main pillars of their government. Of this *Antigonus*, when he grew old, became ſenſible; and therefore, when he was told that men wondered his government grew milder, as he grew in years, *It is*, ſaid he, *becauſe I would keep through good-will what I got by force.* When his neceſſities required it, he would ſometimes fleece his ſubjects ſeverely, and when he was put in mind that *Alexander* did not ſo, *True*, ſaid he, *for* Alexander *reaped* Aſia, *and I do but glean.* In private matters, he was ſtrictly juſt: *Marſyas* his brother would have had him heared a cauſe, in which he was party in his chamber. *No, my dear brother*, anſwered *Antigonus*, *I will hear it in the open court of juſtice, becauſe I muſt do juſtice.* After all, his chief felicity was the manner in which he lived in his family; where, as he loved his wife and children, his wife and children really loved him; as for his ſecond ſon, he died young, but not till he had performed things worthy of his deſcent; and there is a ſaying of his father's with reſpect to him mentioned by *Plutarch*, which ſhews at once the good ſenſe, and good humour of *Antigonus*. It happened on a march, that *Philip* was lodged at the houſe of a widow, who had three fair daughters; his father being informed of it, called for the quarter-maſter; *Hark'ye, friend*, ſaid he, *pray deliver my ſon out of theſe ſtreights.* Thus much, as to the character of *Antigonus*; with regard to that of *Demetrius*, we have already ſpoken copiouſly in the foregoing ſection, and in the *Athenian* hiſtory. The father was now in the zenith of his glory, and the ſon in the very prime of his age; we need not wonder therefore at their ſo readily accepting the alluring honours of the kingly ſtate [a].

The Egyptian *expedition.*

To adorn the crowns they had put on, an expedition into *Egypt* was immediately reſolved on, not with a deſign of carrying war into the enemies country, or of ſtreightening *Ptolemy* ſo much as to oblige him to accept of peace, but with a view to drive him intirely out of his dominions, that they might be annexed to thoſe poſſeſſed by *Antigonus* already. The mighty land-army raiſed for this purpoſe was commanded by *Antigonus* himſelf; the fleet which was to accompany it had, *Demetrius* for its admiral; both fleet and army were ſuitable to the deſign itſelf, and thoſe by whom it was conducted; the former conſiſted of a hundred and fifty ſtout gallies, and a hundred ſmaller veſſels; the latter of eighteen thouſand foot, eight thouſand horſe, and fourſcore and three elephants. The general rendezvous of the land-forces was at *Antigonia*, a new city built by *Antigonus* in *Syria*; the fleet anchored on the coaſt; the kings expreſſed an earneſt deſire to be gone, but the ableſt ſeamen in the fleet were very deſirous of remaining where they were till the ſetting of the *Pleiades*, dreading the ill weather, which till then is frequent on the coaſt of *Egypt*; but *Antigonus* would not be detained; he therefore cauſed proviſions of all ſorts for ten days to be provided for his army, and having got together camels, and other beaſts of burthen, ſufficient, as he thought, to tranſport theſe neceſſaries, and their baggage, he began his march through the deſarts, which lie between *Gaza* and *Egypt*; in his paſſage his army was miſerably fatigued, and the ſpirits of the people exceſſively broke. At laſt having coaſted mount *Caſſius*, he perceived his fleet lying at anchor; but in a very indifferent ſtate, many ſhips loſt, more driven back to *Gaza*, and all the reſt ſorely ſhattered by the ſtorm they had ſuſtained. *Demetrius* intended to have ſailed up one of the mouths of the *Nile*; but *Ptolemy* had ſo effectually ſecured theſe, and had diſpoſed his troops on the coaſts ſo judiciouſly, that no impreſſion could be made; and if *Antigonus* had not ſupplied thoſe on board with water and proviſions, they muſt have periſhed in ſight of the ſhore. This was a melancholy beginning; however, *Antigonus* marched on, hoping to rectify all things by his ſucceſs in a battle; but *Ptolemy* was in no ſuch haſte; he had fortified all the fords of the *Nile*, and had conſiderable bodies of troops in theſe poſts. He had beſides an army of obſervation, with which he held *Antigonus* at bay, while in the interim he offered by proclamation every common ſoldier two *minæ*, (about ſix pounds five ſhillings *Engliſh*) and to every officer a talent, or one hundred and eighty-eight pounds,

[a] Diodor. Sicul. lib. xx. Plut. Apophthegm. Reg.

a if they would come over to him. He had practiſed the ſame thing when *Perdiccas* invaded *Egypt*, and he had the ſame ſucceſs now as then; for numbers deſerted to him; and if *Antigonus* had not poſted ſome choice troops on the road, the greateſt part of his army would have gone over; the rather, becauſe they were terrified with the dreadful puniſhments inflicted on thoſe who were ſeized as they were going off. At laſt tumults ariſing, *Antigonus* ſaw plainly that it would not be for his intereſt to remain any longer there; wherefore, to avoid farther miſchiefs, he retired with the army, as *Demetrius* ſailed back with the fleet towards *Syria*. To repair the credit of their arms, the kings immediately reſolved on a new expedition, which was the reduction of the iſland of *Rhodes*: For this ſome pretence was wanting; it was therefore demanded of the *Rhodians*, that they ſhould enter into a cloſe alliance with *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* againſt all their b enemies; this, as it was foreſeen, they refuſed, becauſe, carrying on a great trade with *Egypt*, it was impoſſible for them to break with *Ptolemy*; however, fear engaged them to offer all that was in their power, which however *Demetrius* refuſed; and making a deſcent, beſieged the capital of the iſland, which coſt him a great deal of trouble to no purpoſe, except that he gained here the reputation of the greateſt engineer of his time, in conſequence of his contriving ſuch machines as had never been ſeen before, and that he likewiſe gave a new inſtance of his generoſity and clemency. For, whereas the *Rhodians* having taken a veſſel, on board of which were ſome rich hangings for his tent, as alſo certain letters from his wife *Phila*; ſent all to *Ptolemy*, yet, when they afterwards intreated *Demetrius* to ſpare the celebrated pic- c ture of their patron *Jalyſus*, which had coſt *Protogenes* ſeven years, and was eſteemed his maſter-piece; that prince anſwered, I would ſooner deſtroy the ſtatues of my father, than offer the leaſt injury to ſo exquiſite a piece. As for *Protogenes* himſelf, he worked as uſual in his houſe in the ſuburbs, and when *Demetrius* ſent for him, and asked him, How he came to be ſo fearleſs? *I know, Sir*, ſaid the painter, *that you make war againſt the* Rhodians, *but not againſt the ſciences:* Whereupon the king ſmiling, aſſigned him a guard. The ſiege of *Rhodes* had laſted long, and the ſpirits of *Demetrius*'s ſoldiers were almoſt exhauſted, when, happily for him, embaſſadors from *Athens* arrived to implore his aſſiſtance againſt *Caſſander*; this gave him a pretence to make peace with the *Rhodians* on theſe terms, that they ſhould ſerve *Antigonus* againſt d all his enemies, except *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*. Then *Demetrius*, ſailing with three hundred and thirty gallies, and a great army on board, ſteered for *Attica*, where he landed, having conſtrained *Caſſander* to retire towards *Macedon*; but when he came near *Thermopylæ*, *Demetrius* fell upon his rear, and gave him ſo rude a ſhock, that his troops ſeemed rather to fly than to march through *Theſſaly* afterwards. Upon this a corps of ſix thouſand *Macedonians* left in *Greece* revolted to the victor, and *Demetrius* returned in triumph to the ſea-coaſt of *Peloponneſus*. This extraordinary flow of ſucceſs bore down before it almoſt all the virtues of *Demetrius*; for he began now to exceed *Alexander* in vanity, ſtyling himſelf *king* of *kings*, drinking the healths of *Seleucus*, *Caſſander*, *Lyſimachus*, and *Ptolemy*, as great officers of his ſtate e and houſhold. In debauchery he ſunk far below the dignity of human nature, indulging himſelf not only in ſenſual pleaſures, but in a vice which ought to want a name; he likewiſe deviated into groſs impiety that never-failing road to ruin; and forgetting his father's former moderation, would needs be ſtyled a *god*, and the younger brother of *Minerva*. It may indeed be ſaid in his excuſe, that he had kept his ſenſes, if the wits of *Athens* had not ſeduced him; however it was, from this time forwards his affairs declined, and though ſometimes the proſpect cleared, yet the ſtorm which now began to riſe did not blow over, till it had wrought his as well as his father's ruin [b].

A new confederacy againſt Antigonus. *Year after the flood* 2697. *Before Chriſt* 302.

Caſſander fearing that *Demetrius* would purſue the blow he had already given him, and after compelling him to leave *Greece*, follow him into *Macedonia*, ſent deputies f to *Antigonus* in *Syria*, in order to treat of a peace; but *Antigonus* would hear of no other terms than his ſubmitting himſelf and his dominions to his pleaſure, ſo that theſe negotiations came to nothing, and *Caſſander* was forced to ſend to his old confederates, in order to engage them in a new alliance againſt this formidable conqueror; they readily liſtened to his propoſal, for they perfectly well diſcerned, that when once *Macedonia* was ſubdued, *Antigonus* would fall upon them next. To prevent this, they entered into a treaty with *Caſſander*; and *Lyſimachus*, having obtained from him a part of his army, reſolved to paſs over into *Aſia*, and fall upon *Phrygia*, *Lydia*, and other

[b] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Plut. in Demetrio.

provinces;

provinces; which accordingly he did, and proceeded with ſuch ſucceſs, that *Antigonus* was not a little alarmed when acquainted therewith, as he was celebrating ſhews and gymnic ſports at his new city of *Antigonia*. He did not however loſe his courage when he was made acquainted with this formidable confederacy; on the contrary, he behaved himſelf with more alacrity and ſpirit than could have been expected from a man of his years, and in his condition; for he was now upwards of eighty, and exceſſively corpulent. His ambition however was ſtill ſo ſtrong, that he could not help ſaying publicly, *That he would ſcatter the confederates as eaſily as boys do birds among the corn, by throwing a ſtone amongſt them.* In order to make good his words, he began to draw together his forces immediately; and as ſoon as he had aſſembled a ſufficient army, he croſſed mount *Taurus*, and came down into *Cilicia*, where having taken a conſiderable ſum out of the treaſury of *Quinda*, he made uſe of it to recruit his troops, which were ſoon in a condition not only to recover the places that had been loſt, but even to offer *Lyſimachus* battle. That crafty old captain did not however preſs on an engagement, but on the contrary kept on the defenſive, knowing well, that if he loſt a battle, he loſt all; but that *Antigonus* in ſuch a caſe had many provinces to retire to. *Lyſimachus* therefore propoſed an accommodation, but *Antigonus* would hearken to nothing; ſo the winter was ſpun out in preparations on both ſides, and early in the ſpring *Seleucus* with his own and *Ptolemy*'s forces began his march, in order to join *Lyſimachus*; of which when *Antigonus* had notice, he inſtantly ſent to recal *Demetrius* out of *Greece*, beginning now to foreſee that he ſhould have enough to do to defend himſelf againſt ſo many, and ſo potent adverſaries. *Demetrius*, as ſoon as he had received his father's commands, entered into a proviſional treaty with *Caſſander* for preſerving the peace and freedom of *Greece*. We call this treaty proviſional, becauſe it was not to remain in force, if *Antigonus* refuſed to ratify it; the deſign of both parties being to gain time, and an opportunity of attending their other affairs by acceding to this treaty, which gave liberty to *Greece*. On the concluſion of it, *Demetrius* found not only himſelf at liberty to return, but his forces alſo, there being now no neceſſity of leaving an army, as he had firſt deſigned, in *Peloponneſus*.

The fatal battle of Ipſus. *Year after the flood* 2698. *Before Chriſt* 301.

WHEN the ſeaſon of the year permitted, *Demetrius* tranſported his forces into *Aſia*; and having recovered *Epheſus* from *Lyſimachus*, marched ſtrait to join his father. By this time *Seleucus* was at hand, and the news of his approach did not come ſooner than that of *Ptolemy*'s irruption into *Phœnicia*, *Judea*, and *Cœlo-Syria*, where he carried all before him, and in a ſhort time reduced all thoſe provinces, excepting only the cities of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, which being ſtrongly gariſoned, held out for *Antigonus*; but after theſe rapid conqueſts, *Ptolemy*, who had ſet down before the laſt-mentioned city on a flying report, that *Antigonus* had beaten *Seleucus* and *Lyſimachus*, raiſed his ſiege, and retired haſtily into *Egypt*. By this time the two grand armies in *Phrygia* were ready to engage; that of *Antigonus* conſiſted of ſeventy thouſand foot, ten thouſand horſe, and ſeventy-five elephants. The forces of *Seleucus* and *Lyſimachus* conſiſted of ſixty-four thouſand foot, ten thouſand five hundred horſe, four hundred elephants, and one hundred and twenty chariots of war. Now it was that *Antigonus* varied a little from his uſual manner of behaviour; for inſtead of appearing as he was wont to do with a frank and open countenance, he ſhewed himſelf very thoughtful and melancholy, was frequently ſilent; and whereas he formerly never conſulted with any body, but gave out his orders with extraordinary vivacity, he was now very ſlow in his reſolutions, conſulted much with *Demetrius*; and once as he was reviewing his troops, recommended him to the officers as his ſucceſſor. Theſe things were thought to ſhew that his uſual confidence had forſaken him: The morning of the battle, as he was coming out of his tent, he fell down and bruiſed himſelf; upon which riſing up as well as he could, *Immortal gods*, ſaid he, *grant me victory, if it be your will; but if not, let me fall in battle, and not ſurvive my fading glory.* When the armies were diſpoſed in order of battle, *Demetrius* having the command of the beſt part of his father's horſe, charged ſo fiercely on the cavalry of *Seleucus* commanded by his ſon *Antiochus*, that he quickly broke, and put them to flight; but purſuing them too far, he thereby loſt all; for *Seleucus* immediately interpoſed his elephants in ſuch a manner, that *Demetrius* could never rejoin his infantry; and having done this, *Seleucus* marched with his foot to attack *Antigonus*, where he fought in perſon. The brave old man on this occaſion behaved with great wiſdom; but *Seleucus* making a ſhew of charging

[c] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. PLUT. in Demetrio. JUSTIN. lib. XV. c. 4.

him

a him in flank, *Antigonus* was forced to alter his diſpoſition; which gave opportunity to many traitors in his army to go over to the enemy, which they did, thereby creating ſuch a confuſion, that his forces were quickly broke, and himſelf, at the head of a very few, left to ſuſtain the ſhock. When the enemy were about to charge him, one who was near him cried out, *Sir, conſider what you do; they are coming down upon you. Let them come*, ſaid *Antigonus*; Demetrius *will come to our aſſiſtance.* But, while he caſt his eyes about in vain for his ſon, a ſhower of arrows deprived him of life, and he fell from his horſe upon the ground, having only one ſervant that ſtaid by his body. This was the fatal battle of *Ipſus*, ſo called from a town and river of *Phrygia*, near which it was fought. And thus fell the empire of *Anti-*
b *gonus* with himſelf, when he had borne the regal title about four years, and was as many above fourſcore [d].

Demetrius, with the poor remains of his army, which were no more than five thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe, retired to *Epheſus*; and even doubting whether he ſhould be ſafe there, he ſhortly quitted that place, and retired towards the ſea. Many were of opinion, when he firſt entered that city, that he would have plundered the famous temple of *Diana*, in order to raiſe money to reſtore his affairs; but he did nothing of this ſort, placing his chief hope in the loyalty of the *Athenians*, and therefore made all the haſte he could thither, where he had left the beſt part of his plate, with his queen *Deidamia*, and her retinue. But here his hopes
c miſerably failed him, for the *Athenians* ſent away his queen, and forbid him to enter their city. He, diſſembling his reſentment, very gladly received from them his ſhips, and after viſiting *Peloponneſus*, ſailed away for the *Cherſoneſe*, where landing, he committed great devaſtations in the territories of *Lyſimachus*; at which the confederate princes were not at all diſpleaſed, for they liked this ally of theirs no better than *Demetrius*, and feared him much more. In the midſt of his diſtreſſes a ſtrange accident happened in the favour of *Demetrius*. *Seleucus* having heard wonderful things of the beauty of *Stratonice* the daughter of *Demetrius* and *Philla* the widow of *Craterus*, and ſiſter of *Caſſander*, he ſent to *Demetrius* to demand her in marriage. This extraordinary turn of fortune did not a little amaze *Demetrius* himſelf, who
d joyfully tranſported his daughter in his royal fleet to meet *Seleucus*. As he ſailed along, he was frequently conſtrained to put on ſhore for refreſhments, which, amongſt other places, he did in *Cilicia*, a province aſſigned by the princes to *Pliſtarchus* the brother of *Caſſander*, who conceiving this in no other light than that of an invaſion, immediately poſted away to *Caſſander*, to complain of the injury done him; of which when *Demetrius* was informed, he thought *Pliſtarchus* could do no more, if he carried matters a little farther; wherefore he ventured to ſeize the treaſury at *Quinda*, and took from thence two hundred talents, which had been left by his father. Arriving on the coaſt of *Syria*, he was firſt met by his wife *Philla*, and then coming to the city of *Roſſus*, he there found *Seleucus*, who immediately eſpouſed *Stratonice*; and, in ho-
e nour of the nuptials, nobly entertained *Demetrius* on ſhore; accepting alſo in his turn an invitation from his father-in-law, he was nobly feaſted on board the royal galley, after which they parted. *Demetrius* ſailing back again, made a new deſcent on *Cilicia*, and got intire poſſeſſion of it; whereupon he ſent his wife *Philla* to excuſe him to her brother *Caſſander*; and his other wife *Deidamia* dying of a cold ſhe had caught at ſea, he, by the interpoſition of *Seleucus*, eſpouſed *Ptolemaida* the daughter of *Ptolemy*, which gave his affairs a new aſpect. This fair weather however did not laſt long; for *Seleucus*, unſatisfied with the many provinces he poſſeſſed, would needs have *Cilicia*, for which he offered *Demetrius* a ſum of money. This he refuſed; upon which *Seleucus* demanded *Tyre* and *Sidon*, threatning, if they were not given up,
f he would take them by force. To which *Demetrius* anſwered, That if he had loſt ever ſo many battles, every one of them as fatal as that of *Ipſus*, he would never part with cities in ſo tame a manner; and immediately gave orders for augmenting the gariſons, and filling the magazines in the cities demanded. In the mean time he reſolved himſelf to paſs over into *Attica*, to be revenged for the affront which the *Athenians* had offered him immediately after the battle of *Ipſus*. In this expedition he was ſo roughly handled by a ſtorm, that when he landed his troops in *Europe*, they were able to undertake nothing. He however ſoon after beſieged the city of *Meſſene*, where he received an arrow in his jaw, which not only diſfigured his face, but by

Demetrius Poliorcetes *ſucceeds.*

[d] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Plut. ubi ſupra. Arrian. in Syriacis.

the accidents attending the cure, threatned his life; yet he continued his ſiege, and afterwards his army increaſing, he formed the blockade of *Athens*, which he reduced, and ſtrongly gariſoned. After this he made war againſt *Sparta*; whereupon *Archidamus* marched at the head of all the forces of *Lacedæmon*, as far as the city of *Mantinæa*, that, as long as was poſſible, the war might be kept out of his own country; but his ſucceſs was not anſwerable to his prudence and courage; for he was here defeated by *Demetrius*, and afterwards beaten by him again within ſight of *Sparta*; yet ſuch was the inconſtancy of this prince's fortune, that he either was beaten, or reaped no benefit from his victories; for, immediately after this battle, came news, that *Lyſimachus* had conquered all he poſſeſſed in *Aſia*; and that *Ptolemy*, after reducing the greateſt part of the iſle of *Cyprus*, had beſieged the city of *Salamis*, in which were the mother and children of *Demetrius*; ſo that he had now no leiſure to proſecute the war againſt *Sparta*. Before the ſenſe of theſe miſchiefs had long tormented the king's breaſt, a new and ſtranger ſcene opened, which turned all his thoughts another way [e].

Demetrius *becomes king of* Macedonia. *Year after the flood* 2705. *Before Chriſt* 294.

Caſſander king of *Macedon* left behind him two ſons, *Antipater* and *Alexander*, both pretending title to the kingdom; but the former having married the daughter of *Lyſimachus*, abſolutely refuſed to grant any thing to the latter, who thereupon called in *Pyrrhus* and *Demetrius* to his aſſiſtance. *Pyrrhus* came firſt, and made ſuch an impreſſion, that *Antipater* gladly compounded the matter with his brother, and allotted him half the kingdom, from which *Pyrrhus* however lopped a piece for his ſhare; which proceeding giving *Alexander* to believe, that, when *Demetrius* arrived, he would take another portion of his kingdom, he made all the haſte he could to meet him, and at the interview thanked him for the aſſiſtance he brought, but aſſured him that he had no need of it; whereupon *Demetrius* prepared to return, which however *Alexander* meant not that he ſhould do, having formed a ſcheme to murder him at ſupper. This *Demetrius* prevented by going away ſuddenly; yet, when they came to *Lariſſa* in *Theſſaly*, *Alexander* began to practiſe again; for *Demetrius* having invited him to an entertainment, he went thither without guards, that *Demetrius* might have no pretence for bringing any with him; but his deſign being gueſſed at, *Demetrius* ordered him, and thoſe who were with him, to be killed after ſupper; which command when his guards began to execute, one of *Alexander*'s friends cried out, *You have been too quick for us by a day.* The *Macedonian* army, when they received the news of the death of their king, were not a little ſurpriſed, ſuppoſing that *Demetrius* would take this opportunity of attacking, and cutting them to pieces; which however he was ſo far from doing, that he ſent to deſire leave to juſtify himſelf as to the death of *Alexander*, which he did in a formal harangue. This had ſuch an effect on the *Macedonians*, that they immediately ſaluted *Demetrius* king; and thus, when his affairs were moſt deſperate, he acquired that kingdom, for which ſo many princes had ſtruggled, not only by the free conſent of the people, but alſo with ſome colour of right; for tho' *Antipater* the ſon of *Caſſander* was living, yet the *Macedonians* might well hold him unworthy of a crown, who had imbrued his hands in the blood of his *own mother*, the daughter of *Philip* of *Macedon*, and ſiſter of *Alexander*. Setting him aſide, *Demetrius*, in right of his *wife*, was the next heir; and the ſight of his ſon *Antigonus*, who was the grandſon of old *Antipater*, influenced the *Macedonians* not a little, for they remembered how happily they had lived under his adminiſtration, and in what continual broils they had been ever ſince. The reſt of the princes did not ſeem much diſpleaſed with an event which had fixed a crown on the head of the ſon of *Antigonus* at none of their expence. As for *Lyſimachus*, while *Demetrius* and *Pyrrhus* were agreed, he thought it his intereſt to be well with both. *Ptolemy* having recovered *Cyprus*, diſmiſſed the family of *Demetrius*, not only without injury, but with much reſpect, and with many magnificent preſents. In the court of *Seleucus* a ſurpriſing change had happened, which yet was beneficial to *Demetrius*; for *Stratonice* was married to *Antiochus* her ſon-in-law. Thus all things at preſent contributed to leave *Demetrius* at his eaſe, excepting his own temper only, which, now he had no enemy left, inclined him to pick quarrels with his friends. But of theſe things in another place. In this chapter we are to conſider him as a king in *Aſia*, and therefore we ſhall proceed to the laſt attempt made by him for the recovery of his father's kingdom [f].

[e] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. PLUT. in Demet. JUSTIN. l. xv. c. 1. PLUT. ubi ſupra. JUSTIN. l. xv. c. 2.

[f] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra.

WHEN

a When he had reigned about ſix years in *Macedon*, partly to gratify his own ambition, and partly to employ the reſtleſs *Macedonians*, he began to make preparations for the conqueſt of *Aſia*. In order to this, he ſet an army on foot of ninety eight thouſand foot, and twelve thouſand horſe. He likewiſe put a fleet of five hundred gallies upon the ſtocks, at *Pella*, *Chalcis*, *Corinth*, and *Athens*. Several of theſe gallies had fourteen, fifteen and ſixteen benches of oars; and they were all built by the particular contrivance of *Demetrius* himſelf, whoſe skill in this reſpect was not only admired by ſuch as knew nothing more of ſhips than what their bulk and beauty dictated to their ſight, but by the ableſt artizans, who, without his directions, were incapable of conſtructing ſuch veſſels, as with all the pomp of royal b ſhips, had alſo all the ſtrength, and all the conveniences of ordinary ſhips of war. The noiſe of theſe preparations awakened *Lyſimachus*, *Seleucus* and *Ptolemy*; they therefore entered into a ſtrict league againſt him, and, according to their old maxim in the days of *Antigonus*, determined to begin the war firſt. With this view they invited *Pyrrhus* king of *Epirus* to enter into the confederacy, which he readily did, tho' he had learned the trade of war under *Demetrius*, who had taught him ingratitude too, for *Demetrius* had practiſed upon him firſt. This point once ſettled, *Ptolemy* ſailed with a puiſſant fleet to invade *Greece*, at the ſame time that *Lyſimachus* with a mighty army invaded *Macedon*. *Demetrius*, ſurpriſed with theſe quick proceedings, which came a little too ſoon for the ſtate his affairs were in, levied, in as ſhort time c as he was able, a conſiderable army, nnd marched therewith to oppoſe *Lyſimachus*, diſpatching at the ſame time his ſon *Antigonus* with another army, to provide for the ſafety of *Greece*. When *Demetrius* was arrived within a ſhort march of the enemy, he received advice, that *Pyrrhus* had entered *Macedon* on the other ſide, and had penetrated as far as *Beræa*; upon which the *Macedonians* began to mutiny, and *Demetrius* ſaw plainly, that they had an inclination to deſert to *Lyſimachus*. This made him apprehend, that he had ſlipped in his politics, when he ventured to lead a *Macedonian* army againſt their old commander. To amend this therefore he made a ſhort turn, and marched away directly to fight *Pyrrhus*, againſt whom, as a foreigner, he doubted not his troops would behave well; but in this he made a greater miſtake d than before; for no ſooner he came near the enemy than his army began to deſert in ſmall parties. By degrees the *Macedonians* grew bolder, and went ſo far as to ſay openly in the camp, that the crown ought to belong to him, who moſt reſembled *Alexander*; that in *Demetrius* indeed they ſaw his vanity, luxury and pride, but that in *Pyrrhus*, againſt whom they were to fight, all the virtues of *Alexander* were conſpicuous. When theſe notions had circulated among them a little while, the whole camp was in a tumult, and things at laſt iſſued in this, that ſome of the modeſteſt and beſt meaning of the ſoldiers adviſed *Demetrius* to withdraw in time, and ſecure his perſon. Upon this he retired to his tent, laid aſide his royal robes, and, in the habit of a private ſoldier, fled away without attendants to *Caſſandria* g.

He endeavours the recovery of his father's kingdom.

e In this city he found his wife *Philla*, who, when ſhe was informed of what had happened, overcome with grief, and aſhamed to behold a daughter of *Antipater* at the loweſt ebb of diſtreſs in *Macedon*, ſhe took poiſon, and ſo ended her days. *Demetrius*, in his worſt fortunes, had always hopes; wherefore quitting *Macedon*, he withdrew into *Greece*, where having drawn together ſome of his friends, he began to form an army, which increaſing by degrees, he marched to *Thebes*, and there aſſumed again the regal habit, and, as the firſt eſſay of his authority, reſtored the democratic authority in the city where he lived. As for the *Athenians*, as ſoon as they heard of his diſtreſs, without any other motive than mere ingratitude, they f contrived to inſult him, which provoked him ſo far, as to engage him to lead his new raiſed army immediately to beſiege their city. In this ſiege he had ſuch ſucceſs, that the *Athenians* were conſtrained to deprecate his vengeance by a ſolemn deputation, at the head of which was an eminent philoſopher. *Demetrius*, who had always a tenderneſs for *Athens*, ſuffered himſelf to be perſuaded to pardon even this new outrage; ſo that this expedition being at an end, he, of a ſudden, took it into his head to hazard another, which was for the recovery of *Caria* and *Lydia* from *Lyſimachus*. All his forces amounted to but eleven thouſand men, and nothing could be more romantic than to hope, with ſo inconſiderable an army, to conquer a great part of *Aſia*; however, he had neceſſity on his ſide, and a conſiderable body of deſperate

He is expelled from Macedon.

g Plut. in Demet. Justin. l. xvi. c. 2.

men

5

men to inforce whatever meaſures he thought fit to take. When he arrived at *Miletus*, he was met by *Eurydice* the ſiſter of his wife *Philla*. She brought with her a new wife for him, *Ptolemaida*, to whom he had been long ago contracted. The marriage was conſummated at *Sardis*, which he preſently took, part of the forces of *Lyſimachus* revolting to him; and bringing with them a great ſum of money, enabled him to recruit his army effectually. All this however ſignified nothing; for *Agathocles* the ſon of *Lyſimachus* coming againſt him with a very great army, and managing his command with great prudence, brought *Demetrius* into deep diſtreſs; for tho' the troops of the latter had the advantage in all the skirmiſhes which happened between them and the forces of *Agathocles*, yet, by avoiding an engagement, and making a proper uſe of his advantage in numbers, this young prince compelled *Demetrius* to retire into *Phrygia*, whither he followed him, and reduced his army to a ſtarving condition. *Demetrius*, ſhifting quarters often, at length paſſed the river *Lycus*, which being very rapid, many of his ſoldiers were drowned. This, with the other misfortunes they had endured, exaſperated the army to ſuch a degree, that they openly complained; and one day when *Demetrius* came out of his tent, he found theſe lines, which are a *Parody* on the beginning of the *Oedipus* of *Sophocles*, fixed over his door,

Thou ſon of blind Antigonus,
Where are we? ———

To add to theſe diſtreſſes, the plague broke out in his army, by which, in a very ſhort time, he loſt eight thouſand men. With the poor remainder he retired to *Tarſus*, a city belonging to *Seleucus*, where he ordered his ſoldiers to obſerve exact diſcipline, till at laſt want forced them to diſpenſe with all orders. Then it was that he wrote to *Seleucus* in terms the moſt moving. He repreſented the grandeur from which he was fallen, the miſery to which he was reduced, and the ſmall hopes he had left. *Seleucus* taking this matter into conſideration, ſent orders to the governors of provinces, to furniſh *Demetrius* with whatever was requiſite for him, not as a private man, but as a king; as alſo with proviſions for his army. This was done through the inclinations, and with a beneficence worthy of the king himſelf. But *Patrocles*, the prime miniſter of *Seleucus*, was of quite another ſentiment; he continually whiſpered in his maſter's ear, that, of all the princes of his time, *Demetrius* was the moſt enterprizing; that the more he was diſtreſſed, the more ready he muſt be to make any new attempt hope or deſpair might ſuggeſt to him; and that to afford ſupport to ſuch a perſon, was to nurſe a wild beaſt in his boſom. By degrees the miniſter's art overcame his maſter's clemency; ſo that when *Demetrius* leaſt expected it, *Seleucus* advanced with a powerful army towards *Cilicia*, whereupon that unhappy prince was forced to take ſhelter in mount *Taurus*, from whence he ſent deputies to *Seleucus*, requeſting him, that he would permit him the liberty to attempt, by force of arms, to repair his broken fortunes againſt the barbarous nations, there to eſtabliſh a kingdom, where he might paſs the remainder of his life in quiet and repoſe, and not in that rigorous ſeaſon of the year, for it was now the middle of the winter, expoſe him to the fury of his implacable enemies in this diſtreſs, but to allow him a competent time and maintenance for his ſmall army, till the weather ſhould permit him to depart. But *Seleucus*, who, by this time, was become exceſſively jealous of him, ſent him word, that he would allow him to remain where he was but two months; and that, even in conſideration of this favour, he expected that he ſhould deliver as hoſtages his principal commanders. *Demetrius*, perceiving himſelf taken like a beaſt in a toil, flew with vindictive rage on his cruel perſecutors, and had the good luck to get the better of them in many encounters; particularly, when he was beſet with armed chariots, by his perſonal valour, he engaged his ſoldiers to break through them, and thereby opened a paſſage into *Syria*; ſo that things taking a new turn, *Lyſimachus* thought it would be favourably received, if he made *Seleucus* an offer of his aſſiſtance; but that cautious prince liked no ſuch aſſiſtance; he therefore thanked *Lyſimachus*, and declined his favour; however he ſpun out the war with *Demetrius*, not caring to truſt the fortune of that prince, which often, from a very miſerable ſtate, had ſuddenly raiſed him to great proſperity. Even at this time *Demetrius* was in a better condition than could have been expected; and his forces, as they had been always victorious under his conduct, ſo they were very tractable and obedient, in hopes that his good fortune would put it in his power to reward them.

But

a But while his mind was big with a thouſand projects, *Demetrius* was ſeized with a malignant fever, which, in a ſhort time, took from him his ſenſes, ſo that for forty days he was able to give no orders. At the end of this ſpace he recovered his ſenſes, and in ſome meaſure his ſtrength; but, to his great affliction, he found his army miſerably mouldered away, and thoſe he had left very deſirous of getting into freſh quarters; a thing they had ſmall reaſon to hope, and which yet he promiſed them, and, by dint of his great skill in military affairs, performed; for making a ſudden and ſwift march towards *Cilicia*, he turned ſhort in the night, and paſſing mount *Amanus*, left *Seleucus* and his army far behind him. Thus his wearied army had once more ſome time given them for refreſhment. *Seleucus* fearing he might b recruit where he was, marched towards him, and encamped at no great diſtance. Of this when *Demetrius* was informed, he reſolved to attack him that very night; and, if his meaſures had not been betrayed, would have taken him in his bed; as it was, he had but juſt time to mount, yet *Demetrius* perceiving that his deſign was diſcovered, would not hazard his forces, but retired. *Seleucus* reſolving to make uſe of this opportunity, preſſed him cloſe, and at laſt compelled him to fight in a very diſadvantagious ſituation. However, *Demetrius* having divided his forces into two bodies, he, at the head of one, charged the troops of *Seleucus* ſo briskly, that they were in great confuſion, till *Seleucus* himſelf diſmounting, led up his infantry, which obliging *Demetrius* to form his forces afreſh, *Seleucus*, as ſoon as they made a line, advan- c ced to their front, and putting up the vizor of his helmet that he might be known, he exhorted them to lay down their arms, telling them, that it was for their ſakes he avoided coming to extremities ſo long; whereupon thoſe perfidious men ſhouted aloud, *Long live king* Seleucus, deſerting in a moment their old maſter, and the victory he had almoſt obtained. *Demetrius*, in this diſtreſs, retired, with a few who were about him, into a thick wood. At firſt he had thoughts of retiring to the ſea, and going on board his fleet; but when he conſidered how few people he had about him, he laid aſide this deſign as impracticable. The next day his boſom-friend, *Soſigenes*, arriving, and having with him four hundred pieces of gold, *Demetrius* reſumed his former deſign, and, as ſoon as it grew dark, ſallied from d the wood, in order to puſh forward; but it appearing by the fires lighted on every ſide, that the avenues were all ſecured by the enemy, the king was forced to retire back to his wood. In this retreat ſome of the inconſiderable band of horſe who were with him deſerted; whereby the reſt were ſo intimidated, that they began to talk of delivering up *Demetrius* to *Seleucus*, in order to preſerve themſelves; which when that unhappy prince overheard, he drew out his ſword, and would have run himſelf thro' the body, had not ſome who were near him interpoſed and prevented him. Then thoſe who had moſt intereſt with him took an opportunity of ſhewing the impoſſibility of his getting out of the province; and that therefore it would be pru- e dence in him for once to ſubmit to fortune, and ſurrender to *Seleucus*. *Demetrius*, having weighed this propoſition duly, conceived it would be better to make that an act of choice, which was moſt likely would at length be brought about by neceſſity, and thereupon diſpatched away deputies, to inform *Seleucus*, that he was ready to yield himſelf into his hands. Until theſe deputies returned, he remained ſtill in his dark retreat in the wood [b].

Demetrius *yields himſelf to* Seleucus.

When *Seleucus* was informed of the reſolution which *Demetrius* had taken, he was exceedingly pleaſed, and having given the neceſſary directions for the reception of a perſon, who, beſides the high dignity he had held, ſtood in ſo near a relation to himſelf, could not help, even in the preſence of his whole court, breaking out into f theſe words: *It is not the fortune of* Demetrius *which hath thus provided for his ſafety, but mine, which hath been watchful for my glory. I thank her more for this, than for all the favours ſhe has done me, becauſe I eſteem an act of clemency more honourable than any victory.* The many noble and generous things ſaid by *Seleucus* in this high flow of fortune, inclined many of his courtiers to believe, that *Demetrius*, from being himſelf a king, would become the chief favourite of a king. In order therefore to ſecure their own intereſts, they immediately determined to go and pay their court to him, as ſoon as he ſhould come into the quarters of *Seleucus*. *Apollonides*, who had been formerly a courtier in the palace of *Antigonus*, was ſent to receive *Demetrius*, and when he had brought him to the village aſſigned, almoſt the whole court of *Seleucus* went

[b] Plut. in Demet.

to pay their compliment to his father-in-law. When the miniſters about *Seleucus*, who hated *Demetrius*, perceived this, they inſtantly put him in mind of the dangerous conſequences which might attend his nobles and commanders entering into familiarity with a perſon of ſuch a dextrous addreſs, and ſuch ſurpriſing intrepidity. Theſe inſinuations had the effect deſired by thoſe who made them, inſomuch that while *Demetrius* was entertaining his old acquaintance and new friends, *Pauſanias*, with a guard of a thouſand horſe, came to conduct him, not as he hoped, to the preſence of *Seleucus*, but a caſtle in a demy-iſland, where he remained a priſoner. *Seleucus*, when he had provided for his own ſecurity, did all that could be thought of to make confinement eaſy to *Demetrius*. He ordered him royal entertainment within doors, a fine ſtable of horſes, and the uſe of a noble park without. To give him a reliſh of theſe pleaſures, hopes were cheriſhed, and promiſes of liberty intermixed, which were all made to depend on the coming of *Antiochus* and *Stratonicé*, to whom the conditions on which this freedom was to be obtained, were referred. All other arts were practiſed to amuſe *Demetrius*, and to divert his cares. At firſt he ſuffered himſelf to be deluded, and hoped, that, after a time, *Seleucus* would ſee him; but when he found this protracted, and that excuſe ſucceeded excuſe, he penetrated the deſign of his politic ſon-in-law, and, without giving in to vain expectations, ſought, by all methods, to make his time as little tedious to him as might be. Hunting was for a while his chief diverſion; but, by degrees, he quitted it to give himſelf up to feaſting and carouſing, that, in wine and pleaſant converſation, the memory of paſt greatneſs and preſent ſorrows might be drowned; ſo hard a thing it is for thoſe who pretend to fight for repoſe, to enjoy it, when they acquire it either in conſequence of their victories, or thro' the mere bounty of providence; and ſo much wiſer is it to moderate our deſires, than to place all hopes in their gratification.

The firmneſs of Demetrius *in his misfortunes.*

IT is the ſentiment of ſome hiſtorians, that *Demetrius* acted meanly, firſt in yielding himſelf up priſoner; and ſecondly, in ſurviving ſo long the loſs of his glory; but if we examine this matter to the bottom, we ſhall find, that theſe cenſures are very raſh, and that there is no part of *Demetrius*'s life leſs liable to reproach than the firſt part of his impriſonment. He had ſhewn, in his former actions, that he was not afraid of death, and, in the firſt tranſport of his deſpair, he ſought to have fallen by his own ſword. That he ſupported life afterwards, was the effect of reaſon, and a very laudable reſignation to the conduct of providence, as appears from the laſt public act he did, which, without compariſon, was the nobleſt of his whole life. As ſoon as he was impriſoned, he wrote a letter to his ſon *Antigonus*, commending to him the care of his concerns in *Greece*, exhorting him to govern his ſubjects juſtly, to act always with moderation, and to look upon himſelf as dead; conjuring him never to part with any of the cities, or to give up any thing to *Seleucus* to procure his liberty, and never to give credit to any letter written with his hand, or ſealed with his ſeal, after this. We muſt ſurely look upon this as a moſt authentic proof of true courage; and, after this, we may ſafely alledge his bearing with life as another proof of it; for having acquitted himſelf to his family and his people, he might certainly indulge hope to himſelf. As to his giving way to luxury at the laſt, and ſpending his time in banquets and drinking-matches, we ought to pity him, and profit by his example. He found, by fatal experience, that mirth and wine were no cures for grief; for while by them he ſought to ſtifle his concern, the ſtruggle between reſentment and a deſire of concealing it, added to his high living, induced a diſtemper, which, when he had been a priſoner three years, carried him off in the fifty-fourth year of his age. Thus died this active prince, who had ſo often been at the top, and ſo frequently at the bottom of fortune's wheel. His death delivered *Seleucus* from all apprehenſions, and not only him, but others; for his great accompliſhments, his ſingular addreſs, his taking preſence, and, above all, his extraordinary military ſkill, made him always formidable, tho' his forces were ever ſo weak, and the places in his poſſeſſion ever ſo few [1].

His pompous funeral. Year after the flood 2716. Before Chriſt 283.

WHILE *Demetrius* lay in priſon, many princes and ſtates, moved with the diſtreſs of ſo great a prince, ſued to *Seleucus* for his liberty. *Lyſimachus* only was baſe enough to offer him a vaſt ſum of money to put him to death; which, with the higheſt indignation, *Seleucus* refuſed, affirming, that neither envy, nor any ancient

[1] PLUT. ubi ſupra. JUSTIN. l. xvi.

antipathy

a antipathy inclined him to confine *Demetrius*, but only a regard to his own ſafety, and a juſt attention to reaſons of ſtate. As *Demetrius* had rendered himſelf very remarkable for his filial piety towards his father, ſo his ſon *Antigonus* manifeſted as laudable affection towards him; for notwithſtanding the letter his father had wrote him might, in the opinion of the world, have freed him from all cenſure, yet did he offer *Seleucus*, not only all that he held in *Greece*, but his own perſon in hoſtage, for his father's liberty; but this was refuſed. However, *Antigonus* continued earneſtly to ſolicit it by the moſt earneſt and paſſionate letters, as long as *Demetrius* lived, going in deep mourning during that ſpace, and never once partaking of any feaſts or diverſions while his father was in priſon. As ſoon as he underſtood that his father's
b aſhes were coming from *Syria*, he ſailed with a noble fleet to the *Archipelago* to meet them. He then depoſited them in an urn of gold, which, when he entered the harbour of *Corinth*, he placed in the poop of the royal galley, ſet his crown upon it, and covered it with a canopy of purple, himſelf ſtanding by clad in deep mourning, and his eyes red with tears. Moſt of the cities of *Greece* ſent chaplets to crown the urn, and deputations of their prime citizens to aſſiſt at the funeral. All the trophies of honour were left at *Corinth*, where the ceremony was performed; but the urn itſelf was tranſported to *Demetria*, a city to which the late king had given his name, which had been built under his direction, and peopled, by his command, out of the villages in the neighbourhood of *Iolchos*. Thus, in his death, he was more happy
c than in his life; for all concurred in honouring the memory of thoſe virtues which were no longer dreadful to them, and which had heretofore filled them with apprehenſions, on account of the reſtleſs ambition, which, while he was living, accompanied them in the breaſt of the poſſeſſor, and which was held unextinguiſhable but by death [k].

By the demiſe of *Demetrius*, the empire which his father erected in *Aſia* determined, and therefore we have nothing more to add to this ſection, excepting a ſhort account of the poſterity which *Demetrius* left behind him. He was a prince much addicted to women, and as, like other princes, he indulged this vice by keeping many concubines, ſo, like the *Macedonian* kings, he ſcrupled not marrying ſeveral wives. *Account of his marriages and poſterity.*

d The firſt was *Philla* the daughter of *Antipater*. She was the widow of *Craterus*, and ſomewhat older than agreed with the age of her husband; however, *Antigonus* having ſhewed him what benefits would accrue to his family by the match, *Demetrius* was eaſily prevailed on to eſpouſe her. By this lady he had *Antigonus* and *Stratonice*; the former his ſucceſſor in his *European* dominions, the latter queen of *Aſia*, being the wife firſt of *Seleucus*, and after of his ſon *Antiochus*. *Demetrius* married for his ſecond wife *Eurydice*, an *Athenian* lady, ſaid to be deſcended from *Miltiades*. She too was a widow, having been firſt married to *Ophillas*, tyrant of *Cyrene*. She was extraordinary handſome, and her being an *Athenian* made her the more agreeable to *Demetrius*, who mightily affected that city. By this lady, ſome writers affirm,
e he had a ſon, named *Coriabus*; but of this there is great doubt. About the time he was choſen captain-general of *Greece* at *Corinth*, he married *Deidamia* the daughter of *Æacidas* king of *Epirus*, and ſiſter of *Pyrrhus*. She too was a lady celebrated for her beauty, and who very affectionately accompanied him in all his expeditions, till, through the fatigue of travelling, which ſuited ill with the delicacy of her conſtitution, ſhe died. By this third wife he had a ſon named *Alexander*, who died in *Egypt*. His fourth wife was *Ptolemaida* the daughter of *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*. Her he married from motives of intereſt, and had by her a ſon named *Demetrius*, who afterwards reigned in *Cyrene*. All theſe wives were alive at once; and it is ſaid, that *Demetrius* carried himſelf very obligingly to them all; but he was paſſionately fond of a
f ſtrumpet, named *Lamia*, a woman of great art, and who touched the lute to the greateſt perfection. She was however much older than any of his wives, even than *Philla*; ſo that the ſatyriſts of thoſe times pretended ſhe had enchanted the king. It is ſaid, he once deſigned to have married *Crateſipolis* the widow of *Alexander* the ſon of *Polyſperchon*, a woman more famous for her charms than her virtue; but going to make her a viſit while he beſieged *Megara*, he very narrowly miſſed being taken priſoner by one of *Caſſander*'s parties, being forced to change coats with a ſoldier in order to make his eſcape, which effectually took away his regard for that lady. By a *Sclavonian* concubine he had a ſon, whom he called *Demetrius*: And theſe are all his deſcen-

[k] Plut. in Demet. Corn. Nep. de regib. c. 3.

dants

dants of which we have any account in hiſtory. As to his dominions, they remained to *Antigonus*, of whoſe life and actions we ſhall give an exact account in the ſucceeding ſection, having already communicated to the reader all that, with propriety, could be brought within the compaſs of this [l].

[l] Plut. in vit. Demet. & Pyrrh. Diodor. l. xix. xx. Justin. l.

SECT. VIII.

The hiſtory of the kingdom of Macedon, *from the death of* Alexander *the* Great, *to the conqueſt thereof by the* Romans.

The ſtate of Macedon *at the king's deceaſe.*

THE kingdom of *Macedon*, at the time of the deceaſe of *Alexander*, was governed by *Antipater*, yet *Craterus* was appointed him for a ſucceſſor; and the general opinion is, that *Antipater*, who was directed to come with a freſh *Macedonian* army to *Babylon*, would have been diſgraced, if not put to death, on account of the many complaints made againſt him. If this were ſo, the death of *Alexander* prevented that of *Antipater*, and left him poſſeſſed of his government [a]. In writing therefore the hiſtory of *Macedon* from the demiſe of *Alexander*, we muſt begin with *Antipater*, and his adminiſtration. He was a perſon noble by birth, of great natural abilities, heightened by an excellent education. He was the friend as well as diſciple of *Ariſtotle*, learned, and a lover of learning; magnificent in his actions, but plain in his dreſs and behaviour, never varying his habit in all the time of his government, but appearing like a private perſon when he gave laws to kings. In few words, he had either the greateſt virtues of any man of his age, or was the greateſt hypocrite in it. The former however ſeems to us to be his true character, the luſtre of his good qualities being too ſtrong to be eclipſed by the vapours of *Athenian* envy, which affected the heads of many hiſtorians, ſome of whoſe writings have laſted to our times [b]. *Philip* of *Macedon*, whoſe great talent was judging well of men and things, made choice of *Antipater* as his miniſter, and relied on him as his friend. *I have ſlept ſoundly*, ſaid he, *for* Antipater *was waking*. This ſentence affords us a ſtronger deſcription of his abilities and fidelity, than an orator could convey in twenty pages. *Alexander* intruſted him, not only with the care of his hereditary kingdom, and the command of a great army therein, but alſo with the cuſtody of *Greece*. If in this charge he had been either negligent or careleſs, *Alexander*'s victories would have ſignified nothing; for the *Macedonians* would have been for returning home, as ſoon as ever they had heard any ill news from thence. He had, it is true, many quarrels with *Olympias*, who was a high-ſpirited woman, and very deſirous of meddling in ſtate affairs. *Alexander* himſelf approved his conduct ſo far, as to ſay on account of his mother's letters, *That he had paid dearly for the months he lay in her womb* [c]. It is certain that ſhe was no leſs angry with *Hephæſtion*, the moſt faithful friend, as well as the chief favourite of his maſter. What he thought of her character, appears from a fragment of one of his letters to her, wherein he wrote thus; *Forbear your unjuſt reproaches; but, if you will not forbear, I care not, ſince* Alexander *muſt judge of all* [d]. When the news of *Parmenio*'s death arrived in *Macedonia*, *Antipater* is recorded to have ſaid, *If* Parmenio *conſpired againſt* Alexander, *who can we truſt? If he did not conſpire, what ſhall we do* [e]*?* If it were not for the only chaſm in *Arrian*'s hiſtory, we ſhould be able to ſpeak more fully as to the credit *Antipater* ſtood in with his maſter at the time of his deceaſe. As it is, we know, that it was *Arrian*'s opinion, that the beſt hiſtorians had recorded nothing which teſtified the king's having any diſlike to his old miniſter [f]. What remains of the letters of *Alexander*, ſhew, that he kept a regular correſpondence with *Antipater*, and that he gave him public marks of his eſteem. There is one fragment of a letter from *Antipater* to his maſter, which is the nobleſt teſtimony of his extraordinary firmneſs, and ſtrict regard to truth. *Ariſtotle* had fallen under *Alexander*'s diſpleaſure, and he had written in ſevere terms of him

[a] Arrian. l. vii. Curt. l. x. Justin. l. xiii. c. 5. [b] Diodor. l. xviii. Plut. in vit. Alex.
[c] Arrian. l. vii. [d] Plut. in vit. Alex. [e] Id. in Apophthegm. regum. [f] Arrian. l. vii.

to

a to *Antipater* himſelf; yet when *Antipater* acquainted him with the death of *Ariſtotle*, he gave a noble character of that philoſopher, which he cloſed with theſe words: *Beſides the marvellous talents wherewith the mind of that truly great man was adorned, this was peculiar to him, that he acquired the good-will of every man who knew him* [g]. Having now ſufficiently ſhewn who and what *Antipater* was, let us proceed to the hiſtory of his adminiſtration after the death of *Alexander*.

THE *Grecians*, even in the life-time of *Alexander*, endured very unwillingly that ſuperiority which he exerciſed over them; and tho' nothing could be more gentle than the government of *Antipater* with reſpect to *Greece*, yet he was exceedingly hated, becauſe he obliged them to be quiet. One of the laſt actions of *Alexander's* b life blew the embers of ſedition into a flame. He had, by an edict, directed all the cities of *Greece* to recal their exiles; which edict, when it was publiſhed at the olympic games, occaſioned great confuſion. Many of the cities were afraid, that when the exiles returned, they would change the government; moſt of them doubted their own ſafety in caſe the edict took effect, and all of them held this peremptory decree to be a total abolition of their liberty. Immediately therefore they began to levy ſoldiers, and to prepare for war. In theſe tranſactions the *Athenians* were extremely buſy, yet they did not publicly declare themſelves, till they were aſſured that *Alexander* was dead. Then they kept no meaſures; they laid out the money, which *Harpalus* had ſtolen from *Alexander*, and left in their city, to hire forces [h]. They c exclaimed againſt the *Macedonians*, as a barbarous and tyrannical nation, and appointed *Leoſthenes* general of their forces raiſed for delivering *Greece*. This man was the diſciple of *Demoſthenes*, and ſeems to have meant his country better than he was able to ſerve it. He was full of an enthuſiaſtic paſſion for democracy, and this prompted him to talk in a very high ſtrain in the aſſembly. *Phocion*, who judged better of the ſtate of *Athens*, could not help ſaying to him on this occaſion, *Young man, your ſpeeches are like the cypreſs tree, lofty and well ſpread, but they bear no fruit* [i]. This gentleman however drew together a noble army, with which he advanced towards *Theſſaly*, which was the moſt judicious ſtep taken in the war.

The Greeks begin the Samian war. Year after the flood 2679. Year before Chriſt 321.

Antipater, as ſoon as he was thoroughly informed of the march of the *Athenian* d forces, ſent over into *Aſia*, to deſire the aſſiſtance of the governors there. In the interim he marched with thirteen thouſand foot, and ſix thouſand horſe, in order to ſecure *Theſſaly*. He appointed *Sillas* to preſide in *Macedon* during his abſence, and directed him to raiſe forces with all imaginable diligence; for the large draughts which *Alexander* had made, rendered this a work not eaſily performed. A fleet of a hundred and ten gallies was likewiſe fitted out, under the command of *Clytus*, who, as a ſeaman, had ſerved with great reputation under the late king. When *Antipater* came down into *Theſſaly*, he found the inhabitants of that country ſtill in the *Macedonian* intereſt, and received from them a very conſiderable reinforcement e of horſe; yet, according to the practice of their anceſtors, they acted deceitfully, and, when he wanted them moſt, went over to the enemy. *Leoſthenes* was in poſſeſſion of the *Pylæ*, or ſtreights leading into *Greece*, where he waited for *Antipater*, who, with the ſmall army he had, did not fail to give him battle, wherein numbers, and the skill of the mercenaries ſerving under *Leoſthenes*, gained him the victory. *Antipater*, with the remains of his army, retired to *Lamia*, a city of ſome ſtrength, and not far diſtant from the field of battle. This he ſeized, and fortified in ſuch a manner, that tho' the victorious army attempted to ſtorm it, yet they were unſucceſsful; ſo that *Leoſthenes* was conſtrained to undertake a regular ſiege, whereby, when he had reduced *Antipater* to great ſtraits, himſelf advancing too near the wall, was f ſlain by a ſtone; whereupon *Antiphilus* was created general in his ſtead. While things were in this condition, *Leonnatus* arrived from *Aſia* with a great army, and advanced to ſuccour *Antipater*. *Antiphilus*, as ſoon as he was appriſed of this, raiſed the ſiege, burnt his tents, and marched to fight the new-comers, tho' they were no leſs than twenty-two thouſand foot, and two thouſand five hundred horſe, moſt of them veterans. The battle was hard fought, and continued long; but, through the valour of the *Theſſalian* horſe, and the death of *Leonnatus*, the *Greeks* carried the victory, and the *Macedonian* phalanx was compelled to retire into the rocky hills, where the horſe could not follow them. Theſe victories exceedingly raiſed the ſpi-

Antipater *marches againſt them.*

[g] PLUT. in paral. Coriolan, cum Alcibiad. [h] DIODOR. SICUL. l. xviii. [i] PLUT. in vit. Phocion.

rits of the confederates, and made them deſpiſe their enemies ſo much, that many of them returned home, which afterwards proved fatal to the common cauſe [k]. a

The concluſion of this war.

Antipater, while he was ſhut up in *Lamia*, ſent deputies to *Athens*, to negotiate peace; but the *Athenians* refuſed him any other terms than ſurrendering at diſcretion, and leaving all things to their diſpoſal. The ſiege being now raiſed, *Antipater*, with incredible diligence, marched to the place where the remains of *Leonnatus*'s army was encamped, and having joined them, held the enemy in play, tho' he was not able to offer them battle. When he found the confederates preſſed hard upon him, and that their chief ſtrength conſiſted in their ſuperiority of horſe, he choſe ſuch a rout, as, for the moſt part, hindered horſe from acting; and when they might have acted with effect, he deviſed this method for avoiding an engagement; he directed the light-armed foot to mount, not only all the carriage-horſes, but likewiſe all the mules and aſſes belonging to the army, and placing theſe behind the ſquadrons of horſe which he had, the *Theſſalians* concluded, that he had been reinforced with a great body of cavalry, and therefore contented themſelves with obſerving them at a diſtance. At length *Craterus* arrived with a great body of forces under his command; however he yielded the command to *Antipater* on their junction at the river *Peneus*, where there were now aſſembled forty thouſand foot, three thouſand archers, and five thouſand horſe. The *Greeks* had twenty-five thouſand foot, and three thouſand five hundred horſe, with which they ventured a battle. In this the *Theſſalian* cavalry were at firſt victorious; which *Antipater* obſerving, he would not ſuſtain his horſe, but ſuffered the *Theſſalians* to break them intirely. While theſe continued the purſuit, he, with the phalanx, bore down upon the *Grecian* foot, and defeated them with great ſlaughter. The *Macedonian* horſe formed behind their victorious battalions, and the *Theſſalians* fearing they ſhould be ſurrounded, retired haſtily, in order to join their foot. After this defeat, *Antiphilus* held a council of war, wherein it was put to the vote, whether they ſhould continue in the field, or think of treating. It was carried for the latter, and deputies were inſtantly ſent to *Antipater*; but the *Grecian* generals were exceedingly ſurpriſed to hear on their return, that the *Macedonian* would treat ſeparately with the cities, or not at at all; which propoſition they rejected [l]. b c d

Peace granted to the Athenians.

Antipater and *Craterus* perceiving, that the confederate army was too weak to give them battle, began to beſiege the cities in the neighbourhood, and having reduced many of them, treated the inhabitants with much ſeverity. This ſo affrighted the ſtates confederated with the *Athenians*, that they immediately made peace on the beſt terms they could. The *Athenians* and *Ætolians* alone ſtood out; upon which *Antipater* and *Craterus* advanced towards *Athens*. The citizens of that famous place found themſelves now in no condition to reſiſt him, their fleet, which they had fitted out a vaſt expence, under the command of *Eetion*, having been twice defeated by *Clytus*. In this diſtreſs the *Peloponneſians* might have ſuccoured and preſerved them; but either through jealouſy, or a pannic fear, they remained motionleſs, and left the *Athenians* to their fate. In this diſtreſs they turned their eyes on *Phocion*, and demanded his advice. To what end, ſaid he, *Athenians*, ſhould I adviſe you? If you had not rejected my counſels, you had not been this day in this diſtreſs. They then called upon *Demades*, who had always been in the *Macedonian* intereſt. He propoſed a decree, by which *Demoſthenes* was condemned to death; but he was already fled. He then deſired, that deputies might be ſent to *Antipater*, himſelf and *Phocion* being of the number, when they arrived, *Antipater* would hear of no other terms than thoſe offered to him at *Lamia*, *viz.* that they ſhould yield themſelves intirely to his mercy, and ſuffer their affairs to be ſettled at his pleaſure. With theſe hard terms they were conſtrained to comply. *Phocion* beſeeching *Antipater* that peace might be concluded where he then was, *i. e.* in *Bœotia*, which *Craterus* ſaid was unreaſonable, ſince their army muſt ſubſiſt all that time in the country of their friends, whereas nothing hindered their living at diſcretion in *Attica* (A). To this e f

Antipater

[k] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. PLUT. in vit. Phocion & Demoſthen. JUSTIN. l. xiii. c. 5. [l] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. PLUT. in vit. Demoſthen.

(A) *Xenocrates* was a very eminent philoſopher, the diſciple and ſucceſſor of *Plato*, alike remarkable for his wiſdom in words, and for the probity of his actions. Many years before this he had been ſent embaſſador to *Antipater* in *Macedonia*, to intreat him to ſet at liberty ſome *Athenian* priſoners.

On

a *Antipater* replied, that he was in the right; yet, ſaid he, let us grant this, becauſe it is asked by *Phocion*. When the *Athenians* had conſented to ſubmit themſelves to his pleaſure, *Antipater* granted them the following terms; *that* the ancient way of raiſing taxes in the city ſhould be reſtored; *that* they ſhould receive a gariſon into the fort *Munichia*, and maintain it at their own charge; *that* they ſhould pay the expence of the war; and *that* they ſhould deliver up the orators *Hyperides* and *Demoſthenes*. *Phocion* earneſtly begged the city might be excuſed from the gariſon. *I would willingly grant this alſo to your friendſhip*, ſaid *Antipater*, *but I know it is not either convenient for you or for me*. By which he meant, that, without a gariſon, the *Athenians* would never be kept either in dependence on the *Macedonians*, or at quiet
b among themſelves. In conſequence of this treaty, the popular government in *Athens* was abrogated, and ſuch only permitted a ſhare therein as had competent eſtates; upon which *twenty-two thouſand* of the inhabitants retired from the city, and had eſtates aſſigned them in the territories of *Macedon*, where they ſettled, and lived very happily. As for the reſt of the *Athenians*, they were conſtrained to return to *Solon*'s model of government, and, in ſhort, were compelled by *Antipater*, much againſt their will, to be rich and quiet. With the ſame equity and moderation he ſettled the reſt of the *Grecian* ſtates, who, at firſt, grudged his power, and complained heavily of the infringements made on their liberty; but, by degrees, they became better ſatisfied, and at laſt honoured him as the *father* and *protector* of *Greece*. On
c his return to *Macedon*, he and his ſon-in-law *Craterus*, who had juſt married his daughter *Philla*, turned their arms againſt the *Ætolians*, who alone refuſed to be comprehended in the peace, and kept a conſiderable army in the field. Theſe, with much trouble, they reduced in the winter to great ſtraits; but while they were preparing for the ſieges of their principal cities, *Antigonus* arrived from *Aſia*, with an account of *Perdiccas*'s deſigns, inſiſting particularly on his ſlighting *Nicæa* the daughter of *Antipater*, and on his ordering *Cynane* the ſiſter of *Alexander* to be put to death. *Antipater* and *Craterus* inſtantly made peace with the *Ætolians*, that they might be at leiſure to attend to their own concerns, and prevent *Perdiccas* from becoming their ſovereign, under colour of being protector of the kings. With this
d view they entered into a league with *Ptolemy*, and began to aſſemble an army in order to paſs into *Aſia* [m].

Antipater *and* Craterus *paſs over into* Aſia.

WHEN all things were ready, and the ſeaſon of the year permitted, *Antipater* and *Craterus* tranſported their forces into *Aſia*, leaving the care of *Macedon* and *Greece* to *Polyſperchon*. On their arrival in *Aſia*, *Antipater* reſolved to march with part of the forces into *Cilicia*, that he might be able to aſſiſt *Ptolemy*, in caſe *Perdiccas* was too hard for him; and *Craterus* with the other moiety marched againſt *Eumenes*. *Antipater*, not long after this diviſion of their forces, received the melancholy news of the defeat and death of his ſon-in-law, whereby his favourite daughter *Philla* was left a widow [n]. It is ſaid this lady was endowed by nature with ſuch extraordinary
e qualities, that her father, who was otherwiſe a very cloſe man, yet was wont to

[m] ARRIAN. apud Phot. cod. xcii. DIODOR. SICUL. l. xviii. JUSTIN. l. xiii. PLUT. in Demoſthen. & Phocion. [n] PLUT. in vit. Eumen. DIODOR. ubi ſupra.

On his arrival, before he had his audience, *Antipater* invited him to an entertainment. *Xenocrates* anſwered him in theſe verſes of *Homer*, ſpoken by *Ulyſſes* to *Circe*, when ſhe preſſed him to eat of the dainties ſet before him:

Ill fits it me, whoſe friends are ſunk to beaſts,
To quaff thy bowls, or riot in thy feaſts.
Me wouldſt thou pleaſe, for them thy cares employ,
And them to me reſtore, and me to joy (1).

Antipater was ſo well pleaſed with his preſence of mind, and happy application of theſe verſes, that, without more ado, he ſet the *Athenians* free. On this occaſion he did not behave ſo obligingly, for knowing that *Xenocrates* was warmly affected to the democracy, he paſſed him by, when he kindly ſaluted all the reſt of the deputies; which when the philoſopher obſerved, he could not help ſaying, *Antipater* does well thus to diſtinguiſh me from the reſt, as if before *Xenocrates* only he was aſhamed of the injuſtice he is about to do the *Athenians*. When the government was afterwards ſettled, *Phocion* would willingly have had *Xenocrates* accept the freedom of the city, which he refuſed. *I will not*, ſaid he, *ſubmit myſelf to an adminiſtration which I do not like, and the eſtabliſhment which I oppoſe* (2). Afterwards growing ſo poor that he could not pay his tribute, the *Athenians*, with ſhameleſs ingratitude, condemned him to be ſold for a ſlave, which was accordingly done. *Demetrius* the *Phalerian* bought him, reſtoring him to his liberty, and paying his price into the public treaſury. He was a great writer, for we have the titles of above ſixty treatiſes which he compoſed. He died at fourſcore and two, falling in the night with his head into a baſon of water, whereby he was ſuffocated (3).

(1) *Odyſ. l.* x. (2) *Plut. in vit. Phocion.* (3) *Diogen. Laert. in vit. Xenocrat.*

conſult

conſult her, even while ſhe was a girl. Her conduct in the time of both her huſ- a
bands was extremely remarkable, for ſhe ſpent her whole time in acts of beneficence; ſhe had the wives and daughters of the officers of the army continually about her. As her own behaviour was very exact, ſhe kept a ſtrict eye upon theirs, at the ſame time ſhe relieved their wants, gave portions to their daughters, and was their patroneſs in all their affairs. The death of her husband *Craterus* did not greatly affect *Antipater*'s intereſt; for *Perdiccas* being ſhortly after ſlain in *Egypt*, he was ſent for to the army in *Syria*, where *Aridæus* and *Pithon* abdicating their offices as protectors of the kings, *Antipater* ſucceeded by common conſent. At firſt *Eurydice* the wife of *Philip* created him a great deal of trouble, and even indangered his life; but, by degrees, he got over this, and not only conciliated the affection of the ſoldiers, but acquired alſo the eſteem of *Eurydice* herſelf. In fine, after he had ſettled all things b
in *Aſia* in the beſt method poſſible, and had left his ſon *Caſſander* to be a check upon *Antigonus*, he ſet out with the kings to return to *Macedonia*, the army being perfectly well ſatisfied with his conduct, and the friends of the royal family hoping all things from his protection [o].

The Ætolians invade Theſſaly.

WHILE he and *Craterus* were in *Aſia*, the *Ætolians*, who had ſecretly entered into a league with *Perdiccas*, broke into the territories of *Macedon* with a great army, and comitted exceſſive depredations, in revenge for what they had ſuffered the winter before. *Polycles* commanded in thoſe parts for *Antipater*, and had with him a conſiderable body of troops. He, in attempting to repel the *Ætolians*, was drawn by them to an engagement, wherein his army was routed, and himſelf ſlain. The c
Ætolians, while they were conſulting how to proſecute this victory, received advice, that the *Acarnanians* had entered their country, and had began to commit horrible devaſtations therein. To expel theſe invaders the *Ætolians* marched home; but they left the forces of their confederates in *Theſſaly*, under the command of *Menon*, an officer of great skill and courage. *Polyſperchon*, who, as we obſerved, commanded in *Macedon* in the abſence of *Antipater*, immediately took advantage of this diviſion, and, while the *Ætolians* were buſy in expelling their domeſtic enemies, he, by forced marches, came down into *Theſſaly*, and, before *Menon* could be properly ſupported, fell upon him and his troops, and cut them to pieces. By this blow the power of the *Ætolians* was intirely broken, and the peace of *Macedon* reſtored [p]. d

The Athenians *ſeek to be eaſed of their gariſon.*

Antipater, on his return, brought with him the kings into *Macedon*, and treated them there with all imaginable reſpect. The *Athenians* were very earneſt with *Phocion*, whoſe intereſt with *Antipater* they knew to be great, to obtain of him the diſmiſſion of their gariſon; but *Phocion*, who ſaw clearly that this gariſon was more uſeful to the public than to *Antipater*, declined the commiſſion; yet the recalling many of the exiles, and other good things he both asked and obtained of *Antipater*, with whom he had indeed a very great intereſt. *Menillus*, who commanded in the fort, and who was both a generous and a good-natured man, offered *Phocion*, who had but a ſmall eſtate, a ſum of mony. *My circumſtances*, anſwered the patriot, *are neither worſe than they were, nor are you greater than* Alexander *the ſon of* Philip, *from* e
whom I refuſed to accept the ſame favour. And when he was once requeſted to do ſomewhat that was wrong in his opinion, for the ſervice of the *Macedonians*, *Antipater*, ſaid he, *cannot have me for his friend and his flatterer.* This the *Macedonian* chief knew as well as he; for it was a common ſaying with him, *That he had two friends at* Athens, *one who would take nothing, and another who never thought he had enough* [q]. The former was *Phocion*, the latter *Demades*, an orator of ſome reputation, and who had been all his life in the intereſt of *Macedon*. It was this man on whom the *Athenians* caſt their eyes, when *Phocion* abſolutely refuſed to have any thing to do with the affair of the gariſon; and in an ill hour for himſelf and his family *Demades* undertook it, having, for the greater honour, his ſon *Demias* joined f
with him in commiſſion [r].

The death of Antipater.

NOT long after his return to *Macedon*, *Antipater* was attacked by a dangerous diſeaſe, which, added to his years, for he was now fourſcore, left him little hopes of life. He behaved himſelf in the laſt moments of his life with the ſame firmneſs, and the ſame regard to his reputation, which he had ſhewn in all the actions of his life. His great offices of *protector* and *governor* of *Macedon* he bequeathed to *Polyſperchon*, the eldeſt of *Alexander*'s captains at hand, and of whom *Antipater* had a

[o] ARRIAN. ubi ſupra. DIODOR. upi ſupra. [p] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. JUSTIN. ubi ſupra. [q] PLUT. in vit. Phocion. [r] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra.

a much better opinion than he deſerved. His eldeſt ſon *Caſſander*, *Antipater* appointed to be a *chiliarch* or *colonel* of a thouſand men, a command in thoſe times infinitely more conſiderable than now [s]. A little before his death, *Demades* had audience of *Antipater*, and was kindly received; however, as to the gariſon, nothing was determined; but at the requeſt of *Phocion*, ſignified by letter, the *Athenians* had a further day given them for the payment of their ſubſidies. Thus, full of years and glory in a time of full peace and ſerenity, procured chiefly by his own wiſdom and prudence, *Antipater* expired; of whom had we nothing elſe to ſay what *Tacitus* obſerved of *Galba*, might properly be applied to him, and ſufficiently diſtinguiſh his character to poſterity; *Non in domo ſucceſſorem quæſivit, ſed in republica. In the choice of a ſucceſſor he regarded not his family, but the commonweal* (B).

b BEFORE *Antipater* was well dead, *Caſſander* in his name ſent for *Demades* the *Athenian* embaſſador, who with his ſon *Demeas* readily came, and began to expoſtulate on the buſineſs of the gariſon. *Caſſander* giving little heed to what he ſaid, ordered his ſon to be put to death in his preſence, and when he had given him a little time to feel the affliction of a father, he firſt loaded him with bitter reproaches, and then cauſed him alſo to be ſlain. The reaſon of this extraordinary proceeding was, that among the papers of *Perdiccas* there had been found a letter written to him by *Demades*, preſſing *Perdiccas* to make haſte into *Greece*; *the affairs of which hung at preſent*, he ſaid, *on an old rotten thread*; ſo he was pleaſed to characterize *Antipater*, from whom he had begged, and from whom he had received ſo much. It is but c juſt we ſhould inform the reader that authors vary about this fact; *Diodorus* ſays, that *Demades* was put to death by *Antipater*. *Plutarch* and other authors aſcribe his puniſhment to *Caſſander*: Some alſo ſay the letter was written to *Antigonus*, and not to *Perdiccas*; but this is improbable, and therefore having well conſidered its circumſtances, we have ſtated the fact as it appears to us. Cruel without doubt it was, yet it cannot be denied, that *Demades*, who was a venal orator, and who ſcrupled not to employ his eloquence againſt the intereſt of his country, met with no worſe fate than he deſerved [u].

Demades *and his ſon ſlain.*

Polyſperchon was now at the head of affairs, governor general of *Macedon*, and protector of the kings, which high offices he derived from the good opinion which d *Antipater* had conceived of him. He was a man of indifferent parts, more capable of following directions, than of giving them, one extremely formal in his manner of tranſacting buſineſs, being converſant in nothing but forms. In a word, he was far from being honeſt, ſteady, or wiſe, and yet a great pretender to probity, fortitude, and policy. He had a ſon named *Alexander*, more active, and of better abilities, though not a grain more virtuous than himſelf. The firſt ſtep he took in his government was to call a general council; as the firſt ſtep taken in that council was to ſet aſide *Antipater*'s dying counſel, by recalling *Olympias*, which they not only

Projects of the new adminiſtration in Macedon.

[s] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. [t] TACIT. Hiſt. lib. i. c. 15. [u] DIODOR. ubi ſupra. PLUT. in vit. Phocion.

(B) We have no where the reaſons aſſigned us, why *Antipater* excluded his ſon *Caſſander* from the adminiſtration, but they are not hard to be gueſſed. Firſt, he was his ſon, and in all probability the father thought it unworthy of him to aggrandize his own family at the expence of his maſter's. Secondly, *Polyſperchon*'s age, experience, and his late exploit againſt the *Ætolians* might induce *Antipater* to think he would prove a worthy guardian of the king. There might be a third reaſon, which was *Caſſander*'s ambition, and his having a private intrigue with *Eurydice* the wife of king *Philip*, who had as good or a better right to the crown than her huſband, which might make the good old man leſs careful of his ſon's intereſt than otherwiſe he would have been. However it was, he ſhewed his love for his country, not only in his impartiality, but alſo in the advice he gave to him whom he deſigned his ſucceſſor. *On no account*, ſaid he, *ſuffer a woman to have any concerns in the affairs of ſtate; their abilities are by no means ſuited to ſuch arduous concerns; for being ſlaves to their paſſions, to indulge them, they throw all things into confuſion* (4). This was underſtood to point at *Olympias*, who during his adminiſtration had dwelt in *Epirus*. It is true, he had great reaſon to diſlike her, as well on account of the trouble ſhe had given him, as out of regard to his beloved maſter *Philip*, whoſe ſecond wife ſhe had murdered, and whoſe child by her ſhe broiled between two copper plates; even in *Epirus*, ſhe affected to govern all things, and therefore her ſon *Alexander* commended her for going thither, becauſe, ſaid he, the *Macedonians* would never bear the government of a woman. Yet it may be, *Antipater*'s counſel was general, which was more becoming him, and no leſs founded on fact; for beſides the trouble he had had through *Olympias*, *Cleopatra* the ſiſter of *Alexander* had afforded him no ſmall diſquiet, and *Eurydice* had once put him in the utmoſt danger of his life (5); he might well therefore have no great opinion of women's intermeddling with ſtate affairs. We ſhall ſhortly ſee how deeply the *Macedonians* ſuffered from the neglect of *Antipater*'s maxim.

(4) *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* xviii. (5) *Arrian. ap. Phot. Juſtin. &c.*

did, but put *Alexander* the ſon of *Roxana* under her care, at leaſt they promiſed ſo to a
do, hoping that the *majeſty* of the *mother* of *Alexander* would add a luſtre to their adminiſtration. A meaſure, which conſidered in one light, ſeems juſt and honourable; but in another ſhews, that *Polyſperchon* and his council were ſenſible of ſome imbecility in themſelves. The queen however, who knew ſhe was ſafe in *Epirus*, and knew not what might befal her in *Macedon*, made no great haſte, but took time to conſider the matter herſelf, and to conſult with her friends. However, ſhe communicated her thoughts upon all occaſions to *Polyſperchon*, and ſo held immediately a conſiderable ſhare in the adminiſtration. *Caſſander* was little thought of in theſe proceedings; and it appeared plainly, that the new government had very little regard for the friends of the old one, which of conſequence created a multitude of male- b
contents, and afforded colour for certain ſubſequent tranſactions, which otherwiſe would have been of too dark a hue to have born the light. For as great politicians have a faculty of making all events contribute to their ends, ſo there are a tribe of wrong-headed ſtateſmen, who obſtinately purſue thoſe tracks which lead directly from the ends at which they aim; ſuch were *Polyſperchon* and his council [w].

The views of Caſſander.

As ſoon as *Caſſander* conſidered the ſtate in which he ſtood, he ſaw, or at leaſt he thought he ſaw, reaſon to be diſpleaſed with his father's diſpoſition of affairs. He formed a juſt idea of *Polyſperchon*'s character, and drew from thence very diſmal apprehenſions of what might befal himſelf, his family, and their dependents. Beſides his ambition prompted him to attempt the recovery of that command, of which his c
father's will had deprived him, and at the ſame time it opened his eyes to methods by which it might be obtained. Theſe things having a while revolved in his own breaſt, he engaged ſome of his friends to accompany him into the country under colour of diverting themſelves with hunting; but in truth to confer with them on his deſign. When they were at diſtance from court, he opened to them his project, having firſt ſtrongly poſſeſſed them with the common danger they were all in from the propenſity of *Polyſperchon* to *Olympias*, the ancient and implacable enemy of *Antipater*, and all his friends. He then ſhewed them that *Antigonus*, *Ptolemy* and *Lyſimachus*, would from their reſpective intereſts become the enemies of *Polyſperchon*, becauſe as protector of the kings, he would claim a ſuperiority over them; from whence he d
inferred, they would be friends to themſelves, if they declared againſt *Polyſperchon*. It is uncertain, whether at firſt he communicated his intention of abſolutely ſupplanting the protector, or whether he pretended only to aſpire to ſuch a degree of power as might enable him to protect himſelf, his family, and their friends; however it was, his diſcourſes procured him a multitude of creatures, who readily obeyed his dictates, and took ſuch ſteps as he directed them; and if things began to go well at home, they went ſtill better abroad, for *Antigonus* and the reſt of the princes promiſed him their utmoſt aſſiſtance as ſoon as it was asked, in conſequence, as they pretended, of their extraordinary love for his father; but in truth, becauſe they hated *Polyſperchon*, and were deſirous to prevent his looking abroad, by finding him e
troubleſome ſcenes enow at home [x].

Polyſperchon's *edict.*

WHILE *Caſſander* was buſied in carrying his ſchemes into execution, *Polyſperchon* held another grand council, wherein it was reſolved to diſplace all the governors appointed by *Antipater* in *Greece*, and to ſet up the democracy where-ever it had been aboliſhed. In order to carry this ſcheme into execution, a very gracious proclamation was drawn, and ſent to *Athens*, and to the reſt of the cities. It remains entire in *Diodorus*, and will be an everlaſting monument of the genius of *Polpſperchon*, and his miniſters. The body of the edict is full of royal authority, and extraordinary ſtretches of power, yet the preamble and concluſion declare its intention to be the reſtoring liberty to the *Greeks*, and at the ſame time the old regency is loaded with f
grievous accuſations. This edict produced, what in all probability it was intended to produce, confuſions every-where; for the people under colour of its authority, would no longer obey their magiſtrates, and the magiſtrates were no where well inclined to truſt themſelves to the government of the people. But the point of diſmiſſing governors, which was the main thing the edict was calculated for, it could not produce, for the governors were leaſt of all willing to ſubmit to the execution of a decree by which they were to be caſhiered; they therefore demurred at firſt, and at laſt applied to *Caſſander*. In this nice conjuncture all eyes were upon *Athens*, for as it was

[w] DIODOR. ubi ſupra. PLUT. in vit. Demet. JUSTIN. lib. xiv. [x] DIODOR. ubi ſupra. JUSTIN. ubi ſupra. PLUT. in Demet. & Phocion.

the

4

a the moſt conſiderable gariſon, ſo if *Nicanor* who commanded there had immediately evacuated the fort, it would have gone a great way towards the carrying the edict into execution elſewhere. But he at firſt expreſſed a ſort of diffidence as to the authority of *Polyſperchon*, and afterwards, when he received letters from *Olympias*, he ſpun out negotiations with the *Athenians*, till he had thoroughly recruited his gariſon; and then, inſtead of quitting *Munichia*, he unexpectedly ſeized on *Pyræus*. The *Athenians*, provoked by this uſage, which they were not able to revenge upon *Nicanor*, turned their fury on their own citizens, and inſtantly proſcribed *Phocion* with ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction who had conferred with *Nicanor*, though they were not culpable in the leaſt. Theſe unhappy perſons retired for ſhelter to *Alexander*
b the ſon of *Polyſperchon*, who had then entered *Attica* with an army. As he drew near *Athens*, the citizens alſo ſent deputies to preſs him immediately to beſiege *Nicanor*, in order to reſtore them their ports. But *Alexander* had by this time other notions in his head; he knew the *Athenians* too well to think of truſting them, and therefore he began to enter into a treaty with *Nicanor*, not for his evacuating the forts, but for his coming over to his father *Polyſperchon*, in keeping them for him, in which however he ſucceeded not. By this time *Polyſperchon* himſelf was at hand with a great army, having with him king *Aridæus* or *Philip*. To him his ſon *Alexander* ſent *Phocion* and his friends with letters of recommendation, *Dinarchus* the *Corinthian*, *Polyſperchon*'s old and intimate friend, going with them. At their heels came deputies
c from *Athens*, charging them with treaſon againſt the ſtate. *Polyſperchon* was at firſt extremely perplexed how he ſhould behave himſelf on this occaſion. His ſon had engaged his faith to the exiles, but himſelf conceived that his intereſt would be beſt promoted by his ſiding with the *Athenians*; fickle in his ſentiments, and ſanguine in all his meaſures, he no ſooner conceived this, than he ordered his old acquaintance *Dinarchus* to be firſt tortured, and then put to death, and after affording *Phocion* and his friends a pretended hearing, at which the fooliſh king attempted to ſtrike *Phocion* through with his lance, the exiles were condemned, and then tranſmitted to *Athens*, where the people were giddy enough to miſtake for a mark of liberty their being made the executioners of a ſentence pronounced in another court. In ſhort, *Phocion* was
d murdered, and *Polyſperchon* highly cried up; but in the mean time *Nicanor* maintained himſelf in *Munichia*, and in the *Pyræus*, and advice came, that *Caſſander*, who was fled to *Antigonus*, had been furniſhed by him with conſiderable aſſiſtance, and was on the very point of imbarking for *Athens* [y].

Caſſander *prevails in* Greece *Year after the flood* 2681. *Before Chriſt* 318.

It was among the number of the great ſlips in policy made by the new adminiſtration in *Macedon*, that after ſo openly attacking the dependents of *Antipater*, and taking *Olympias* into a ſhare of the adminiſtration, they yet ſuffered *Caſſander* to withdraw, which he did as ſoon as he had ſettled matters at home, and went immediately to the court of *Antigonus*; there he was received with high honours, and had mighty promiſes made to him, part of which were fulfilled, not for his ſake, but that a war might be kindled in *Greece* while *Antigonus* totally ſubdued *Aſia*. The forces lent
e *Caſſander* were not great, but to a man of his ſpirit any aſſiſtance was conſiderable. As ſoon therefore as he had received them, he ſailed for *Athens*, and entering the *Pyræus* with his ſmall fleet, was received by *Nicanor*. *Polyſperchon* inſtantly reſolved to ſhut up his competitor in that city, and to put a ſhort end to the war by its reduction. For this purpoſe he aſſembled a great army, with which he marched to *Athens*; but forgetting that *Attica* was never over-fruitful, he found himſelf in a ſhort time ſo diſtreſſed for proviſions, that he was conſtrained to abandon his deſign, and therefore leaving his ſon *Alexander* with a competent army to obſerve the motions of *Caſſander*, he with the major part of his forces marched into *Peloponneſus*, where he
f knew *Caſſander* had many friends. When he entered *Peloponneſus* he had recourſe once more to his edicts, whereby ſuch as had born offices in the cities under the adminiſtration of *Antipater* were roundly condemned to baniſhment or death, merely for having born offices. This decree the people in moſt places put in execution, ſo that diſcord, ſlaughter, and confuſion, was effectually ſpread all about. The *Megalapolitans* only had wit enough to avoid theſe diſſenſions, and the magiſtrates and people agreeing, they retained their old government, and dwelt in peace. This was high treaſon in the ſight of *Polyſperchon*; he ſaid they had contravened his edict, that they were aſſociates with *Caſſander*, and that for theſe reaſons they ought to be made a

[y] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. & Plut. in Phocion.

public

public example of as common enemies to the *Greeks*. When the *Megalapolitans* heard this, they withdrew all their effects out of the country, fortified their city, and having muſtered their fighting men, found their number to be fifteen thouſand; and confiding in their own ſtrength, determined to abide a ſiege. *Polyſperchon*, to make good his threats, came with the king and all his army before the city, having with him alſo a great number of elephants. The firſt thing he did was to cauſe the wall to be undermined, which his engineers performed ſo effectually, that when the beſieged leaſt expected it, three towers with all the wall between them fell down. *Polyſperchon* then led his army to the aſſault, which proved very obſtinate and bloody; but in the end the *Megalapolitans* repulſed the beſiegers, and while their men were fighting, the women and children threw up an intrenchment of earth and rubbiſh within the breach. *Polyſperchon* determined to attack the place a ſecond time, and to make uſe of his elephants, the news of which terrified the citizens exceedingly. It happened there was amongſt them one *Damides*, who had ſerved under *Alexander*; this man undertook for the elephants, which put his countrymen again in heart. The method he uſed was this; he took broad pieces of ſtrong plank, into each of which he ſtruck ſeveral iron ſpikes, theſe he fixed in the ground within the breach, and covered them lightly with rubbiſh; then he drew up the citizens, not in front, but in flank on each ſide of the breach, and ſo attended the enemy. *Polyſperchon*'s troops advanced in excellent order, having the elephants before them; theſe being forced by their riders upon the breach, ſtuck their feet upon the ſpikes, and were unable to proceed further. The citizens galling them and their riders with ſtones and darts, many of the beaſts fell down, and the reſt growing unruly, turned upon their own men, and trod them under foot. The army ſeeing this, refuſed to ſtorm the place, ſo that *Polyſperchon* leaving a corps of horſe and foot to block up the city, marched away with much diſgrace. In the interim, *Clytus* the admiral had beat *Nicanor*, whom *Caſſander* had ſent from *Athens* with his fleet; but after this, lying careleſsly at *Byzantium*, *Antigonus* privately ſent over light-armed troops in barks, and then having refitted *Nicanor*'s fleet, commanded him to attack *Clytus* again, and be aſſured of victory. This he accordingly did, and, to his great ſurprize, found him already attacked from the ſhore, ſo that he eaſily and intirely defeated them, *Clytus* himſelf being killed, not in the fight indeed, but afterwards by the ſoldiers of *Lyſimachus*. When this news came to *Polyſperchon*, he reſolved to march back into *Macedon*, for he ſaw clearly that *Caſſander* would be too many for him in *Greece* [1].

Nicanor *ſlain by* Caſſander.

Nicanor, after the great victory he had obtained, returned to *Athens* in triumph, and reſumed his government: Soon after the *Athenians* were reconciled to *Caſſander*, who greatly eſteemed *Nicanor* for the ſervice he had done him. But when he was privately informed that he intended to ſet up for himſelf, and ſaw that he made a difficulty of admitting him into the forts, he poſted ſome ſoldiers in an empty houſe in the night, and having invited *Nicanor* thither to confer with him, ſurprized and put him to death. *Caſſander* then treated the *Athenians* with much candor and generoſity: He appointed *Demetrius* the *Phalerian*, a perſon of the higheſt quality, the greateſt abilities, and the utmoſt moderation, their governor; under whom the city and citizens received greater advantages than under any former government before or even in the days of their greateſt freedom. This important place ſecured, *Caſſander* applied himſelf to the ſettling the reſt of *Greece* [2].

Olympias *returns to* Macedon, *and acts with the utmoſt cruelty.*

About this time *Olympias* prepared for her return into *Macedonia*, concerning which, as we have elſewhere obſerved, ſhe wrote to *Eumenes*. He in his anſwer adviſed her in the firſt place not to be too haſty in her reſolution, and in the next to forget all the injuries ſhe had received, and to behave herſelf mildly to every body, in caſe ſhe thought fit to return. Both theſe cautions ſhe neglected; for, without waiting till the war was ended, ſhe with ſome *Epirots*, whom her brother ſent to eſcort her, went to join *Polyſperchon*, when ſhe knew he was returning into *Macedon*; and as ſoon as ſhe came there, ſhe diſcovered ſuch a haughty and over-bearing ſpirit, as ſtruck even thoſe who wiſhed her well with amazement. As for *Eurydice* the wife of *Philip*, ſhe rightly conceived that *Olympias* would never be at peace as long as her husband lived, and enjoyed the regal title. She therefore wrote to *Caſſander*, beſeeching him with all diligence to come to her aſſiſtance, and likewiſe ſent letters to *Polyſperchon*, requiring him in the king's name to deliver up the army to *Caſſander*.

[1] Diodor. Sicul. & Plut. ubi ſupra. [2] Univerſal Hiſtory, Vol. II. p. 554. Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra.

At

a At the ſame time ſhe neglected not taking more effectual methods for the ſecurity of her own and king *Philip*'s perſon. She had obſerved that the *Macedonians* loved him, and that they had a great reſpect for her. She likewiſe depended on the intereſt of *Antipater*'s family, and therefore ſhe had recourſe to all the arts of perſuaſion, in order to raiſe a force ſufficient to defend herſelf and her friends, till *Caſſander* ſhould arrive. This point, as ſhe imagined, ſhe accompliſhed with great eaſe. The *Macedonians* readily armed at her requeſt, and in a very ſmall ſpace ſhe drew together more than ſeemed ſufficient to guard her. When therefore *Olympias* advanced with *Polyſperchon* and his army, ſhe, like a couragious lady, led out hers. Thus a civil war was kindled in *Macedon* by two heroines, each willing to put her own and the kingdom's
b fate on the hazard of a battle. But when the armies drew near each other, the ſoldiers, who ſhould have fought for *Eurydice*, ſtruck with the awful majeſty of *Olympias*, the widow of *Philip*, and the mother of *Alexander*, went over to her immediately, and thereby put an end to the diſpute. *Olympias* had it now in her power to have ſettled all things, if ſhe had remembered the advice of *Eumenes*. Her paſſions, which were not of the mildeſt ſort, had always governed her, and governed her now. King *Philip* and his wife *Eurydice* ſhe impriſoned in a room ſo ſmall, that they could ſcarce turn themſelves in, and cauſed them to be fed with very ordinary proviſions through a hole. *Nicanor* the ſon of *Antipater* ſhe put to death, and with him no leſs than a hundred perſons, his relations and friends; ſhe then cauſed the
c tomb of his brother *Jollas* to be broke open, and his remains to be thrown into the public ſtreet. Perceiving that the people were not over-pleaſed with theſe proceedings, and that they began to commiſerate the condition of king *Philip* and his wife, ſhe reſolved to have them both diſpatched. In order to this, certain *Thracians* armed with poignards entered the place of their confinement, and with numberleſs wounds laid the king dead upon the floor. Then a meſſenger preſented *Eurydice* with a dagger, a rope, and a cup of poiſon, telling her that *Olympias* left it to her choice by which ſhe would die; *I pray the gods*, ſaid ſhe, *that* Olympias *may have the like preſent made her*; ſhe then tore her linnen, bound up the bleeding wounds of her husband, and covered his body; after which, without any womaniſh com-
d plaining, ſhe ſtrangled herſelf with her own garter. Thus when he had reigned about ſeven years, *Aridæus* loſt his life through her, who in his childhood had deprived him of his wits; and *Eurydice* the hereditary heireſs of the *Macedonian* crown was murdered by her who was mother to the murderer of her father. In the days of *Philip* this ſort of policy was not underſtood: He married his own daughter to *Amyntas* his elder brother's ſon, and from this match ſprung *Eurydice*. *Alexander*, to leave all ſafe behind him when he went into *Aſia*, cauſed *Amyntas* to be murdered, and *Perdiccas* began his regency with the murder of *Cynane* the wife of *Amyntas*. However *Roxana* and her young ſon *Alexander* found a protectreſs in *Olympias*, who took upon herſelf the adminiſtration as guardian to her grand-child [b].

Caſſander *returns into* Macedon.

e *Caſſander*, as ſoon as he received the letters of *Eurydice*, and immediately after them the ill news of what had happened in *Macedon*, prepared inſtantly for his return into his own country, leaving the *Greeks* for a time to take care of themſelves. When he came to the ſtreights of *Thermopylæ*, he found the *Theſſalians* all in arms to oppoſe his paſſage. Revenge being more powerful with him than glory, he contrived not how to fight the enemy, but how to eſcape them; wherefore collecting all the ſhips, barks, and boats, which were to be found in the neighbouring cities, he imbarqued his forces on board them, and ſafely tranſported them into *Theſſaly*. Thence marching into *Macedonia*, he determined to leave half his forces under the command of *Callas*, to hold *Polyſperchon* in play, while himſelf purſued and ſhut up *Olympias*. His deſign
f ſucceeded perfectly well, for *Callas* effectually baffled *Polyſperchon*, and *Olympias* with ſtrange imprudence ſhut up herſelf. For ſhe, after all her cruelties, relied entirely on the love of the *Macedonians*, and having once prevailed by the majeſty of her appearance, was more ſolicitous about forming a court than an army, of which however ſhe had ſome appearance, and alſo the elephants with her. Going in progreſs to the principal cities, ſhe carried with her her daughter *Roxana*, her grandſon *Alexander*, her niece *Deidamia*, *Theſſalonica* the ſiſter of *Alexander*, and many other perſons of great quality, with whom on the news of *Caſſander*'s approach, ſhe ſhut herſelf up in the city of *Pydna*, a ſea-port ſtrongly fortified. *Caſſander* quickly ap-

[b] Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Justin. lib. xiv. c. 5.

peared before the place, and inveſted it by land at the ſame time that he ſhut up the port by ſea. The beſieged were very ſoon in want of proviſions, yet, encouraged by the preſence of ſo many great perſonages, they held out obſtinately; *Olympias* aſſuring them, that her brother *Æacidas* was coming out of *Epirus* with a great army to her aſſiſtance, which was true. *Caſſander* had advice thereof as early as ſhe, and he provided very effectually againſt it. He ſent troops to block up the paſſages from *Epirus*, which when the troops of king *Æacidas* found, they began to doubt the ſucceſs of the war, and, which was more, their own ſafety. They therefore reſolved on a courſe, which to them appeared ſhort and ſalutary; they mutinied, depoſed their king, and ſubmitted themſelves to *Caſſander*. *Olympias* had none now to depend on but *Polyſperchon*; out of whoſe power *Callas* had put it to render her much aſſiſtance; for by throwing about maniſeſto's, reflecting on the cruelty of her adminiſtration, he had debauched the greateſt part of *Polyſperchon*'s ſoldiers; ſo that inſtead of being able to ſuccour his miſtreſs, he had much ado to defend himſelf. In the city of *Pydna* the court fed on horſe-fleſh, the ſoldiers on their dead companions, and the elephants on ſaw-duſt. In this miſerable ſituation numbers deſerted to *Caſſander*, who treated all with lenity who were not concerned in the late murders. *Olympias* at laſt wrote to *Polyſperchon*, requeſting him to ſend her a bark of fifty oars to convey her away in the night. The bearer of this letter fell into the hands of *Caſſander*, who commanded him to proceed in his journey, and not to mention his being taken. At the time appointed *Polyſperchon* ſent the galley, and gave notice of it to *Olympias*; but *Caſſander*, knowing alſo when it would arrive, ſeized it. *Olympias* not finding the veſſel as ſhe expected, gave up all hopes, and, without waiting any longer, ſurrendered the place and her perſon to *Caſſander*. This determined the fate of *Macedonia*; for *Pella*, the capital, preſently ſurrendered; and *Ariſtonus*, who with a body of troops lay in *Amphipolis*, at the command of *Olympias*, yielded the city to *Caſſander*, and was immediately afterwards killed by ſome whom he had injured, while he commanded there. Now it was that the laſt ſcene of the old queen's life came on: She was accuſed before the aſſembly of the *Macedonians* by the relations of the perſons ſhe had ſlain, and without being heard in her defence, was condemned to die. *Caſſander* upon this ſent to adviſe her to make her eſcape to *Athens*, offering her a ſhip and equipage ſafely to tranſport her thither; but ſhe refuſed to fly; and ſaid, ſhe was ready to anſwer before the *Macedonians* for all ſhe had done. *Caſſander* did not care to truſt to this, ſo he ſent a band of two hundred ſoldiers to put her to death. Theſe, when they came into her preſence, drew back, and were afraid to execute their orders; but the kindred of thoſe ſhe had murdered being with them, fell upon her, and cut her throat. She died with great reſolution; but it is ſaid that *Caſſander* ſuffered her body to lie ſome time above-ground, probably to revenge the injury ſhe had offered to the aſhes of his brother. It is likewiſe alledged, that he did not adviſe her to fly out of pity, but that he might have an opportunity of putting her to death as a perſon ſelf-condemned, who fled from juſtice. Immediately after her deceaſe, he ſent *Roxana* and her ſon *Alexander* to *Amphipolis*, where they were made priſoners; he likewiſe deprived the boy of his companions who had been bred up with him, and ordered that for the future he ſhould be treated as a private perſon. Thus the line of *Alexander* was ſet aſide in *Macedon*, and his ſon and his ſucceſſor impriſoned in the very city where his army rendezvouſed, when he marched to conquer *Aſia* [c].

Caſſander *aſſumes the government in* Macedon.

Caſſander having now provided for his ſafety, turned all his thoughts to the ſettlement of the kingdom. In the firſt place, he married *Theſſalonica* the daughter of *Philip* of *Macedon*, who had fallen into his hands at the ſurrender of *Pydna*. He next cauſed the bodies of *Philip* and *Euyrdice*, together with that of *Cynane* her mother, to be taken up; and having conveyed them with mighty pomp to *Ægis*, he cauſed them there to be interred in the royal ſepulchres, inſtituting funeral games in honour of the dead. He then built a new city in *Pallene*, which he called by his own name, *Caſſandria*, and peopled it from the *Cherſoneſe*; inviting alſo the remnant of the *Olynthians* to ſettle therein, adding to this place ſo large and fair a territory, that it quickly grew to be the greateſt city in *Macedonia*; he alſo re-edified many cities, and ſhewed evidently a diſpoſition to reſtore peace and plenty to his native country. *Epirus* he governed by *Lyciſcus* his lieutenant, which was the more extraordinary,

[c] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. PLUT. in vit. Demet. JUSTIN. ubi ſupra.

becauſe

a becauſe from the days of *Pyrrhus* to this time the government had been hereditary, and the *Epirots* had never preſumed to treat their kings with contempt. As to *Æacidas* he fled to *Polyſperchon*, and with him, when things were grown deſperate in *Macedon*, retired into *Greece*; and at length to the *Ætolians*, the implacable enemies of all *Antipater*'s family [d].

Caſſander, when he had tolerably ſettled the peace of *Macedon*, reſolved to return into *Greece*, in order to drive thence *Polyſperchon*, his ſon *Alexander*, and the reſt of his enemies. This reſolution once taken, he raiſed a fine army, and therewith marched down into *Theſſaly*, where he found the *Pylæ* ſhut up by the *Ætolians*. However he forced the paſs, and came down with his forces into *Bœotia*, and proceeded to the b ruins of *Thebes*. The ſight of them put him in mind of the power and ſplendor of that ancient city, and theſe thoughts eaſily led him to the project of reſtoring it. With this view he recalled all the *Thebans* who were ſcattered throughout *Greece*: He requeſted alſo the reſt of the *Bœotians* to aſſiſt him in ſo good a work, which not only they, but all the cities of *Greece* readily did, ſo that in a ſhort ſpace the walls were finiſhed, and the principal ſtreets rebuilt. The ſight of this inſpired the *Thebans* with ſuch zeal, that they ſent into all countries to recall their friends and relations. Thus after more than twenty years, *Thebes*, which had been with great cruelty razed by the *Macedonians*, was now rebuilt by them. This deſign executed, *Caſſander* paſſed on to *Peloponneſus*, out of which *Alexander* vainly thought to have ſhut him by a c wall built croſs the iſthmus. But *Caſſander* tranſported his army in flat-bottomed boats, and partly by force, partly by treaty, reduced moſt of the cities, and having left a body of troops under the command of *Molychus* to guard the iſthmus, he returned back into *Macedon*.

Returns into Greece.

THE power of *Antigonus* was about this time become formidable to all the ſucceſſors of *Alexander*, wherefore they, as in their own defence, united, in order to reduce his power; but as all of them in their turns had been under great obligations to him, they ſent their embaſſadors to compliment him on his ſubduing of *Eumenes*, and to expoſtulate with him on their grievances. *Antigonus* heard the reſt with ſome patience; but when the miniſter of *Caſſander* came to make his demands, he d thundered out an anſwer, *As for* Lyſimachus *and* Ptolemy, ſaid he, *they were always perſons eminently diſtinguiſhed; but who is* Caſſander? *it cannot ſurely be that vagabond who was here t'other day imploring my aſſiſtance on account of the love I bore his father?* He then aſſembled his army, and approaching the *Macedonian* phalanx, entered into a detail of *Caſſander*'s late proceedings: *He has*, ſays he, *countrymen, murdered the mother of our late ſovereign, and at this time holds in priſon his wife and ſon; let him therefore be decreed a public enemy, unleſs he reſtores them to liberty, and leave it to me to proſecute this traitor as he deſerves.* The army to be ſure decreed as *Antigonus* directed, and in conſequence of their decree, he immediately ſolicited the *Greek* cities to drive out *Caſſander*'s gariſons; to perform which, they did not want e ſo much the will, as the power. However, ſuch troubles were now ſtirred up in *Peloponneſus* as made *Caſſander*'s preſence abſolutely neceſſary; whereupon leaving *Macedonia* after another bruſh with the *Ætolians*, *Caſſander* came firſt into *Bœotia*, and afterwards to the iſthmus, then entering *Peloponneſus*, he reſettled his affairs as well as he could. *Alexander* the ſon of *Polyſperchon* had for ſome time taken ſhelter in the court of *Antigonus*, where he had fair words, and a tolerable ſubſiſtance given him, and that was all. But now *Antigonus* found out that his caſe was the hardeſt, and at the ſame time the moſt equitable in the world; and therefore, out of mere regard to juſtice, he furniſhed him with five hundred talents, and ſent him with ſome ſhips and men into *Peloponneſus*, where he quickly raiſed forces, and began to make a f figure. *Caſſander* knowing well the capacity of the man, and verily believing he had enemies enow already, ſent *Perpilaus* to tell him, that *Antigonus* had an exellent faculty at ſetting people together by the ears, without caring what became of them afterwards; that five hundred talents was a conſiderable ſum, which he would do well to keep in his pocket; that as for the command of *Peloponneſus*, he need not ſeek it by force, for *Caſſander* was willing to put it into his hands, provided he would renounce his league with *Antigonus*, who never intended him half ſo much good. *Alexander* having conſidered this propoſition, found it too good to be rejected; wherefore he accepted from *Caſſander* the office of captain general of *Peloponneſus*;

Where Antigonus *ſtirs up a war againſt him.*

[d] DIODOR. PLUT. & JUST. ubi ſupra.

quitted

quitted the party of *Antigonus*, and began to ſettle his province; which however he did not live to effect, for while he was endeavouring to ſuppreſs *Ariſtodemus*, whom *Antigonus* had made general in his ſtead, one *Alexion*, a *Sycionian*, treacherouſly murdered him. His wife *Crateſipolis* took upon her the command of his army, and having beaten the *Sycionians* in a field battle, beſieged and took their city, crucified thirty of the moſt turbulent upon their own walls, and then aſſumed the ſovereignty, which ſhe managed with great prudence, clemency, and juſtice, being alike courted and feared by all the contending parties. Thus ſomething like a ſettlement was eſtabliſhed in *Peloponneſus* [e]. a

Caſſander *makes war on the* Ætolians.

Caſſander obſerving that the *Ætolians* were always inclined to take advantage of his affairs, by attacking him at ſuch time as he had other enemies on his hands, he reſolved to make uſe of the leiſure he now had to put it out of the power of theſe people to treat him in this manner for the future. With this view he marched with an army to the confines of *Ætolia*, yet with no great ſucceſs, for the *Ætolians* were ſo well aware of his intention, that they provided effectually for their own ſecurity, ſo as to prevent his making any impreſſion upon them; yet *Caſſander*, who was a perſon of great capacity, reſolved not to loſe all the pains he had taken; when therefore he diſcovered that the *Ætolians* could not be reduced by force, he contrived to leave a bridle in their mouths, which ſhould hinder their performing any great exploits for the future. With this view he entered into a negotiation with their old enemies the *Acarnanians*, whom he took pains to convince, that the diſadvantages they were under aroſe from their living in ſo many ſcattered towns, whereby the *Ætolians* had conſtant opportunities of deſpoiling them, and by which argument he perſuaded them to inlarge the three cities of *Stratopolis*, *Saurion*, and *Agrinium*, and to quit their villages. Then leaving his general *Lyciſcus* in thoſe parts, he marched away to reduce other places [f]. b c

Afterwards on the Illyrians.

Glaucias was at this time king of the *Illyrians*, in whom were united two very different qualities, ambition, and the love of juſtice. When his neighbour *Æacidas* king of *Epirus* was baniſhed by his ſubjects, this prince took upon him to preſerve his infant ſon *Pyrrhus* without any other view than that of performing a generous action. This immediately embroiled him with *Caſſander*, and in conſequence of theſe broils, *Glaucias* drew the cities of *Apollonia* and *Epidamnum* into alliance with him. Againſt theſe cities at this time *Caſſander* moved, and in a ſhort ſpace reduced them, after which he paſſed the river *Hebrus*, and fought the *Illyrian* army under the command of *Glaucias*, which had been raiſed for the relief of the beforementioned cities. After this engagement peace was made between theſe princes upon theſe terms, that *Caſſander* ſhould not invade any part of *Illyria*, and that *Glaucias* ſhould neither attack him or any of his confederates. But while the *Macedonian* was victorious here, his allies the *Acarnanians* ſuffered deeply for taking his advice, for the *Ætolians*, before it was thoroughly fortified, inveſted the city of *Agrinium*, and then proceeded to a formal ſiege. The beſieged finding that they were not able to hold out, capitulated on theſe terms; that they ſhould be at liberty to retire where-ever they thought fit. But in breach of this capitulation, the *Ætolians* moſt perfidiouſly attacked them upon their march, and put almoſt every man of them to the ſword. A cruel and unjuſtifiable act, for which they afterwards paid very dear [g]. d e

Caſſander *invades* Aſia.

ON his return into *Macedonia*, *Caſſander* projected a deſcent in *Aſia*, in order to prevent *Antigonus* from making any attempts in *Greece*. Theſe forces marched into *Caria*, where one *Ptolemy* commanded for *Antigonus*. It ſo happened, that while the troops were in winter quarters, the father of this *Ptolemy* died, at which his ſon ſeemed to be under deep concern; and in order to expreſs it effectually, prepared for his funerals, that they might be celebrated with the utmoſt magnificence. *Caſſander*'s generals being informed of this, immediately detached *Eupolemus*, one of their number, with eight thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe, to lie in ambuſcade, in order to cut off *Ptolemy* when he ſhould return to his quarters; but he receiving early intelligence of this deſign, not only prevented it, but alſo turned it upon the contrivers: For returning when they leaſt expected it, he in the middle of the night ſurprized the forces of *Eupolemus*, defeated them intirely, and made that general himſelf priſoner [h]. f

[e] DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra. [f] Id. ibid. [g] JUSTIN. lib. xv. c. 1. DIODOR. ubi ſupra. [h] Id. ibid.

THE

a THE next year *Caſſander* ſent a puiſſant army under the command of *Philip* to fall upon the *Ætolians*. This general entered *Acarnania*, and having effectually ſuccoured his allies, began to haraſs the frontiers of *Ætolia*, when on a ſudden he received advice, that *Æacidas* had not only entered *Epirus*, but by the conſent of the people had re-aſcended the throne. *Philip* upon this immediately entered *Epirus*, and finding *Æacidas* there at the head of an army, he attacked and defeated him, taking priſoners fifty of the principal perſons who had been concerned in the reſtoration of the king, whom he ſent away to *Caſſander*, and then turned again to proſecute the war againſt the *Ætolians*, who were by this time ready to meet him in the field. For *Æacidas* himſelf with the remains of his broken troops had joined their army, and had b thereby made it more numerous than that of *Philip*. A battle ſhortly enſued, wherein the *Macedonians* were victors, *Æacidas* king of *Epirus* being ſlain. Afterwards *Philip* ſo perſecuted the *Ætolians*, that they were forced to forſake their cities, and fly for refuge to the mountains, whither alſo he purſued them, till he was ſtopped by the ſeverity of the ſeaſon. In *Aſia* things went not ſo well, whereupon *Caſſander* reſolved to put an end to the war on that ſide, and by a treaty with *Antigonus* undertook to reſtore the *Greek* cities their liberty, and for the future to be his faſt friend; for his ſincere performance of which, he gave up his brother *Agathonas* for a hoſtage; however he quickly repented of this treaty, and having taken care to get his brother reſcued from thoſe who ſhould have kept him, he began the war afreſh; which exceed- c ingly provoked *Antigonus*, who ſent an army into *Greece* to reſtore freedom unto the cities. This compelled *Caſſander* to march thither alſo, whereupon *Antigonus* made a quick march into *Propontis*, with a deſign to have invaded *Macedon*. This effectually recalled *Caſſander*, who marched back with all imaginable expedition. This retreat of his out of *Greece*, hurt his affairs there, and at the ſame time did him no good in *Macedon*. For *Antigonus*, finding it impoſſible for him to perſuade the *Byzantines* to concur with him in his deſigns, he was conſtrained to abandon all thoughts of entering the territories of *Caſſander*. He received however little pleaſure from this news; for upon the heels of it he received advice, that the country about *Apollonia* and *Epidamnus* had ſubmitted again to *Glaucias*, and that the *Epirots* were inclined to d revolt; to which were added advices of a like nature from *Athens*, where, though the people had never been ſo well governed as by *Demetrius Phalereus*, yet they hated him for the ſake of his authority, and were inclined to deliver up the city to *Antigonus*. To theſe evils *Caſſander* applied the beſt remedies the ſituation of his affairs would allow [i].

Falls alſo on the Ætolians.

IT was not long before *Epirus* was all in confuſion. *Alcetas*, who had been baniſhed by his father, was recalled by the people, and made king. Againſt him *Lyſiſcus*, *Caſſander*'s general, marched with his army, and engaged his forces ſeveral times with different ſucceſs. At length *Caſſander* himſelf came in to make an end of the war, which finding more difficult than he had imagined, he clapped up a e peace with *Alcetas*, and left him in quiet poſſeſſion of his kingdom, which however he enjoyed not long; for the *Epirots* conceiving him to rule tyrannically, murdered him and his children. All this time *Caſſander* was engaged in a war with *Glaucias*, in which however he had very indifferent ſucceſs; and at laſt, finding that he could not reduce *Apollonia* and *Epidamnus*, he returned into *Macedon*, where he did abundance of popular acts, and took all imaginable pains to conciliate the minds of the people. By this time all the commanders of *Alexander* were grown weary of the wars in which they had engaged with each other, and therefore unanimouſly deſiring peace, it was eaſily concluded. The terms of it were, that they ſhould hold all the provinces, of which at the time of its concluſion each of them was poſſeſſed in pro- f priety; that the *Greek* cities ſhould be left abſolutely free, and that they ſhould be friends and allies of each other. Immediately upon this peace *Caſſander* reſolved with himſelf to diſpatch out of his way *Alexander* the ſon of *Roxana*, and his mother; for though he enjoyed the kingdom of *Macedon* at that time as much as he could expect to do after the young man was dead, yet he was in continual fear leſt the *Macedonians*, who were a reſtleſs, unruly people, ſhould on a ſudden grow diſſatisfied with his government, and ſet at liberty the ſon of his maſter. While theſe doubts and fears diſtracted his mind, the *Macedonians* diſcovered an inclination to do what he ſuſpected; diſcourſing openly of *Caſſander*'s uſurpation, and alledging that it was

Caſſander *orders* Roxana *and her ſon to be ſlain.*

[i] Id. ibid.

now high time for *Alexander* to take upon himſelf the adminiſtration of his father's kingdom. This was enough to hurry on the ambitious *Caſſander* to the fatal expedient he had projected. He therefore ſent for *Glaucias*, whom he had made governor of the caſtle, where he kept *Roxana* and her ſon, and directed him to put them both to death, commanding alſo that they ſhould be interred privately, and their deaths for ſome time concealed. This he did to try the temper of the *Macedonians*; and that uncertain reports might keep them from taking any ſettled reſolution. His policy met with all the ſucceſs he could deſire, and much more than he could reaſonably hope. The *Macedonians* murmured a little, but not knowing who they ſhould have recourſe to for a chief, durſt not rebel [k]. a

Caſſander *gains* Peloponneſus.

Caſſander, that he might find the ſubjects ſome other topics than his government to diſcourſe of, engaged in a war againſt the *Autariates*, in favour of the king of *Pæonia*. Having ſubdued the firſt-mentioned people, he tranſplanted them to the number of twenty thouſand from their native country into the neighbourhood of mount *Orbelus*, where he aſſigned them lands. About this time *Ptolemy*, one of the generals of *Antigonus*, who commanded in *Peloponneſus*, went over with his whole army to *Caſſander*, and received from him the ſame commiſſion which he had from his former maſter. This was a moſt extraordinary piece of treachery, for *Ptolemy* was not only the officer of *Antigonus*, but his nephew, ſo that he violated at once the ties of gratitude and nature. However his treaſon did not remain long unpuniſhed: *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt* coming with a fleet upon the coaſt, ſent for this other *Ptolemy* to come and viſit him. On his arrival the king treated him not only with civility, but with kindneſs and reſpect. This he repaid with endeavouring to corrupt the ſoldiers *Ptolemy* had with him; his head being full of mighty projects for his own intereſt, to accompliſh which, he reſolved to ſtick at nothing. When the king found this out, he firſt cauſed him to be impriſoned, and afterwards ordered him to be diſpatched by a doſe of hemlock; of which, whatever he might pretend, *Caſſander* was glad of; for he could never truſt a man who had betrayed his uncle, and had endeavoured to ſeduce the troops of a prince who had received him like a friend. But without queſtion, he was ſorry that king *Ptolemy* had incorporated the army, which the other *Ptolemy* had commanded, into his own, becauſe this was a loſs which fell heavy upon himſelf, and not eaſily to be repaired. His thoughts however were quickly diverted by the appearance of another ſtorm [l]. b c d

Hercules *declared king, and afterwards ſlain.*

Polyſperchon, who had hitherto lived in *Ætolia*, rather as a baniſhed man, than as one who pretended to the government of *Macedon*, of a ſudden appeared more formidable than ever. He had engaged *Barſina* and her ſon *Hercules* to leave *Aſia*, and come over to *Greece*; where he received them with great honours, proclaimed *Hercules* king, and by the help of the *Ætolians* raiſed money, and an army of twenty thouſand men. *Caſſander* aſſembled an army as ſoon as he received the news, and marched away to meet the enemy. When the armies were near each other on the frontiers of *Ætolia*, *Caſſander* ſent one of his private agents to *Polyſperchon* to put him in mind, that if the king was reſtored, himſelf would be but a ſervant, though to him he owed his reſtoration; whereas, if he put him out of the way, he ſhould be declared generaliſſimo of *Peloponneſus*, and be acknowledged by *Caſſander* for his coadjutor. Theſe promiſes had the ſame effect upon *Polyſperchon*, as they had formerly on his ſon; he therefore accepted them, and at an entertainment, to which he invited, and afterwards forced the king to come, moſt barbarouſly murdered him. This being performed, *Caſſander*, according to his promiſe, delivered him four thouſand *Macedonian* foot, and five hundred horſe; owned him for his coadjutor, and left him to take poſſeſſion of *Peloponneſus*, which however was not ſo eaſily effected as he imagined; for the *Bœotians* joining with the *Peloponneſians*, raiſed a formidable army, ſo that he was after all forced to winter in *Phocis*; from this time forward, knowing nothing but trouble and diſquiet, the juſt reward of his flagitious actions [m]. e f

Caſſander *after much ill fortune recovers* Greece.

Caſſander having now removed out of his way all obſtacles, well hoped that he ſhould enjoy the kingdom he had bought at ſo dear a price, in peace; but in this he was exceedingly miſtaken, for the *Grecians* immediately began to plot againſt him, and knowing that it was *Antigonus*'s intereſt rather to have them free than the ſubjects of *Caſſander*, they applied to him for aſſiſtance. This occaſioned the famous expedition of *Demetrius*, which we have ſo often mentioned, wherein he expelled *Demetrius* the

[k] Diodor. Sicul. lib. xix. Justin. ubi ſupra. Plut. in Demetrio. [l] Diodor. ubi ſupra.
[m] Diodor. ubi ſupra. Justin. lib. xv. Plut. de Verecund.

Phalerian;

a *Phalerian*; in ſhew reſtored the *Grecians* to liberty, but in truth reduced them under the ſubjection of his father. Extravagant were the honours paid by the *Athenians* to the victor, and as extravagant the rage they expreſſed againſt *Caſſander* and his party; that great captain and politician withdrew from a country where he was ſo generally hated, and choſe rather to truſt time, than fortune and his enemies; and when he found diſaſters ſtill crowding upon him, he contented himſelf with leaving gariſons in the cities he ſtill poſſeſſed, and withdrew the groſs of his army into *Macedon*. After the check which *Demetrius* received before *Rhodes*, the *Athenians* deſerted him, and affected to reſume their ancient grandeur, pretending for the future to preſcribe laws, inſtead of receiving them. Not long after *Demetrius* came again into
b *Greece*, and having taken *Sicyon* from *Ptolemy*, and the ſtrong caſtle of *Corinth* from *Caſſander*, the reſt of the cities ſurrendered without reſiſtance, and their gariſons were immediately incorporated into the army of *Antigonus*. In this diſtreſs *Caſſander* conceiving himſelf to be in the utmoſt danger of ruin, reſolved, if it were poſſible, to make peace with *Antigonus*, and to that end diſpatched embaſſadors to *Demetrius*, as alſo to his father, but in vain. Theſe princes were ſo elate on account of the victories they had lately obtained, that they would not liſten to any terms of accommodation, but proudly inſiſted on *Caſſander*'s ſubmitting himſelf and his dominions intirely to their pleaſure. He, when he found peace was not to be had, determined to make his laſt effort in war. To this end he ſent miniſters to *Ptolemy*, and to *Lyſimachus*,
c inſtructing them to ſhew thoſe princes, that if once *Macedonia* fell into the hands of *Antigonus*, they might be ſure *Thrace* and *Egypt* would quickly follow. For he would be then able to act againſt them on all ſides; and to the force of all *Aſia* would add the weight of all *Greece*. This had its deſired effect, they came immediately into the war, and reſolved to act offenſively againſt *Antigonus* [n].

WHEN the operations of this war came to be conſidered, *Caſſander*, who knew his ſtake would be the firſt drawn, laid down ſuch a ſcheme as all the reſt came readily into. He ſent a conſiderable part of his forces to join *Lyſimachus*, under whoſe command they were to paſs into *Aſia*, whither *Caſſander* had tranſported another corps under the command of *Perpelaus*. With the reſt of his army *Caſſander* marched in
d perſon towards *Theſſaly*, in order, if poſſible, to reſettle his affairs in *Greece*. *Demetrius* immediately marched to meet him, and the armies encamped in ſight of each other; that of *Demetrius* conſiſted of fifteen hundred horſe, eight thouſand *Macedonian* foot, five and twenty thouſand auxiliary foot, fifteen thouſand mercenaries, and about eight thouſand retainers to the camp who were however diſpoſed into battalions; in all fifty-ſix thouſand men. *Caſſander* had but two thouſand horſe, and twenty-nine thouſand foot: With theſe he kept the field, protected moſt of his gariſons, and held the war in ſuſpenſe, till ſuch time as *Antigonus* ſent orders to his ſon to come ſpeedily over into *Aſia*; whereupon a proviſional treaty was made by *Demetrius* with *Caſſander*, which was to ſubſiſt, or to be made void, according as it was approved or diſapproved
e by *Antigonus*. However, it anſwered the ends of both; for *Demetrius* had thereby an opportunity given him of withdrawing all his forces out of *Greece*, and after he was gone, *Caſſander*, notwithſtanding the treaty, by force, by perſuaſion, and by bribes, got poſſeſſion of many of the cities. Yet he did not ſo cloſely attend his own buſineſs, but that he kept his eye alſo on the concerns of his confederates. To their aſſiſtance *Caſſander* ſent his brother *Pliſtarchus* with twelve thouſand men, in order to balance in ſome meaſure the forces carried over by *Demetrius* to his father. His policy was good, as in moſt caſes it was; but *Pliſtarchus* had very ill ſucceſs, for his army being waſted by famine, ſickneſs, hardſhips, ſhipwrecks, and deſertions, he at laſt, with a handful of men, joined *Lyſimachus*, who with the mighty
f forces brought by *Seleucus*, was grown ſtrong enough to offer *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* battle; which ſhortly after enſued, and was the famous battle of *Ipſus*, where *Antigonus* loſt his life and empire.

The war ended. *Year after the flood* 2698. *Before Chriſt* 301.

ON the death of *Antigonus* the princes confederated againſt him, divided his dominion amongſt them, whereby *Caſſander* recovered all that he had lately loſt; however, he was not intirely freed from all apprehenſions; for on the one hand, *Demetrius* the ſon of *Antigonus* had ſtill ſome territories in *Greece*, and was a prince who never conceived his title at all affected by the impreſſions made by force on his poſſeſſions. The hopes of *Demetrius* therefore filled *Caſſander* with fears: On the other

The death of Caſſander. *Year after the flood* 2781. *Before Chriſt* 218.

[n] DIODOR. SICUL. lib. XX. PLUT. in Demetrio.

hand,

hand, *Caſſander* had a nearer enemy, of whoſe power he was very juſtly jealous; this was *Pyrrhus* king of *Epirus*, whom he had hated, and perſecuted from his very cradle. This prince, then a little helpleſs infant, was at the time the *Epirots* revolted from his father, who would have led them into *Macedonia* to the relief of *Olympias*, conveyed with much difficulty into the dominions of *Glaucias* king of *Illyria*; that king was not a little confounded at this accident; pity moved him for the child, but he was afraid of incurring the hate of *Caſſander*. Thoſe who had the care of little *Pyrrhus*, perceiving the confuſion the king was in, laid the boy at his feet. The child getting hold of the king's robes, raiſed himſelf up upon his feet, and with his hands graſped the king's knees. Upon which, *Glaucias* taking him in his arms, profeſſed that he would defend him at the hazard of his life, and his dominions; and then delivered him to his queen to be educated with his own children. This was the ſource of *Caſſander*'s quarrel with *Glaucias*, againſt whom, as often as his affairs permitted, he employed force; and when he was conſtrained to turn his arms another way, he practiſed on him by negotiation, offering him two hundred talents beſides other great advantages, if he would deliver the young *Pyrrhus* into his hands. But *Glaucias* could neither be beaten nor flattered into ſo baſe a deſign; but when he was twelve years old, reſtored *Pyrrhus* by an army to the poſſeſſion of the throne of his anceſtors. From thence, about five years afterwards, he was driven by his rebellious ſubjects. He then fled to *Demetrius*, who had married his ſiſter *Deidamia*, and was in point of intereſt the irreconcilable enemy of *Caſſander*. After the battle of *Ipſus*, he came over into *Greece*, and performed many great exploits in favour of his brother-in-law; when his ſubjects growing weary of a ſudden of *Neoptolemus*, a king of their own ſetting up, recalled and reſtored him; when, to prevent further diſputes, he aſſociated *Neoptolemus* with him in the kingdom; but afterwards ſlew him for having framed a conſpiracy to poiſon him [o]. This *Pyrrhus*, though ill at eaſe in his own kingdom, *Caſſander* was mightily afraid of; however, he ſtrengthened the frontiers of his own dominions, re-edified ſuch cities as were run to decay, and built new ones, where the ſituation of places invited. Thus near *Therma* he raiſed the noble city of *Theſſalonica*, which he ſo called in honour of his wife, and which after became the moſt conſiderable place in *Macedon*. He likewiſe endeavoured by all other means to fix the love of his ſubjects to his family, being with very juſt reaſon afraid of the inconſtancy of the *Macedonians*. But while he was thus employed, he was ſeized with a dropſy, which brought him by ſlow degrees to his end; and ſome ſay, that at laſt his body, as it corrupted, breeding lice, he became alike offenſive to himſelf, and to all who were obliged to approach him. His death happened after he had held the government of *Macedon* nineteen years; and had ruled it three years with the title of king, which he received readily from others, but took not himſelf; he was a man of conſummate prudence in peace and in war, but of deteſtable ambition. He is ſaid to have hated *Alexander* perſonally; to have remembered him with fear and ſpight, and to have ſuffered his malice againſt him to inſtigate the utter extirpation of his family (C). By *Theſſalonica* the daughter of *Philip* of *Macedon* he had three ſons, *Philip*, *Antipater*, and *Alexander*; the eldeſt of theſe, viz. *Philip*, ſucceeded him, but died ſhortly after of

[o] PLUT. in Demet. & in Pyrrho.

(C) We learn from *Plutarch* the following circumſtances as to the hatred which *Caſſander* bore *Alexander*, and the cauſes thereof. It happened when *Caſſander* was juſt arrived from *Greece*, and was full of that freedom in which he had been educated, the firſt time he ſaw the *Barbarians* adore the king, he was ſurpriſed at the novelty of the thing, and could not forbear laughing out aloud at it; which ſo incenſed *Alexander*, that he took him by the hair with both hands, and violently knocked his head againſt the wall. Another time *Caſſander* would have ſaid ſomething in defence of *Antipater* to thoſe who accuſed him; but *Alexander* interrupting him, *What is it you ſay? Do you think people, if they have received no injury, would come ſuch a journey only to calumniate your father?* To which when *Caſſander* replied, *That this very thing was a great evidence of their calumny, for the farther they are come, the farther they are got from thoſe proofs that could confute them, and clear the innocent.* *Alexander* ſmiled at this, and ſaid, *Thoſe are ſome of* Ariſtotle's *ſophiſm which will ſerve equally on both ſides; but*, added he, *both you and your father ſhall be ſeverely puniſhed, if it appears that the complainants have received the leaſt injuſtice at your hands.* This menace made ſuch a deep impreſſion of fear on *Caſſander*'s mind, that long after, when he was king of *Macedonia*, and maſter of all *Greece*, as he was walking one day at *Delphi*, and looking on the ſtatues, at the ſight of that of *Alexander*, he was ſuddenly ſtruck with horror, and ſhook all over, his eyes rolled, his head grew dizzy, and he had much ado to recover himſelf (6).

(6) *Plutarch. in vit. Alexand.*

a a conſumption, whereby a way was opened to a long and fatal controverſy about the kingdom [p].

Antipater on the demiſe of his brother *Philip*, cauſed himſelf to be declared king; but herein he found himſelf oppoſed by his brother *Alexander*, who was ſupported in his pretenſions by ſome of the *Macedonian* lords, and ſecretly, as *Antipater* conceived, by the queen his mother. The firſt ſtep therefore that he took to ſecure himſelf againſt *Alexander*, was to take away the life of *Theſſalonica*, which, if he did not with his own hands, he permitted to be done in his preſence, though ſhe beſought him by the breaſts that had given him ſuck to ſpare her. A fact beyond all example cruel. After this, by the aſſiſtance of *Lyſimachus* his father-in-law, he for ſome time main- b tained himſelf in the poſſeſſion of the kingdom. But *Alexander* perſiſting in the competition, and vehemently deſiring to revenge his mother's death, invited *Pyrrhus* king of *Epirus*, and alſo *Demetrius* the ſon of *Antigonus*, to his aſſiſtance. *Pyrrhus* came firſt with a potent army, and did him ſuch ſervice, that for it he demanded and received all the maritime coaſt of *Macedonia*, together with *Ambracia*, *Acarnania*, and *Amphilochia*. He then applied himſelf to conquer the reſt of the kingdom, that *Alexander* might have no occaſion to repent of his bargain; upon which *Antipater*, and his wife *Eurydice*, ſtrongly ſolicited *Lyſimachus* to aſſiſt them. His affairs were at that time in ſuch diſorder, that he could not in prudence ſpare any part of his forces; however, knowing that *Ptolemy* had a mighty influence over *Pyrrhus*, c and that his requeſts had the force of laws, he forged a letter from him to *Pyrrhus*, deſiring him on the payment of three hundred talents to leave *Antipater* half the kingdom. This deceit *Pyrrhus* eaſily detected; for whereas *Ptolemy* was wont to addreſs his letters thus: *The father to the ſon greeting*, this letter ran, king *Ptolemy* to king *Pyrrhus* health; however, it did the buſineſs as well as if it had been a true letter, for he perceiving that money might be had, ſtruck up an agreement between the two brothers, to which however he would not ſwear, becauſe one of the three victims died as it was led to the altar at the time of the performance of this ſolemnity; whence the ſoothſayer predicted, that one of the kings would ſhortly die. Immediately after this agreement, whereby two kings ſeemed to be eſtabliſhed in *Macedon*, d *Demetrius* arrived on its frontiers, in order to have aſſiſted *Alexander*. The young prince knowing how largely he had paid *Pyrrhus*, was afraid of having more protectors upon his hands; wherefore he poſted away to meet *Demetrius*, in order to inform him of what had happened, and to decline his aid, which he no longer wanted. In the former chapter we have ſhewn the iſſue of this buſineſs how, *Alexander* was ſlain, and how *Demetrius* gained the kingdom. Here however it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that it is in a manner impoſſible to know the truth as to *Alexander*'s death; that is, whether *Demetrius* ſlew him on account of his having conſpired againſt himſelf, or whether he invented that ſtory to colour the murder of the young king. The authority of *Plutarch* is on all ſides of the queſtion in the life of *Demetrius*; he affirms, that *Alexander* intended to have ſlain him, and that he prevented it by a day; e in another place he in general terms relates this accident as an act of treachery in *Demetrius* [q]; yet elſewhere he particularly aſcribes the death of *Alexander* to his modeſty, in not refuſing to viſit *Demetrius* when he invited him, for fear he ſhould ſeem to diſtruſt him [r]. However it was, *Alexander* was ſlain, and *Demetrius* with his forces and his own compelled *Antipater* to leave him ſole maſter of the kingdom, who thereupon fled to the court of his father-in-law *Lyſimachus*, hoping by his aſſiſtance to be reſtored. But there were two reaſons why *Lyſimachus*, if he had been better inclined to him than he was, could not have yielded him any great help. The firſt, that he was engaged in foreign wars: The ſecond, that there were great diſſenſions f in his family. To this we may add that he was afraid of uniting *Demetrius* and *Pyrrhus*; whereas he well hoped, that if they were left to themſelves, they would quickly fall out, which he intimated to his ſon-in-law, and exhorted him to be patient. *Antipater* and *Eurydice* however could not comprehend the force of this reaſoning, and therefore they clamoured loudly againſt what they called his neglect of his children. *Lyſimachus*, who was a fierce and arbitrary prince, thought fit thereupon to impriſon them both, and a-while after directed *Antipater* to be put to death in perſon. Thus the whole race of *Caſſander* was exterminated almoſt as ſoon as he was dead [s].

Antipater *and* Alexander *kings of* Macedon.

[p] Justin. lib. xvi. Plut. in Demet. [q] Plutarch. in vit. Pyrrh. [r] De Verecund. [s] Justin. lib. xvi. c. 1. Plut. in Demet. & Pyrrh.

Demetrius *becomes king of* Macedonia. *Year after the flood,* 2705. *Before Chriſt* 294.

Demetrius, from being in very low and deſperate circumſtances, was now become more potent than *Caſſander* had been; for with the kingdom of *Macedon* he held *Theſſaly*, the beſt part of *Peloponneſus*, and the two great cities of *Megara* and *Athens*. He thereupon reſolved to make himſelf maſter of all *Greece*; in order to which he turned his arms firſt againſt the *Bœotians*, who on his coming were inclined to ſubmit to him; but *Cleonymus* the *Spartan* engaged them to ſtand out, which occaſioned the ſiege of *Thebes*, of which *Piſis* a *Theſpian* was governor. When *Cleonymus* ſaw the prodigious engines which *Demetrius* made uſe of, he was ſo frightened, that he would have had the *Thebans* immediately to ſurrender, which *Piſis* refuſed, and made a very gallant defence, till *Cleonymus* withdrew himſelf, which ſo intimidated the people, that he was forced to give up the city. *Demetrius* dealt very gently with the *Thebans*, appointed *Hieronymus*, the good old friend of *Eumenes*, governor of *Bœotia*; and ſending for his priſoner *Piſis*, he highly commended his valour, and then ſent him to govern his countrymen the *Theſpians*. The king then returned into *Macedon*, where he was guilty of a very mean act; for hearing that *Lyſimachus* was taken priſoner by the king of the *Getæ*, he immediately advanced with a great army to the frontiers of *Thrace*, hoping to ſubdue his dominions in his abſence. But before he was able to make any impreſſion, *Lyſimachus* was reſtored to liberty, and *Demetrius* recalled by the defection of the *Bœotians* whom he had ſo lately ſubdued. *Antigonus* his ſon had on the firſt advice of the revolt led the forces left with him againſt them, and having routed them in battle, ſhut up the remains of their army in *Thebes*, to which he laid ſiege. Thither *Demetrius* came with the groſs of his army out of *Macedon*; but he had not been there long before he received news of an irruption made by *Pyrrhus* into *Theſſaly*, upon which he marched to oppoſe him, and left his ſon *Antigonus* to carry on the ſiege. Before *Demetrius* arrived in that country, *Pyrrhus* was withdrawn; he therefore contented himſelf with the leaving ten thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe to the guard of *Theſſaly*, and then returned with the reſt of his army for *Thebes*. *Antigonus*, who had continued the ſiege all this while, perceiving that through the obſtinate defence which was made by the beſieged, numbers of his men were ſlain; could not help one day ſpeaking to his father in this manner; *I beſeech you, Sir, to conſider what reaſon there is you ſhould expoſe ſo many of your valiant ſoldiers to continual danger, when—Ay, ſweet Sir*, interrupted *Demetrius*, *what reaſon have you to afflict yourſelf? Don't you know that the more there are killed here, the fewer you will have to provide for?* This he ſaid in his paſſion; but when he was in a cooler temper, he alledged the ingratitude of the *Thebans* as the true cauſe of his perſiſting in the ſiege, in which he expoſed his perſon as much as the meaneſt ſoldier, till in one of the attacks he received a ſtroke of a javelin quite through his neck, whereby his life was extremely indangered. However he refuſed to ſtir, till at length the *Thebans*, quite tired out, were conſtrained to ſurrender at diſcretion. Then it was that they expected a deſolation as general as that which happened thirty years before, when *Alexander* deſtroyed their city. But it proved quite otherwiſe; *Demetrius* ordered thirteen perſons who were principally concerned in the revolt to be put to death, and received all the reſt of the citizens into his favour. He afterwards celebrated the feſtival of the *Pythian Apollo* at *Athens*, becauſe the *Ætolians* had ſhut up the paſſages to *Delphi*, ſo that he could not go thither [t].

The ill conduct of Demetrius *loſes him the affections of his people.*

When *Demetrius* returned into *Macedonia*, he diſcovered ſuch a reſtleſs, uneaſy temper in his ſubjects, that he was conſtrained to think of employing them in ſome war, to prevent their making an ill uſe of peace. With this view he marched againſt the *Ætolians*, but before he could come to an engagement he had advice, that *Pyrrhus* was about to invade *Macedon*. To oppoſe him he marched in perſon, and left *Pantauchus* to command the forces he thought ſufficient to bridle the *Ætolians*. *Demetrius* and *Pyrrhus* both miſſed their intentions: The former paſſing by the latter without knowing of it, entered *Epirus* without oppoſition, waſting and plundering the country where-ever he came, till he had ſatiated the avarice of his ſoldiers, and, as he conceived, had fully revenged himſelf for what *Pyrrhus* had done in *Theſſaly*. In the mean time *Pyrrhus* engaged *Pantauchus* the general of *Demetrius*, whom on a challenge given he encountered hand to hand, and after an obſtinate combat, wounded and diſmounted him. The battle alſo ended in his favour, wherein after cutting to pieces a multitude of *Macedonians*, he took five thouſand priſoners. This loſs was in itſelf

[t] Plut. in vit. Demet. Pausan. in Beoticis.

a great

a a great mortification to *Demetrius*, but in its conſequences was far more detrimental than he either foreſaw, or than the thing itſelf ſeemed to indicate. Upon the return of *Demetrius Pyrrhus* retired haſtily into his own dominions: but from the time that the *Macedonians* had beheld this prince fighting hand to hand with their general, they continually talked of him as a prodigy of valour, and amongſt other praiſes this was perpetually in their mouths; that the other kings reſembled *Alexander* in his robes, his quick tone of voice, and the turn of his neck; but that in *Pyrrhus* they ſaw his vivacity in fight, and his courteous behaviour towards his ſoldiers. At firſt perhaps *Demetrius* did not mind this, or, it may be, was never made acquainted with it. Certain it is, that his conduct tended ſtrongly to alienate the minds of his ſubjects:
b in his garb he was vain to exceſs; his robes ſeemed fitter for a ſtage than a court; his head was inriched with the novelty of a double diadem; and his very ſhoes ſhone not only with gold, but with precious ſtones. In ſhort the garment of his, which was left unfiniſhed, and wherein he intended to have had the whole univerſe diſplayed, remained for ages after a monument of his pride, and of the modeſty of his ſucceſſors, who neither wore it, or ſo much as ſuffered it to be finiſhed. His conduct was abſurd and extravagant; he ſpent his time in revelling with women and paraſites, waſted away immenſe ſums of money, and ſet the nobility of *Macedon* a moſt ſcandalous example. His behaviour alſo was remarkably altered; for inſtead of that kind and obliging deportment by which he had formerly attached the minds of all men to his
c perſon, he grew humourſome at leaſt, if not moroſe, affecting to treat every body with diſdain, and to put on ſuch airs of inſolence as were inſupportable. He ſuffered the *Athenian* embaſſadors to wait two years before he gave them audience, and one day when he had graciouſly condeſcended to receive all the petitions that were offered him, at his return to his palace he opened his robe, and ſuffered them all to fall into the river *Axius*. This effectually loſt him the hearts of the *Macedonians*, who from that day forward wiſhed for another maſter. Some ſmall time after he fell ſick of a fever at *Pella*, induced by hard drinking, and while he ſtruggled with the violence of the diſtemper, *Pyrrhus* entered his dominions with an army, and penetrated as far as *Edeſſa*. He might have poſſeſſed himſelf of the whole kingdom, if
d he had known how much the *Macedonians* were diſpleaſed with their king, and how far they were prejudiced in favour of himſelf; but plunder was all he ſought; and when his ſoldiers had loaded themſelves, he had thoughts of retiring. *Demetrius*, ſick as he was, quitted his bed, and mounted on horſeback: ſome of his friends drew together immediately ſome troops; and at the head of theſe he marched againſt *Pyrrhus*, who avoided a battle by a quick retreat. As ſoon as the king returned into *Macedon*, he determined to put an end to the difference between himſelf and his brother-in-law. To this end he ſent embaſſadors who were kindly received, and the treaty they were ſent to negotiate quickly concluded. This point once got over, *Demetrius* raiſed a powerful army, and led it againſt *Lyſimachus*; but before he
e reached his confines, *Pyrrhus* at the perſuaſion of *Ptolemy*, invaded *Macedon*, and marched ſtrait to *Beræa*. This brought *Demetrius* and his army back to oppoſe him, but when they were encamped over-againſt each other, *Pyrrhus* was adviſed by deſerters that his ſoldiers were inclined to deſert *Demetrius*, and to revolt to himſelf. To try their temper therefore, he rode out of the city near the camp with his head bare, but finding none came over to him, he expreſſed his ſurprize to the deſerters, who adviſed him to put on his helmet; which when he had done, and the *Macedonians* perceived by the plume that it was *Pyrrhus*, they came out to him in throngs and ſaluted him king. *Demetrius* finding himſelf deſerted, retired privately to *Caſſandria*, having loſt a kingdom as unaccountably as he found it [a].

Demetrius *loſes* Macedon.

f *Pyrrhus* doubted not his holding the crown he had acquired without diſpute at leaſt, with any but *Demetrius*, but he had ſcarce time to flatter himſelf with theſe expectations before another competitor appeared; for *Lyſimachus*, having raiſed an army to oppoſe *Demetrius*, as ſoon as he had heard what had befallen him, marched ſtrait into *Macedon*, and advanced towards *Pyrrhus*, from whom he demanded half the kingdom for his ſhare, alledging that *Demetrius* had been compelled to fly by his approach. *Pyrrhus*, who was very ſenſible that this claim had not the leaſt foundation, yielded however to his requeſt, deſiring rather to have him his friend and colliegue upon any terms, than to have to deal with him as an enemy, knowing the fickleneſs of the

[a] Plut. in Demetrio.

Mace-

Macedonians, and remembring that *Lyſimachus* was their countryman. Each then took a part of the kingdom of *Macedon*, not to content himſelf but his partner, for each privately deſigned to make himſelf maſter of the whole [w]. a

Pyrrhus *becomes king of* Macedon. *Year after the flood* 2712. *Before Chriſt* 287.

Pyrrhus, now king of *Macedon*, thought the ſmall remains of empire which his brother *Demetrius* retained in *Greece*, were juſt appendices to his kingdom, and therefore could not enjoy in peace what with ſo much pains he had acquired, till he had conſidered of ſome method for outing that unfortunate prince and his ſon of what their ill fortune had left them. In order to this he commenced a war, in which he gained the quiet poſſeſſion of *Athens*, whither he went to ſacrifice, and being received with all the teſtimonies of kindneſs and reſpect by the citizens, he gave them thanks with great civility; but at the ſame time told them, that he believed it would be for their b ſafety, if for the future they made it a rule with them not to admit ſovereign princes into their city upon any terms. This he ſaid to furniſh them with a pretence for excluding *Demetrius*; a mean and ſcandalous contrivance to deprive him of a retreat, when he had deprived him of a kingdom. But he was quickly puniſhed for his own ambition by the ambition of his neighbour; for when *Lyſimachus* was at leiſure from other wars, he immediately came pouring into *Macedon* with a very numerous army. In the firſt place he carried off ſome convoys, whereby he diſtreſſed the army of *Pyrrhus*: In the next he cauſed manifeſto's to be ſcattered through the kingdom, complaining of the injury they did to the *Macedonian* name, by accepting a foreigner for their king to the excluſion of him who was a native, and who had c been a principal commander in their armies, when under the auſpice of *Alexander* they acquired the command of the world. Theſe arguments were plauſible enough to furniſh with a pretence for rebellion a people who were prone to it. In ſhort *Pyrrhus* ſaw himſelf reduced to the ſame neceſſity to which he had reduced *Demetrius*, and was conſtrained to leave *Lyſimachus* by flight a kingdom which himſelf had ſtolen. One would have conceived that having this leiſure, he would have fallen upon *Antigonus* the ſon of *Demetrius*, who reſided at *Corinth*, and had many cities under his juriſdiction in *Peloponneſus*, and the reſt of *Greece*. But either *Pyrrhus* was afraid of acquiring the ſovereignty of ſo fickle a people, or elſe he willingly left *Antigonus* behind him in hopes that he might create *Lyſimachus* ſome trouble. However it was, he choſe d to ſail into *Italy* to acquire new kingdoms, and laid aſide all thoughts of *Grecian* conqueſts, till a more convenient ſeaſon, which we ſhall hereafter ſee dawn upon him when he leaſt expected it [x].

Lyſimachus *acquires the kingdom.* *Year after the flood* 2714. *Year before Chriſt* 285.

Lyſimachus, who had now *Macedonia* to himſelf, as well as the provinces he had held ſince the diviſion of *Alexander*'s empire, might, if he had ſo pleaſed, ſate down ſatisfied and contented, having alſo fifteen children living to be the comforts of his old age. But ſo it was, that, like the fair city *Lyſimachia*, which he had built, and called by his own name, and which was ſwallowed up by an earthquake; he ſuddenly ſaw himſelf and his fortunes, his foreign and domeſtic hopes, not only turned upſide down, but deſtroyed for ever. His eldeſt ſon *Agathocles*, a prince of great hopes, e becauſe of great prudence, and greater humanity, he had married to *Lyſandra* the daughter of *Ptolemy* by *Eurydice* the daughter of *Antipater*, and ſome time after himſelf married *Arſinoe* the daughter alſo of *Ptolemy* by *Berenice*, a widow lady, who had accompanied his wife *Eurydice* into *Egypt* as her friend. Theſe ladies, *Eurydice*, *Berenice*, *Lyſandra*, and *Arſinoe*, introduced ſcenes of blood and confuſion into both courts. In that of *Ptolemy* firſt, *Berenice* procured a preference to be given to her children, to the prejudice of thoſe of her miſtreſs; whereupon *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, the king's eldeſt ſon, fled to the court of *Lyſimachus*, where he was kindly received by his brother-in-law *Agathocles*, and his ſiſter *Lyſandra*. But in this court he found *Arſinoe* the daughter of his implacable mother-in-law, as powerful, and more cruel f than ſhe. This lady infuſed it into her husband's head, that his ſon, his eldeſt ſon *Agathocles*, who had conquered for him half his empire, and in whom the army and people had their hopes bound up, was ſecretly his enemy; upon which the hapleſs young prince was firſt impriſoned, and then poiſoned. A fact which ſtruck not only the family, but all the ſubjects of *Lyſimachus* with horror, and the fright of which induced *Lyſander* to fly with her children, and her brother *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, to *Seleucus*, where they found not only a civil, but a kind reception. Many of the officers in *Lyſimachus*'s army, and ſome of the principal lords of his court followed them, and all

[w] Plut. in Pyrrho. Justin. lib. xvi. c. 3. [x] Justin. ubi ſupra. Plut. ubi ſupra.

concurred

a concurred in beſeeching him to make war upon this unnatural parent, who, vexed with the reflections made on what he had already done, became every day more and more cruel. *Seleucus*, though he was ſeventy-ſeven years old, had ſtill all the vigour and activity of a young man: He therefore lent a willing ear to theſe inſinuations, the rather, becauſe he had no rival left, but *Lyſimachus* and him once ſubdued, he ſaw no cauſe to doubt that his own empire might be extended as far as that of *Alexander* his maſter. Inſtantly therefore he fell upon the dominions of *Lyſimachus* in *Aſia*, and ſtript him of them almoſt as ſoon as he attacked them; but before he could tranſport an army into *Europe*, *Lyſimachus* paſſing the *Helleſpont*, met him at *Corupedion* in *Phrygia* with a gallant army, where, in the ſeventy-fourth year of his age, *Lyſi-*
b *machus* having firſt loſt all his children except two, fell in the field, and left the victory with his kingdoms to *Seleucus*, juſtly ſirnamed *Nicator*, or the *conqueror* [y].

Seleucus *aſſumes the title of king.*

Led by a warm deſire of taking poſſeſſion of *Macedonia*, as ſoon as the ſeaſon permitted, *Seleucus* paſſed the *Helleſpont*, and with his army advanced as far as *Lyſimachia* in *Thrace*. In the neighbourhood of this city, he obſerved as he marched an old altar, concerning which he asked certain queſtions, whence he learned that it was called *Argos*, at which he was exceedingly ſurprized; for he had been warned by an oracle to have a care of *Argos*, which hitherto he thought had referred to *Argos* in *Peloponneſus*. But while by farther queſtions he ſought to ſift into this matter, *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, whom he had ſo generouſly relieved, for whoſe ſake he had com-
c menced this war; and who, after ſettling his own affairs in *Macedonia*, he intended by force to have reſtored to his father's kingdom, came behind him, and baſely thruſt him through, ſo that in ſeven months ſpace, and by a violent death alſo, he followed *Lyſimachus*, having ſo long worn the title of king of *Macedon* [z].

Ptolemy *becomes king of* Macedon. *Year after the flood* 2681. *Before Chriſt* 318.

Ptolemy Ceraunus having performed this execrable deed, eſcaped away to *Lyſimachia*, where having got about him a band of his companions, he put on a diadem, and boldly declared himſelf king of *Macedon*. We do not find it very clearly laid down, by what title he deſired to hold his crown; however he made uſe of many pretences to gain him friends. To thoſe whom he diſcerned to be lovers of the houſe of *Antipater*, he obſerved, that he was his grandſon. To ſuch as were to the laſt loyal
d to *Lyſimachus*, *I am*, ſaid he, *his avenger*. To all he made vaſt promiſes, and, which muſt appear moſt ſingular, he was believed by all; ſo that the army and people accepted him as lawful king; the city of *Caſſandria* only ſtanding out. Three enemies he had to deal with, who all threatened him at the ſame time *Antiochus* the ſon of *Seleucus*, on account of the murder of his father; *Antigonus* the ſon of *Demetrius*, who claimed the kingdom of *Macedon* as his hereditary right; and *Pyrrhus* king of *Epirus*, who, though fully bent on his *Italian* expedition, would needs have before he went ſome ſatisfaction for the kingdom of *Macedonia*. *Antigonus* being neareſt at hand, came with a fleet and army to diſpute with *Ptolemy* the poſſeſſion of his new-acquired dominions; the latter, ſuperior to him both in naval and in land-forces, engaged, and routed
e him. Thus delivered from one rival, he had art enough to rid himſelf without fighting from the other two. *Antiochus* he pacified by fair words. To *Pyrrhus* he lent five thouſand foot, four thouſand horſe, and fifty elephants for two years, whereupon *Pyrrhus* married his daughter, and appointed him protector of his dominions in his abſence. All this ſo well brought about, the new king of *Macedon* wrote to his brother *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, telling him, that he acquieſced in his father's diſpoſition of his paternal kingdom, being ſatisfied with that which he had honourably obtained by the death of his father's enemy. Next he applied himſelf to his ſiſter *Arſinoe* the widow of *Lyſimachus*, who had obliged him to fly from the court of her husband. She was poſſeſſed of the ſtrong caſtle and rich city of *Caſſandria*, where
f ſhe reſided with her two ſons. *Ptolemy*'s ſuit to her was, that, forgetting all former quarrels, ſhe would remember her near relation to him, and conſent to ſhare the kingdom with him, promiſing to marry her, and to adopt her children. She, credulous as ſhe was, readily embraced the offer, and in conſequence thereof put *Ptolemy* in poſſeſſion of the city of *Caſſandria*; where on the very day of the nuptials, *Ptolemy* cauſed her two ſons to be ſlain, and turned herſelf out attended only with two maid-ſervants to lead a ſolitary life in *Samo-Thrace*, from whence ſhe afterwards paſſed into *Egypt*, where ſhe married her other brother *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, who for her ſake divorced and baniſhed *Arſinoe* daughter of *Lyſimachus*.

[y] Appian. in Syriacis. Memnon. ap. Phot. Cod. ccxxiv. c. 9. Justin. lib. xvii. c. 1—2. [z] Justin. ubi ſupra. Memnon. ubi ſupra. Pausan. in Atticis.

Ptolemy now looked upon himſelf as thoroughly fixed in the *Macedonian* throne; but he had not ſat on it above a year before a people he had ſcarce heard of, ſent to demand of him a tribute. Theſe were the *Gauls*, who with three different armies broke into *Pannonia*, *Thracia*, and *Macedon*. This laſt corps was commanded by *Belgius*, who ſent deputies to *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, to inquire of him in few words, how much money he would give for peace. *Ptolemy*, proud of his own performances, and not at all doubting the fidelity of the *Macedonians* againſt theſe barbarous invaders, ſlighted the meſſage, and returned for anſwer, that unleſs the principal officers of their army were given up to him for hoſtages, he would not allow it to them. The *Gauls* in their turn derided the haughtineſs of this raſh monarch, and marched immediately againſt him with a mighty army of horſe and foot. *Ptolemy* failed not to meet them with the whole force of *Macedon*, and a battle was fought with great obſtinacy on both ſides. At laſt *Ptolemy* being much wounded, was thrown by his elephant, and taken priſoner. The *Barbarians* ſhewed him as little pity as he had ſhewn others; for thoſe who took him tore him to pieces, and then exalting his head on the top of a pike, his army were ſo intimidated, that they immediately began to break, and were ſoon after ſurrounded, and cut to pieces. This misfortune was wholly owing to the confidence of *Ptolemy*, whoſe army was overthrown, not ſo much by the valour as by the multitude of their enemies; for whom they would have been at leaſt a more equal match, if he had not refuſed twenty thouſand men offered him by the king of the *Dardanians* with this proud boaſt, that he had an army compoſed of the children of thoſe with whom *Alexander* had ſubdued the eaſt. This miſerable end had *Ptolemy* himſelf after he had been a king no more than eighteen months [a].

Meleager, Antipater, and Softhenes.

The *Macedonians* in this diſtreſs knew not well what to do either in reſpect to preſervation of their country, or the choice of a king. *Meleager* the brother of *Ptolemy* was at hand; him therefore they ſaluted king, but finding with the name they were not able to beſtow on him the qualities requiſite to a monarch, after two months they deprived him, and in his ſtead exalted *Antipater* the ſon of *Philip*, the brother of *Caſſander*. Upon him they beſtowed the ſirname of *Eteſian*, becauſe he governed but forty-five days, during which time the *Eteſian* winds blew. Then an interregnum followed; the *Gauls* making havock of every thing, till *Softhenes*, a young nobleman of great merit, collected as well as he could a body of able youths, and having diſciplined them, and brought them by degrees to a tolerable knowledge in military diſcipline, he with them taking proper ſeaſons, and all the advantages reſulting from the thorough knowledge of the country, greatly haraſſed, and at length totally deſtroyed the *Gauls*, and, as is generally believed, ſlew *Belgius* their commander. Theſe noble exploits might well have intitled him to the kingdom, if his modeſty had not induced him to refuſe regal honours. He cauſed the ſoldiers to ſwear to him as their general, and with that title ruled happily in *Macedon* for two years; about the end of that time came a new inundation of *Gauls* under the command of *Brennus*, and broke into this country. His army conſiſted of one hundred and forty thouſand foot, and ten thouſand horſe, beſides an innumerable train of retainers. *Softhenes* bore up againſt him with great courage, till himſelf and his army were overwhelmed with numbers; then they ruined and pillaged all the country, till being quite ſated with booty, or rather finding there was nothing more to be had, and having received vaſt recruits from *Gaul* and *Illyria*, they left *Macedonia*, and poured down into *Greece* [b].

Antigonus Gonatus reſtored. Year after the flood 2444. Before Chriſt 233.

Softhenes being dead, and the kingdom of *Macedon* deſerted by the *Gauls*, *Antigonus Gonatus*, ſo called from the place of his birth, revived his claim to the kingdom, as ſon to *Demetrius Poliorcetes*; but he was oppoſed by *Antiochus Soter* the ſon of *Seleucus Nicator*, who alſo pretended title to the kingdom, in right of his father who had conquered it, though he never poſſeſſed it. *Antigonus*, who had already reigned ten years in *Peloponneſus*, came with a great fleet and army and took poſſeſſion of the kingdom, before his rival was in any condition to conteſt it with him; yet this did not at all diſcourage *Antiochus* from proſecuting his claim; for he immediately raiſed a great army, and threatened to tranſport it from *Aſia* into *Europe*. It ſo happened, that during this diſpute *Nicomedes* king of *Bithynia*, entered into a treaty with *Antigonus* for their mutual defence; whereupon *Antiochus* carried the war on into his kingdom, which he invaded with a powerful army; yet there happened no deciſive action,

[a] Justin. lib. xxiv. 3—5. Memnon. ap. Phot. ubi ſupra. [b] Justin. ubi ſupra. Diodor. Sicul. excerpt. lib. xxii.

but

a but after the armies had for ſome time obſerved each other, a treaty was made, whereby all theſe differences were adjuſted. *Antigonus* married *Phila* the daughter of *Seleucus* by *Stratonice* the ſiſter of *Antigonus* himſelf, and as this lady was half ſiſter and daughter-in-law to *Antiochus*, he reſigned his right to the kingdom of *Macedon* to *Antigonus* on account of the marriage. But being now peaceable poſſeſſor of the kingdom of *Macedon*, he applied himſelf with all imaginable induſtry to the reſtoring the towns and villages which had been ruined by the *Gauls*. But while he was intent upon ſuch matters, the *Gauls* threatened another invaſion; but before they entered his country, they ſent to him as they had to *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, to know if he was inclined to purchaſe peace, for they were well informed that he had brought a great treaſure out of *Peloponneſus*. *Antigonus* entertained the embaſſadors ſplendidly, and
b having ſhewn them his camp, his army, and his treaſures, told them, theſe were not not to be given away, but to be employed for the juſt defence of his ſubjects. When theſe deputies returned home, and had reported not only the king's anſwer, but alſo what ſplendid things they had ſeen in his camp, the *Gauls* were impatient to go and take poſſeſſion of all the fine things they talked of; for though they were but fifteen thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe, yet they made no queſtion of ſubduing *Antigonus*, as they had done ſome of his predeceſſors. That they might perform this the more eaſily, they made forced marches in order to ſurprize him; but *Antigonus* being aware of their intent, withdrew his forces into a wood, and ſo avoided an engagement: however the *Gauls* rifled his camp, and then proceeded to plunder his ſhips;
c but the ſeamen and ſoldiers on board perceiving that they obſerved no order, and that they were quite intoxicated with ſucceſs, fell upon them, and cut off numbers of them. In the mean time *Antigonus* and his ſoldiers being appriſed of what had happened, they alſo attacked the *Gauls* in the rear, and gained over them ſo complete a victory, as for the preſent eſtabliſhed *Antigonus* firmly on the throne. But before he had time to perform what he endeavoured, the reſtoring the kingdom to its ancient luſtre, he had another enemy upon his hands, more formidable than the *Gauls*, viz. *Pyrrhus* king of *Epirus*, who returning with the ſhattered remains of an army from *Italy*, after he had continued a little time in his own country, invaded the frontiers of *Macedonia*, in hopes of plunder; but finding little reſiſtance, he advanced into the
d very heart of *Macedon*, where two thouſand men who had been poſted in the adjacent towns for their defence by *Antigonus*, deſerted to him; whereupon he reſolved to venture a battle, notwithſtanding the *Macedonian* army was more numerous, and compoſed of better troops than his own. This once reſolved on, he proſecuted his march againſt *Antigonus* with the utmoſt diligence, and coming up with him in a defile, he charged his forces briskly. The rear of the army was compoſed of *Gauls*, whom *Antigonus* had taken into his ſervice; they made a very gallant defence, and continued fighting till moſt of them were cut to pieces. When theſe were deſtroyed, *Pyrrhus* made himſelf maſter of the elephants, and, elated with his ſucceſs, advanced towards the phalanx which *Antigonus* commanded in perſon, and which alone was capa-
e ble of defeating his army; yet *Pyrrhus* vanquiſhed it without a ſtroke. For when he drew near enough to be heard, he called not only ſome of the principal, but alſo many of the inferior officers by their names, and thereby drew them and the troops under their command over to his party, ſo that of a ſudden *Antigonus* ſaw himſelf without troops; whereupon with a few of his friends he retired from the field, and had much ado to reach the coaſt of *Macedon*, where by means of his fleet ſome of the maritime cities were held in his obedience [c].

Pyrrhus was once again owned king of *Macedon*, for the royal city of *Ægis*, and all the places of any importance in the neighbourhood, ſubmitted without farther diſpute. Yet, as ſoon as he got poſſeſſion of the kingdom, he by an unaccountable act of
f folly, or rather of wickedneſs, loſt the hearts of the people; for after plundering the city of *Ægis*, and uſing its inhabitants with very great ſeverity, he placed a gariſon of mercenary *Gauls* therein. They, as ſoon as he was departed, took it into their heads that there muſt be vaſt riches buried in the ſepulchres of the ancient kings; wherefore they, without more ado, entered the ſilent repoſitories of the dead, and having impiouſly ſcattered the aſhes of the deceaſed princes, tore away whatever they found of any value in their monuments. *Pyrrhus*, when informed of this, ſhewed very little concern at it, and never ſo much as pretended to revenge it: all his care

Pyrrhus *expells him, and ſeizes the kingdom.*

[c] Plutarch. in Pyrrho. Justin lib. xxv. 3.

was

was to keep the kingdom, and make the moſt of it. When he was obliged to quit a
it for ſome time, he left his ſon *Ptolemy* as his vicegerent. This opportunity *Antigonus* took to return with what troops he could get together from the ſea-coaſts, in hopes of reconquering the kingdom. But *Ptolemy* advancing againſt him with the army left him by his father, an engagement enſued, wherein *Antigonus* was routed, and with much ado eſcaped with no more than ſeven attendants. Of this, when *Pyrrhus* received advice, he was ſo intoxicated with his good fortune, that he ſaid, by way of raillery, *That* Antigonus *was a very impudent fellow, ſtill to wear a purple robe*: A moſt unmannerly and ill-grounded ſarcaſm, ſince that prince, diſtreſſed as he was, held ſtill very conſiderable territories in *Greece*, and had both ſpirit and ability to maintain a longer conteſt for the kingdom of *Macedon*. When *Pyrrhus* had held the b
kingdom two years, he raſhly, and almoſt without any ground, involved himſelf in a war with the *Lacedæmonians*, and, in order thereto, marched down into *Greece* with the flower of his army; there he miſſed taking *Sparta* by delay, and while he endeavoured to retrieve his miſtake, he had news that *Antigonus*, having recovered a great part of *Macedon*, had followed him to *Greece*, and was in the neighbourhood of *Argos*. Whither himſelf being invited by the oppoſite faction, he, according to his wonted cuſtom, laid hold of that opportunity to deſert an unlucky enterprize, in hopes of entering on one more fortunate. But when he drew near the city, he was met by a deputation from thence, who were ſent to inform him that *Antigonus* was encamped on the neighbouring hills, and that it was the humble requeſt of the city, c
that neither of them would enter it. *Pyrrhus* promiſed that he would do as they deſired; but in the mean time he ſent to defy *Antigonus*, and to challenge him to fight hand to hand before both armies for the kingdom. To which *Antigonus* returned him for anſwer, *That himſelf in making war, uſed not only arms, but time; and that if* Pyrrhus *was weary of life, there were ways enow to death, which lay directly before him.* To the deputies from *Argos* who made him the ſame propoſition they had *Pyrrhus*, he anſwered, *That he came to do them good, but if his retiring would be more for their intereſt, he was content to retire, and as a proof of his ſincerity, to give them his ſon for a hoſtage.* They thankfully received the young prince, and then ſent to demand hoſtages of *Pyrrhus*, which he refuſed, but promiſed to keep his word, though he never d
intended it. For in the night he entered the city, and *Antigonus*, at the requeſt of the citizens, having ſent forces to aſſiſt them, a battle enſued in the ſtreets, where, in the morning, *Pyrrhus* was ſlain. *Alcyoneus* the ſon of *Antigonus* taking the head by the hair, rid with it full ſpeed to his father, and finding him talking with ſome of his favourites, threw it at his feet. *Antigonus* looking upon it, and knowing it, not only thruſt his ſon from him with diſdain, but ſtruck him with his battoon; *Barbarous wretch*, ſaid he, *why didſt thou think that he whoſe grandfather was thus ſlain, and whoſe father died a captive, ſhould rejoice at ſuch a ſight.* Then taking the robe from his ſhoulders, he covered the head, and at the ſame time let fall a ſhower of tears, giving orders that the body ſhould be carefully looked for, and that they ſhould be burnt e
together with all the funeral honours due to a king. While he was ſpeaking, *Alcyoneus* having diſcovered *Helenus* the ſon of *Pyrrhus* in a thread-bare coat, he ſpoke to him kindly, and with great reſpect preſented him to his father; *Well, my ſon*, ſaid *Antigonus, this is better than you did before; however you have done leſs than your duty ſtill, in that you have ſuffered a perſon of his quality to approach me in that thread-bare coat, which is not a diſgrace to him, but to our victory.* Having then comforted *Helenus* for the loſs of his father, he entertained him kindly, and afterwards ſet him at liberty, and ſent him home to *Epirus*. The principal officers in *Pyrrhus*'s army he ſent for, aſſured them of his favour, and incorporated the troops they commanded into his own [d]. f

Antigonus *reſtored, and again expelled.*

Antigonus now held not only the kingdom of *Macedon*, but alſo very large poſſeſſions in *Greece*; yet was he as far as ever from being freed from enemies, new ones ariſing up as the old ones were deſtroyed. The *Gauls* breeding him new diſturbances, threatened no leſs miſchief than they had heretofore done himſelf and his predeceſſors; but *Antigonus* having made all the neceſſary preparations for ſubduing them, firſt cut off numbers in skirmiſhes, whereby they were ſo provoked, that in a rage they maſſacred their wives and children, and then put all to the hazard of a battle, in which they were defeated, and in a manner exterminated. After this victory *An-*

[d] PLUT. in vit. Pyrrho. JUSTIN. lib. xxv. c. 5.

tigonus

a *tigonus* led his army againſt *Athens*, and notwithſtanding it was powerfully ſupported, he compelled it to receive a gariſon; but in the midſt of his ſucceſs he was recalled into *Macedon*, by the news that *Alexander* the ſon of *Pyrrhus* being become king of *Epirus* had entered *Macedon*, and committed great depredations. *Antigonus* on his return marched directly with a great army to repel the invader. Then when he leaſt expected it, the *Macedonians* again deſerted him, and went over to *Alexander*, who thus acquired the kingdom without a ſtroke. *Antigonus* was ſo much ſurprized and confounded at the ingratitude and infidelity of a people whom he had uſed ſo well, that he even deſerted them, and retired into *Greece*. His ſon *Demetrius*, a very boy, remained in *Macedon*, where having with much difficulty collected a body of troops,
b he daily did ſome exploit or other, which ſo charmed the *Macedonians*, who were always fond of active princes, that they liſted willingly under his banners, and thereby enabled him not only to regain the whole kingdom, but alſo to proſecute his father's quarrel in *Epirus*, the hereditary kingdom of his father's enemy, which he did with ſuch effect, that in his turn he expelled *Alexander*, who fled for ſhelter to the *Ætolians*, amongſt whom he collected a freſh army with an intent to make a briſk inroad into his own kingdom, once more to try the affections of his ſubjects. In this attempt he had all the ſucceſs he could wiſh, for the *Epirots* joined him in ſuch numbers, that *Demetrius* found it convenient to leave that kingdom, in order the more effectually to ſecure *Macedonia*, which he had recovered for his father [e].

c *Antigonus* returning to this kingdom, governed his ſubjects for many years in peace, making uſe of every advantage afforded him by the fluctuating ſtate of things in *Greece* to ſtrengthen and inlarge his authority there. In his declining years he conceived a ſtrange ungovernable deſire of getting the citadel of *Corinth* into his hands, which he purſued with incredible vehemence and aſſiduity. It had been formerly held, together with *Sicyon*, by *Crateſipolis* the wife of *Alexander* the ſon of *Polyſperchon*; from her it was taken by *Ptolemy*, and having often afterwards changed its maſters, it was now in the hands of one *Alexander*, who eſteemed himſelf a prince, but was deemed by the *Greeks* a tyrant. The famous *Aratus* had contrived a ſcheme for ſurprizing it, but before he was ready to put it in execution, *Alexander* entered into
d the *Achæan* league. Then it was that *Antigonus* conceived an opinion that he ſhould never be able to ſupport his authority over the *Greeks*, unleſs he had this important place in his hands, which he compaſſed thus. *Alexander* being taken off by poiſon, *Demetrius* the ſon of *Antigonus* was ſent by his father to court the widow, whoſe name was *Nicæa*, an old woman full of vanity, but ſuſpicious, and very cunning; a ſtrong gariſon ſhe kept in the citadel, but ſhe could not keep her own underſtanding from being impoſed upon by the pretences of *Demetrius*; in ſhort ſhe was weak enough to believe, that one of the handſomeſt princes of his time, and in the full vigour of his years, might be paſſionately in love with a woman of an advanced age. A marriage was therefore ſpeedily concluded, and *Antigonus* himſelf came to grace the ſolemnity. *Nicæa* however kept the citadel, nay, and was more cautious of it than ordinary,
e of which *Antigonus* took no notice; but ſpent all his time in feaſts, ſhews, and theatrical entertainments. One day when *Amœbeus*, a famous muſician, was to perform on the theatre for the amuſement of *Nicæa*, *Antigonus* would needs accompany her as ſhe was carried thither in a ſplendid chair; but when they came to a paſſage which led up to the citadel, *Antigonus* bid the bearers of the chair go on; then with more ſpeed than could be expected from a man of his years, he aſcended to the gate of the citadel, which finding ſhut, he knocked at it with his ſtaff, and in a quick tone bid the ſoldiers open it; they, ſurprized to behold the king in perſon, did as he commanded; and *Antigonus* being once within the place, eaſily tranſacted things
f there according to his pleaſure. The joy he conceived on the happy ſucceſs of his project, led him into great acts of indecorum, for he not only drank to exceſs at the feaſts he gave his friends, but when he was full of wine went and danced in the ſtreets, embraced every one he met, and in ſhort acted as if the taking of *Corinth* had taken away his ſenſes. From this time forward he employed all his care and thoughts in the proſecution of his views in *Greece*, where he ſupported all the petty tyrants againſt the free ſtates, appointing new ones on the demiſe of the old, or ſwallowing them up as occaſion offered, thereby enlarging his own dominions; though not much to the reputation either of his arms, or of his honour. But the

Antigonus Gonatus *his reign and death*

[e] Justin. lib. xxvi.

Achæans, and eſpecially *Aratus*, their glorious general, gave him not a little diſ- a
quiet: they openly profeſſed a deſire of reſtoring *Greece* to freedom, which was the ſame thing, as if they had declared they would extirpate the *Macedonian* power in *Greece*. Yet *Antigonus* did not make war on them, for he had in his life-time experienced ſuch variety of fortune, that he was fearful of ſtaking any thing in the open field; and therefore ſought by promiſes to bring over *Aratus*, and by ſmooth language to amuſe the *Achæans*. His policy without doubt was right; yet it did not very well anſwer his end, for *Aratus* and the *Achæans* acted juſt as he did, they laid hold of every opportunity to augment their own power, and pretended to ſurprize cities, and to take under their protection countries dependent on *Antigonus* without breaking the peace. At length *Aratus* ventured upon *Corinth*, and actually ſurprized b
it in the night, about eight years after it had been taken by *Antigonus*. *Archelaus*, who commanded the king's gariſon, he diſmiſſed; but for the treaſure in the citadel, and the ſhips in the haven, thoſe he retained. It does not appear that even this engaged *Antigonus* in an open war againſt the *Achæans*; on the contrary, we find he proſecuted his old method of countenancing and ſupporting their enemies, whereby he impeded their power at leaſt, though ſomewhat at the expence of his own. Other acts of his we find none, except that he thoroughly ſettled the realm of *Macedon*, and ſo effectually conciliated the minds of the people to him, and his family, that they were ever after very loyal ſubjects to his deſcendants. In fine, after a reign of upwards of thirty years, he died, being ſomewhat above fourſcore, with the character c
of a mild and generous prince, one whoſe wiſdom ſurpaſſed his valour, and yet one who in caſes of neceſſity, and when all was at ſtake, had ſhewn himſelf perſonally brave [f].

Demetrius II. *Year after the flood* 2756. *Before Chriſt* 243.

Demetrius ſucceeded his father, and on account of the great things he had performed while a youth, much was expected from him. Yet after he obtained the crown, he ſeemed to have altered his conduct, and to have acted with greater caution than vigour. He had married the daughter of *Antiochus Hierax*, and ſo long as he kept to this wife, his affairs went peaceably enough at home. Abroad he had ſome trouble with the *Ætolians*, a reſtleſs, uneaſy people, who were impatient of any wrong done to themſelves, and yet were continually robbing and ſpoiling their neighbours. *Demetrius*, d
to blunt the edge of their courage, ſtirred up againſt them *Agrion* king of *Illyria*, who came down againſt them with a great army, engaged and routed them; for joy of which he made vaſt feaſts, and at them drank ſo heartily, that he was ſeized with a fever, and died in a few days time. He was ſucceeded by his wife *Tuta*, who was as ſucceſsful, and made as bad uſe of her ſucceſs, as her husband; for having experienced the valour of her ſubjects, ſhe not only permitted, but encouraged them to commit all ſorts of robberies and piracies on the neighbouring nations, which ended at laſt in their deſtruction. *Demetrius* in the mean time found himſelf engaged in a war againſt the *Achæans*, who under the command of *Aratus* had invaded *Attica*. *Bythis*, who was general for the king in thoſe parts, inſtantly took the field, and at e
Phylacia it came to a battle, wherein the *Achæans* were beaten, and it was reported that *Aratus* was either ſlain, or made priſoner. At *Athens* the former was ſo firmly believed, that the citizens, to ſhew their affection to the *Macedonians*, put on garlands, as if ſome mighty good luck had befallen them; whereas in truth, *Aratus* intended to reſtore them to their liberty; their behaviour therefore was at once chargeable with groſs flattery, and rank ingratitude. What confirmed them in all probability in their notion of the death of *Aratus* was a meſſage ſent by *Diogenes*, who was governor of the *Pyræus* for the king, to *Corinth*, commanding the *Achæans* immediately to quit that city; but this order was very indifferently obeyed, becauſe *Aratus* himſelf was then in the city, where receiving information of the joy ſhewn by the *Athe-* f
nians for his death, he with ſuch troops as he could firſt draw together, invaded their territories, to let them ſee that he was alive, and penetrated as far as the academy, where being met by certain deputies, to excuſe the conduct of their countrymen from the viſible force they were under, he ſuffered himſelf to be appeaſed, and withdrew his forces without doing any conſiderable miſchief. In *Macedon* the latter report of his being a priſoner was ſo well received, that *Demetrius* ſent a ſhip directly to *Athens* to bring him from thence in chains. The *Ætolians* having been relieved from their late diſtreſs by the *Achæans*, recovered their old diſpoſition with their proſperity,

[f] JUSTIN. lib. xxviii. PLUT. in vit. Arat.

and

a and in conſequence thereof endeavoured to tear away that part of *Acarnania* which was ſubject to the crown of *Epirus*. This kingdom was at that time governed by *Olympias* the ſiſter and widow of *Alexander*, as guardian to her ſons *Pyrrhus* and *Ptolemy*. She therefore, to rid herſelf of theſe barbarous enemies, applied to *Demetrius* king of *Macedon*, and prevailed on him to marry her daughter *Phthia*. This produced the queen and her children very little good, though it proved the cauſe of no ſmall miſchief to *Demetrius*; for his firſt wife was ſo much enraged thereat, that ſhe left him, and retired to her brother, whom ſhe earneſtly excited to make war upon her husband; which though the unſettled ſtate of his own affairs would not permit, yet the inclination he ſhewed to revenge his ſiſter's quarrel, obliged *Demetrius*
b to take all the precautions neceſſary to repel an invader. All that we know farther of this king of *Macedon* is, that he added *Cyrene* and all *Libya* to his dominions; but at what time, or by what means, we are not able to ſay. During his whole reign the *Achæans* ſtruggled with him in *Greece*, and the barbarous nations on his frontiers gave him no ſmall trouble. In defending himſelf from their attacks, he ſpent the ten years in which he enjoyed the regal authority, and then died, leaving behind him a young ſon named *Philip* g.

Macedonia could not be without a king, and as their lawful prince was little more than two years old, there was a neceſſity of appointing a regent. Some hiſtorians ſay that *Demetrius* aſſigned his brother *Antigonus* to be the tutor of young *Philip*, Antigonus Doſon. *Year after the flood* 2702. *Before Chriſt* 237.
c which is probable enough; but he did not long continue to exerciſe this office, for having by his gentle and obliging conduct gained the good-will of the *Macedonians*, as alſo of the widow of the deceaſed king, he took her to wife, and was by them ſaluted king. Yet, imitating the policy of his predeceſſor *Philip* the ſon of *Amyntas*, he did not offer the leaſt violence to his nephew, but, on the contrary, cauſed him to be brought up with great care, and, as we ſhall ſee, made him his ſucceſſor. He was indeed a prince of great abilities, equally capable of maintaining peace at home, and of carrying on war abroad. He had a great reputation for his juſtice, was renowned for his clemency towards his enemies, and for his kindneſs and affability towards his friends. With all theſe great qualities he had very high ideas of the regal
d dignity, and of the honour of the *Macedonian* name: he is ſaid to have been ſlower in performing than promiſing, and therefore the *Greeks*, who in this age were more remarkable for ſaying quick things, than for doing wiſe ones, ſirnamed him *Doſon*, i. e. *will-give*. He had ſcarce begun to meddle with the adminiſtration, when *Diogenes*, whom the late king had made governor of his ſeveral forts in the city of *Athens*, moſt baſely ſold them, together with the iſland of *Salamis*, for a hundred and fifty talents. In the tranſacting this treaty, the *Athenians* made uſe of *Aratus*, whom they had ſo lately treated as an enemy, and he not only lent them his advice, but furniſhed twenty talents out of his own pocket. So true a friend was he to the liberty of *Greece*, and ſo ſtrongly was he at this time perſuaded, that nothing cramped it ſo much as the
e *Macedonian* power. But in proceſs of time, when the *Ætolians*, by lending aſſiſtance to *Cleomenes* king of *Sparta*, had enabled him to give check to the *Achæans*, and even to defeat *Aratus* in battle; this great man began to change his ſentiments, and to have another opinion of the *Macedonians*. Yet, not caring to be himſelf the author of a motion for calling in *Antigonus* once more into *Peloponneſus*, whom himſelf had ſo earneſtly laboured to expel, he found means to engage the *Megalapolitans*, who were in immediate danger of being deſtroyed by *Cleomenes*, to demand ſuccours of *Antigonus*, who very politicly anſwered, that he would readily ſend them aſſiſtance when the *Achæans* ſhould deſire it. When this anſwer was reported in the aſſembly of the *Achæans*, and generally applauded, *Aratus* alone oppoſed it, and adviſed the
f *Achæans* to try what they could do with their own forces before they called in ſo powerful an ally; yet this he did only to colour the buſineſs, foreſeeing what quickly after fell out, that they would be under a neceſſity of applying to *Antigonus*; and when this happened, he readily agreed to the motion, and ſent his own ſon to the king, not only to negotiate the affair, but to be a hoſtage. *Antigonus* received the young man with great civility, and the requeſt made by his father and the *Achæans* with the higheſt ſatisfaction; for he of all things deſired to retrieve his intereſt in *Greece*, and to aſſert that authority which the kings of *Macedon* from the time of *Philip* had maintained therein. One thing however from the beginning he inſiſted

g Justin. ubi ſupra. Plut. ubi ſupra. Polyb. lib. ii. Porphyr. in Græcis. Euseb. Scalig. p. 229.

on,

I

on, which was, that the citadel of *Corinth* ſhould be put into his hands. For, as *Plutarch* obſerves, he looked on the *Greeks* as a high-mettled horſe, too dangerous to be rid without a bridle. To this condition, to avoid falling under the power of the *Lacedæmonians*, the *Achæans* ſubmitted, and for the performance of this, the ſon of *Aratus* became hoſtage. The king therefore ſoon after his coming prepared to perform his part of the treaty, and, in order thereto, aſſembled an army of twenty thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe, with which he intended to have deſcended into *Theſſaly*; but his march that way was hindered by a meſſage ſent him by the *Ætolians*, that they would oppoſe his paſſage at *Thermopylæ* with their utmoſt force. He then tranſported his forces into *Eubœa*, but when he was come thither, he was informed that *Cleomenes* lay with a gallant army juſt within the iſthmus, and that he had fortified it with lines which were not to be forced, but at the expence of a great number of men. All this made him very uneaſy, eſpecially as it happened in the very beginning of a war, when all croſs adventures are moſt apt to diſcourage an army. *Aratus* came by ſea to *Pegæ* with ſome of his friends, there *Antigonus* met and complimented them, treating all with great civility; but receiving *Aratus* with particular marks of friendſhip. This was the effect of policy, for he had been his old enemy, and was but lately become his friend; yet when they had converſed a little together, and *Antigonus*, who was an excellent judge of men, had thereby an opportunity given him of diſcourſing freely with this great politician, he grew into a ſincere friendſhip with him, treating him ever after with the utmoſt familiarity and confidence. The firſt ſtep of the war was the attacking the lines of *Corinth*, which were better defended than any other lines mentioned in the *Greek* hiſtory; but the city of *Argos* in *Peloponneſus* revolting, *Cleomenes* was forced to abandon his lines, leſt he ſhould have an enemy on both ſides. *Antigonus* purſued the war to the ſatisfaction of the *Achæans* for ſome time, and then having the citadel of *Corinth* put into his hands, he made a pompous feaſt there for all the generals in the army. At this entertainment *Aratus* was placed next the king, who feeling himſelf on a ſudden very cold, called for his cloak, and when the ſervant brought it, turning to *Aratus*, *My friend*, ſaid he, *don't you think the weather very ſharp? Yes*, replied *Aratus*, *I never felt it ſharper.* The king thereupon pulled him cloſer to him, and bid the ſervant throw the cloak over them both; upon which *Aratus* fell a laughing; of which when the king demanded the reaſon, *I will tell you, Sir*, ſaid *Aratus*; *a little before our treaty with you, when I had offered a ſolemn ſacrifice, the ſoothſayer finding in the liver two gall-bags in one cell, he pronounced it his opinion, that two perſons, then thought irreconcileable enemies, ſhould very ſoon become moſt intimate friends; I ſmiled at the prediction then, and laughed at its accompliſhment juſt now, for I believe your cloak covers thoſe gall-bladders at preſent.* The hiſtory of this war the reader has already had in our former volume; we ſhall therefore only touch on ſuch points as relate immediately to the conduct of *Antigonus*, and are not mentioned there. As the advantages obtained by the *Achæans* were entirely due to the aſſiſtance he had brought them, the king thought it but reaſonable that *Orchomenus*, and ſome other places that were taken, ſhould be gariſoned by *Macedonians*. He alſo cauſed the ſtatues of thoſe who had ſurprized the citadel at *Corinth* to be thrown down, excepting only that of *Aratus*. In *Argos* he reſtored the ſtatues of thoſe whom the *Achæans* ſtiled tyrants, but who had been protected in the authority they exerciſed by his anceſtors. Theſe things created a great deal of trouble to *Aratus*, who was made accountable by his countrymen for every thing that happened, as if after they had admitted *Antigonus* into their country, had choſen him their captain general, and had veſted him with ſupreme power, he would not conduct things a little according to his own will, and not intirely in conſequence of the advice given him by others. Yet it ſeems, that to gratify the *Achæans*, he ſent the greateſt part of his forces to take up their winter quarters in *Macedonia*, which gave *Cleomenes* an opportunity of deſtroying all the country about *Argos*, under the noſe of the king, who with a few mercenary troops lay in the neighbourhood of the city. It was upon this occaſion that he performed the greateſt action of his life, which was abſolutely refuſing to fight, when he could not do it without manifeſt diſadvantage, notwithſtanding he was inſulted by the enemy, and railed at by his confederates. His prudence preſerved him from that diſgrace, which would have attended a defeat; and when his forces were returned, he made himſelf ample amends for the injury his reputation had received by the glorious victory at *Sellaſia*, where he totally defeated *Cleomenes*, and, in conſequence of his victory, took the virgin city of *Sparta*. If

any

a any thing could add to his glory after this, or rather, if any thing could eclipſe the luſtre of his victory by its ſuperior ſplendor, it was his behaviour on this occaſion; for he not only prevented the plunder of the city, but declared to the magiſtrates, that he did not carry on the war againſt the *Spartans*, but againſt *Cleomenes*; with reſpect to whom, as he was fled, he had no farther rancour. He left the city in three days, and left it as free as he found it, being obliged to make a precipitate march back into *Macedonia*, on account of his having received information that the *Illyrians* had invaded that kingdom with a great army. In his return he came to *Tegea*, where he reſtored that little republic. Thence he proceeded to *Argos*, and arriving there at the time the *Nemæan* games were celebrated, had the ſatisfaction of receiving the
b higheſt compliments, and ſtrongeſt teſtimonies of reſpect from the *Greeks* in general, and from every little ſtate in particular. When he arrived in *Macedon*, he found all things in confuſion, his own people dejected; the enemy fluſhed with ſucceſs. He did not however deſpair, but having recruited his army, advanced to meet the *Illyrians*, who had brought with them a mixt rabble of *Barbarians*, and had hitherto bore down before them all things like a deluge. A battle quickly enſued, which proved deciſive, the *Macedonians* obtaining a victory equally glorious and complete; but they gained it at a very great expence, the king dying a few days afterwards of a ſpitting of blood, induced by ſtraining his voice during the time of the engagement. Thus *Antigonus* died, as he had lived, in the ſervice of his country, having
c adjured the army to remain faithful to his nephew, and pupil *Philip*; who, though a very youth, was now to take the government into his own hands. The people were in general very much grieved on the death of ſo good a prince; however, he left them in a better condition than they had ever been in ſince the days of *Antipater*; for they were well united, and began to reſume their ancient loyalty [b].

Philip began his adminiſtration very happily, and, which is not a little ſingular, had both better reputations, and better ſucceſs, while he was ſo young as to be governed by others, than after he managed all things according to his own will. His natural abilities were very great, for he was brave in his perſon, very eloquent, skilled in all the learning worthy of a king, and one who knew how to make himſelf
d acceptable to all degrees of people. In the beginning of his reign, he was engaged in the ſocial war in *Greece*, which drew after it a train of other military expeditions againſt the *Illyrians*, *Ætolians*, and other nations, who either made war upon the *Achæans*, or invaded *Macedon*, in order to divert *Philip* from ſuccouring the laſt-mentioned people. All of theſe we have conſidered at large in our former volume: here therefore it would be ſuperfluous to repeat them, and for that reaſon we ſhall only glance on ſuch points as are neceſſary to introduce the hiſtory of the remaining part of *Philip*'s life, unaccounted for in that part of our work. The courſe of his affairs diſcovered to him before he was a very old man, that he had ſome true friends, and ſome very falſe ones; but which were his true friends, and which only pretended to
e be his friends, he could not diſcover; at leaſt not certainly; which was the reaſon that he often treated his falſe friends with confidence, and his true ones with diſdain. In the end however he fell to deſtroying them all. *Apelles* and *Ptolemy*, who had been in his councils from his acceſſion to the throne, he put to death, the latter with, the former without, the ordinary forms of juſtice; neither without cauſe. But for *Aratus* the elder, and his ſon *Aratus* the younger, men of the greateſt worth and honour, men who had been the ſupport of his family, his guides in his beſt actions; thoſe who procured to him, and thoſe who preſerved to him the affections of the *Greeks*, theſe he treated moſt deteſtably. The former he poiſoned, the wife of the latter he debauched, while he was his gueſt; and then practiſed upon himſelf by
f giving him drugs, which by degrees diſturbed his ſenſes, and induced him to perpetrate ſuch actions as made his death appear rather ſeaſonable to his friends, than untimely, as it really was. *Philip* however from ſuch practices as theſe grew odious at home and abroad, yet he maintained his authority by dint of his skill in government, and his experience as a general; for though he was ſeldom fortunate either in conducting his projects, or in the field, yet he had happy talents in negotiation, could put on an appearance of firmneſs in the worſt circumſtances, and could improve every opportunity that offered of retrieving his affairs, though when he had retrieved them, his ambition would never ſuffer him to be quiet. Wars, loſſes, treaties, repeated over

Philip. *Year after the flood* 2778. *Before Chriſt* 221.

[b] Polyb. lib. ii. Plut. in vit. Arat. Justin. lib. xxviii. c. 3, 4.

and over again, employed thirty years and upwards of his reign; till the *Romans* had reduced him to ſuch a miſerable ſtate, that he was forced to ſubmit to the orders they ſent him; to ſend his younger ſon *Demetrius* to *Rome* as a hoſtage, and to undertake to live in peace with all his neighbours, in conſideration of their leaving him the kingdom of *Macedon*, circumſcribed within its ancient bounds, with other hard conditions, ſuch as delivering up his ſhips of war, and paying by way of fine a thouſand talents at ſeveral times[i]. a

Philip *ſtruggles with the* Romans.

THE ſubſequent war between the *Romans* and *Antiochus* ſeemed to offer *Philip* an opportunity of reſtoring in ſome meaſure his power; but he paſſed it by, not through negligence, or want of diſcernment, for no prince in the age in which he lived was either quicker in executing, or could penetrate farther than he: but the cauſe of his not ſtirring was this; he ſaw clearly that the ſtrength of his kingdom was much exhauſted, and that his revenues were in no condition to ſupport the charges of a war. When this ſtruggle was over, and the war againſt the *Ætolians* commenced, he attempted to take part therein for his own advantage, coming down with an army to the ſiege of *Lamia*, at the ſame time that the conſul *Acilius* lay before *Heraclea*. But when *Philip* had brought the town almoſt to extremity, the conſul ſent to command him to raiſe his ſiege, not with any deſign to ſave the city, but that he might take it himſelf. However the king was allowed to turn his arms for the preſent into *Athamania*, and towards *Thrace*; but no ſooner had he made ſome conqueſts of importance, than complaints were made againſt him at *Rome*, and the *Romans* immediately appointed commiſſioners who were to go over to *Greece* with full power to hear and determine; in conſequence of which, they did accordingly ſummon all parties before them, pronounce judgment againſt *Philip*, and ordered him to content himſelf with *Macedonia* in its ancient ſtate. *Philip*, ſtung with ſo ſevere a ſentence, could not help ſaying, that he had not ſeen his laſt ſun ſet, of which many conſtructions were made, moſt of them little to his advantage. In the mean time there ſprung up diviſions in his family, and a ſpirit of diſcord began to appear among his ſubjects. His eldeſt ſon *Perſeus* he had begotten on a concubine, whence he was not ſo much reſpected as his younger brother *Demetrius*. This *Demetrius* was not only happy in the peoples affections, but was really a prince of extraordinary merit. He had a ſincere affection for his father, a moſt tender love for his country, and had conceived a high reſpect for the *Romans*; among whom he had remained ſome time a hoſtage, and was afterwards diſmiſſed with great reſpect. His brother *Perſeus* obſerving what regard *Philip* paid him, how fond the *Macedonians* were of him, and what an intereſt he had at *Rome*, began to hate him very heartily, and to do do him privately all the miſchief he could. The hatred of *Philip* towards the *Romans* beginning by degrees to appear, not only by words eſcaping him at unawares, but by his endeavouring to increaſe his revenues, by augmenting the cuſtoms upon merchandize, and cauſing the mines to be every-where put under a new regulation, at the ſame time that he granted large privileges to certain cities, and endeavoured all that in him lay to encourage foreigners to come and ſettle in his kingdom. *Demetrius* ſaw plainly the drift of this, and therefore adviſed his father to deſiſt from all projects againſt the *Romans*, who, as he affirmed, would be ever too powerful for him; wherefore it was better that he ſhould uſe their friendſhip for the ſupporting at leaſt, if not for the augmenting his dominions, than that out of a vain hope of recovering part of what he had loſt, he ſhould hazard all that remained, and which he might be ſaid to hold from their courteſy. *Philip* was too great a politician not to diſcern the ſtrength of his ſon's arguments, yet he could not prevail with himſelf to follow them. He remembered the great reputation of his anceſtors, and was aſhamed to ſee himſelf with greater abilities than moſt of the kings of *Macedon* cramped up in narrower bounds than their enemies had ever preſcribed them. He took this the worſe, becauſe as he conceived he had deſerved well of the *Romans*; he alone had aſſiſted them in the *Ætolian* war, he had given a paſſage to their army through his country, and had yielded obedience to their decrees when they touched him to the quick. He could not therefore endure that *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus* ſhould be gratified by them in every thing he asked, and himſelf at the ſame time as ſteadily refuſed things which in his opinion were his right. His diſcontent was augmented by a decree of the *Romans*, which peremptorily required him to withdraw his gariſons from *Ænus* and *Maronea*, maritime towns of b c d e f

[i] PLUT. in vit. Arat. & Philopæm. POLYB. Hiſt. lib. iv. JUSTIN. lib. xxx, xxxi, xxxii. Univerſal Hiſtory, Vol. II. p. .

Thrace.

a *Thrace.* *Philip* pleaded, that if theſe cities were at liberty, they would become weak and defenceleſs places, and fall eaſily into the hands of the *Thracians* and *Dardanians*, wild and barbarous nations, whom by retaining theſe cities in his hands, he kept from doing what they had often practiſed in former times, *viz.* making inroads into *Macedon.* The *Romans* looked on all theſe pretences as ſo many frivolous excuſes, which when *Philip* underſtood, he determined with himſelf to comply with their demands; but at the ſame time to revenge himſelf on the *Maronites*, whoſe clamours had obtained the decree. With this view he ſent orders for his gariſons to leave thoſe cities, yet at the ſame time ſent inſtructions to *Onomaſtus*, who was his governor of the maritime coaſt of *Macedonia*, to ſtrike ſuch a blow, as that the *Maronites* might not be too much
b tranſported with their liberty. *Onomaſtus* tranſmitted his orders to *Caſſander*, one of the king's officers in *Maronea*, adviſing him privately to let in the *Thracians*, which he did; and they plundered the city with all the circumſtances of cruelty and avarice which could poſſibly be imagined. Without all doubt, a contrivance of this ſort was executed with as much ſecrecy as poſſible; yet ſo it fell out, that the *Roman* deputies gained ſuch poſitive intelligence, that they charged it home upon the king; and the *Romans* thereupon directed that he ſhould juſtify himſelf before the ſenate. This was a new mortification, the rather, becauſe he was commanded to ſend *Onomaſtus* and *Caſſander* thither; which he conceived to be an high indignity offered to him, who was an independent prince, and expected to have been believed on his word.
c Yet to preſerve himſelf from being deſtroyed before he was ſtrong enough to make reſiſtance, he yielded, though with ſome conſtraint, to the conditions impoſed upon him. *Onomaſtus* he proteſted he could not ſend, becauſe he was a perſon whoſe ſervice he needed, and whoſe innocence he affirmed ſufficiently appeared in that he was not near the city at the time it was taken, and ſacked. *Caſſander* he ſent, but took care to have him poiſoned by the way, and then well-knowing that the *Romans* would not paſs by ſuch a ſcene of extraordinary actions, he ordered his ſon *Demetrius* to repair to *Rome*, with notes of the anſwers he had to make to the objections raiſed againſt his conduct, and alſo a ſchedule of grievances which might ſerve to juſtify his conduct, if it ſhould appear as extraordinary as it was repreſented. *Demetrius*, furniſhed
d with theſe credentials, came to *Rome*; but when he was admitted to defend his father's cauſe before the ſenate, he was ſo much amazed at the weight of the ſeveral charges brought againſt him, that he was not able to return any anſwer at all. Yet in regard to his youth, his inexperience, and the great perſonal regard they had for him, he was permitted to make uſe of his father's notes, out of which he read what he thought would have greateſt weight. The cauſe over, he had liberty given him to return home, and by him was ſent the ratification of the treaty formerly made, and his excuſes accepted; but with this expreſs clauſe, that all was done out of regard to his ſon, which was alſo ſignified to him by the embaſſador reſident in *Macedon.* A circumſtance which did not pleaſe *Philip*, and did very little good to *Demetrius*, whom
e his father begun to believe more attached to the *Romans* than himſelf; though in truth the young man only ſtood in more fear of them than his father did, becauſe he was better acquainted with their power and arts than he. *Philip* failed not to uſe the leiſure he had acquired by his ſon's negotiation, in providing effectually for war, when all negotiation ſhould fail. In purſuit of this deſign, he took ſuch ſteps as proved him to be a man of deep foreſight, and one who was as well able to ſtruggle with fortune as any king that ever lived. In the firſt place, perceiving his ſubjects on the ſea-coaſt, were not only greatly addicted to peace, but likewiſe ſtrongly inclined to the *Romans*, he immediately tranſplanted theſe into *Æmathia*, and brought multitudes of *Thracians* to inhabit the ſea-coaſt, who were in themſelves a hardy, warlike
f people, and who he was ſure would depend upon him as the author of their ſettlements, and him from whom they were to expect all things. Finding the *Dardanians* a barbarous nation, who were the implacable enemies of the *Macedonians*, not to be wrought upon by fair means, and that it was no way in his power either to bridle or ſubdue them by force, he bethought himſelf of a very extraordinary expedient for the ridding himſelf and his people of theſe bad neighbours, and of getting better in their room. He ſent certain deputies whom he could truſt to the *Baſtarnæ*, a very numerous people, inhabiting the banks of the river *Iſter*, now the *Danube*, to perſuade them to leave their old ſeats, and to come and poſſeſs themſelves of *Dardania*, which was a country far preferable to their own, and in the conqueſt of which he promiſed to aſſiſt them. There was one difficulty however to be adjuſted, which

was

was their getting to *Dardania*, becauſe in their march thither, they were firſt of all a
to lead with them their wives and children, and ſecondly, they were to croſs the
dominions of ſeveral *Thracian* princes. The firſt ſeemed to require a great deal of
time, the latter to render the ſcheme abſolutely impracticable. *Philip* however
deviſed means for removing both difficulties; he offered to remit them money to
furniſh them with neceſſaries for their journey, and by preſents made to the petty
princes of *Thrace*, he procured for them a ſafe paſſage through their dominions.
But while his mind was big with theſe vaſt projects, he found things of importance
enough to diſquiet him near home. His ſubjects, whom he had tranſported from the
coaſts of *Macedonia*, teſtified their diſcontents aloud, and complained vehemently of
the king's want of affection towards his countrymen, that could conſent to tranſport b
them hither and thither, merely to make way for ſtrangers and barbarians. If *Philip*
had taken little notice of theſe paſſionate ſpeeches, it is very probable they would in
a ſhort time have paſſed over; for except that they had loſt their old habitations,
theſe people had ſmall cauſe to repine, being rather gainers than loſers by the exchange
they had been forced to make. But the king who was naturally cruel, and grew
more and more jealous as he grew in years, conſtrueing thoſe ſharp ſpeeches into
rebellion, began with acts of ſeverity to exaſperate the people, and to make ſuch diſ-
loyal who were before but impatient. Theſe ſteps, inſtead of ſupporting, embarraſſed
all his other projects, and induced by degrees ſuch miſchiefs, as with all his policy
he knew neither how to remedy, nor how to endure. The quarrels in his family c
grew daily wider and wider; *Perſeus* encouraged all who either ridiculed or declaimed
ſeriouſly againſt the *Romans*, and *Demetrius* openly vindicated the *Romans* againſt all
ſuch. An accident at laſt happened, which increaſed thoſe diſſenſions which were
already but too fierce, and was attended with ſuch conſequences as could hardly have
been foreſeen. *Philip* at a certain ſtated ſeaſon gave directions for luſtrating the army,
a ceremony heretofore deſcribed, and of which we ſhall ſay nothing more here, than
that it was concluded by the repreſentation of a fight, the army dividing for that pur-
poſe, and one half combating the other. The two young princes were commanders
in this mock engagement, and their companions raſhly inſtigating them to ſhew
their skill and bravery therein, a great deal of miſchief enſued. In the end, *Deme-* d
trius prevailed. *Perſeus* at the firſt was very much diſcontented, but when his coun-
ſellors ſhewed him that this intemperate heat in his brother might furniſh him with a
very plauſible complaint to his father, he grew better ſatisfied, and conſulted on this
ſubject with his confidents. In the evening both princes entertaining their friends,
ſome of *Perſeus*'s ſpies were diſcovered at *Demetrius*'s table, and on account of their
inſolent behaviour, were firſt well beaten, and then expelled. But when the com-
pany had drank more freely, *Demetrius*, who was naturally good-humoured, would
needs go to ſee his brother, that he might ſhew he was no way diſaffected to him;
thoſe young men who had lately beaten his ſpies, deſired *Demetrius* to excuſe them, to
which he would by no means conſent, believing that he ſhould be able ſo to compoſe e
matters, as to give *Perſeus* ſatisfaction. Thoſe young men having quite another opi-
nion of his brother's temper, took care privately to arm themſelves for fear of the
worſt, which when others, who were *Perſeus*'s diſcreeter ſpies obſerved, they inſtantly
went and acquainted him with; he and the counſellors about him immediately deter-
mined, that this was the grand opportunity they ſought, wherefore they cauſed the
doors to be immediately barricadoed, at which on his arrival *Demetrius* expreſſing
great ſurprize, his brother from within called to him to be gone, told him, he muſt
take ſome other time, for that at preſent he was too well guarded to be aſſaſſinated.
Preſently after *Demetrius* was accuſed by his brother to their father, of an attempt
to murder him; and it was ſuggeſted, that he did this in confidence that the *Romans* f
would ſupport him; and to give colour to this ſuggeſtion, *Perſeus* took notice of a
letter from *T. Quintius*, wherein it was recommended to him to ſend *Demetrius* once
again to *Rome* better attended than formerly, as the beſt means to procure favour for
himſelf. *Demetrius* on the other hand defended himſelf boldly, and without ſhewing
any apprehenſion for the conſequences; he recapitulated all the paſſages of the day;
he bitterly inveighed againſt his brother for turning the exerciſe of the army into a
ſtruggle for the crown, and for repreſenting actions of merriment and play as the
effects of ſome gloomy conſpiracy: he avowed his purpoſe to viſit his brother, but
diſclaimed any ſiniſter view, or any thought in himſelf, to practiſe againſt his bro-
ther's life. As for any dependence on the *Romans*, he ſaid, that thoſe only who

were

a were unacquainted with that people, could ſuggeſt, they would ſupport ſo baſe and black a conſpiracy; that the affection they had for himſelf proceeded, if not from his own virtue, at leaſt from their opinion of it, which would have been effectually forfeited by ſo nefarious an enterprize; he concluded with a ſolemn aſſeveration, that notwithſtanding what was paſſed, he ſtill loved *Perſeus* as his brother; that he revered the king as his parent, and his ſovereign, and that he had ever ſought to promote the peace of *Macedon*, as that which was moſt conducive to its power and grandeur. *Philip* having calmly heard all that was ſaid on both ſides, decided prudently, and with a great ſhew of juſtice. He blamed *Demetrius* for acting in ſuch a manner, as to give the leaſt colour to his brother's charge; he reprehended *Perſeus* for putting
b the worſt conſtruction on dubious actions; riſing at length from his ſeat, he declared that he would paſs no judgment on the paſſages of a day, and the diſcourſes at a dinner, but would believe of his ſons whatever their future actions ſhould ſpeak them, exhorting them to take what had now happened for warning, and to be extremely circumſpect in their conduct for the future. Notwithſtanding this grave and diſintereſted ſpeech, the king leaned for the time to come wholly to his eldeſt ſon; with him he conſulted on all his affairs; and him only he made privy to the projects he had formed for regaining a part at leaſt of what the *Romans* had taken from him. As for *Demetrius*, he countenanced him publicly, but kept him a ſtranger to his councils. In the mean time he formed in his own breaſt a ſcheme, which, as he thought, would
c put him out of doubt, as to the intentions of his younger ſon, either by demonſtrating his innocence, or making his guilt apparent. With this view he choſe *Philocles* and *Apelles*, *Macedonian* noblemen, who, as far as his intelligence reached, had never ſided with either of the brethren, to go embaſſadors to *Rome*; their public inſtructions ran to aſſure the ſtate of his maintaining the preſent good correſpondence between himſelf and them; but they were privately directed to inquire into his ſon's conduct there, who were his intimates, and what ſchemes he had been forming. Theſe worthy embaſſadors perceiving on which ſide the king's affections leaned, addreſſed themſelves immediately to *Perſeus*, and with him concerted what report they ſhould make on their return before they ſet out for *Rome*. The reſult of their
d contrivances was, that when *Philocles* and *Apelles* came back, they ſpoke very tenderly of *Demetrius*, and preſented the king a letter from *Titus Quintius*, whoſe ſeal, before he opened it, the king, who was well acquainted with it, obſerved; wherein the *Roman* interceded earneſtly for his younger ſon, excuſing his wrong practices from his youth, and beſeeching the king to paſs by the meaſures he had taken to ſupplant his brother, the rather, becauſe all *Demetrius*'s hopes from the *Romans* were vain, and ill founded, ſince himſelf, who loved him ſo well, would never have countenanced ſo baſe an action. *Philip* made no queſtion that he had now diſcovered the truth, and therefore marched his army towards mount *Hæmus*, on a frivolous pretext of viewing the country, but in truth, that he might have the better opportu-
e nity of putting *Demetrius* under an arreſt, which he accordingly did, giving one *Didas* the command of the guard placed upon him. This commander too was one of *Perſeus*'s creatures, and by his directions found a way to compleat the ruin of the young prince. He inſinuated to him, that though his father had placed him as a kind of keeper, yet he was ſo much moved with a ſenſe of his misfortunes, that to deliver him out of them, he would be content to run any riſque whatever. The hapleſs *Demetrius* ſwallowing the bait, confeſſed that he deſired to fly to *Rome*, there to paſs his days in ſafety out of the reach of his vindictive brother. *Didas* having communicated this to the king, received from him a command to take off his priſoner by poiſon; but withal, he was cautioned to do it privately, on account of the
f love born by the *Macedonians* to the young prince, as well as for fear of the *Romans*. *Didas*, according to his maſter's orders, poiſoned *Demetrius*; but the drug working ſlowly, and the young man complaining bitterly, the buſineſs began to take air; upon which *Didas* picked out two ſtout ruffians, who ſmothered that hopeful prince in the twenty-fifth year of his age. This was the firſt fact of its kind, which had fallen out in the houſe of *Antigonus the Great*, which till now had been remarkable for nothing ſo much as the piety of children towards parents, and the affection of parents towards children; a doctrine which *Philip* himſelf had formerly inculcated to his ſons, and which he now diſpenſed with merely from reaſon of ſtate [1].

[1] Liv. Hiſt. lib. xxxix. xl. Polyb. excerpt Hiſt. lib. vii. & ix. Diodor. Sicul. excerpt. lib. xxvi. Justin. lib. xxxii.

Philip *falls into a deep melancholy.*

The unfortunate *Demetrius* was hardly in his grave before his brother and his father altered their conduct. *Perſeus* having obtained all he ſought for, began to be leſs aſſiduous about his father, and to act more independently than he was wont; he did not diſguiſe the ſatisfaction which the death of his competitor gave him, or endeavour to conceal the number of his dependents, and the ſtrength of his faction. *Philip* was too quick-ſighted not to diſcern this alteration in his ſon's conduct; he began from that moment to doubt whether all that had been told him was true, or whether a baſe and cruel ſon had not contrived to deprive him of a worthy and deſerving child. Theſe thoughts having once entered his head, he ſaw daily more and more circumſtances tending to heighten the ſuſpicion. At length he communicated his apprehenſions to his couſin *Antigonus*, a man of great honour and integrity, whoſe frank behaviour, and honeſt counſels, had long before rendered him obnoxious to *Perſeus*. This man readily agreed with the king, that his jealouſy of *Perſeus* was better grounded than that which he had conceived of his brother; he farther informed him, that there was one *Xychus* about the court who he had good grounds to believe was privy to the whole contrivance; whereupon, by the king's expreſs command, this traitor was ſeized, and brought into his preſence; where for fear of the torture, he confeſſed that the letter of *T. Quintius Flaminius* was a forgery, and that he had been employed to frame it. *Philip*, diſtracted with the thoughts of having deſtroyed his own child, and tortured *Herodorus*, a *Macedonian* nobleman to death, merely for being his favourite, gave himſelf up to a melancholy, which differed very little from madneſs. However by fits and ſtarts he acted as a king; for laying ſuddenly hold of *Philocles*, he firſt extorted from him a confeſſion, and then put him to death; *Apelles* would have ſhared his fate, if he had not ſecured himſelf by flight, withdrawing into *Italy*, in hopes of receiving there the news of his maſter's death, whom age and grief had now brought into a very declining condition. As for *Perſeus*, though he did not retire out of *Macedon*, yet he kept upon the borders, quite deſerting his father's court, expecting with impatience the happy minute which ſhould make it his own. *Philip* having now a true ſenſe of his miſery, plainly perceived that his arts ſerved only to render him ſuſpected; that his cruelty had made him odious; that the *Romans* ſpared him only out of reſpect to his anceſtors; and that his death, as it was expected, ſo it was alſo generally wiſhed for at home and abroad. In this untoward ſituation he formed a deſign of altering the ſucceſſion of the crown, and having expoſed the whole contrivance of his ſon *Perſeus* againſt his brother *Demetrius* to the *Macedonians*, he earneſtly recommended it to them to ſet *Antigonus* on the throne, which a little after he left vacant, dying of grief, when he had reigned forty-two years, and began to draw towards threeſcore. This end had *Philip*, who with great natural parts had an excellent education, and in proceſs of time all that experience could add to perfect his wiſdom. He was the author of his own misfortunes, for his tutor *Antigonus* left him in far happier circumſtances than he could ever arrive at after he preſumed by his own judgment to change the face of affairs. In him it is pretended the propheſy of a certain *Sibyl* was fulfilled, who foretold, that as the *Macedonians* owed the extenſion of their power to a *Philip*, ſo a *Philip* ſhould bring on its extinction. It is indeed obſervable, that theſe *Philips* had a likeneſs in their characters, though not in the ſucceſs of their deſigns; they were both generals, both orators, both politicians; but they differed in this, that the firſt *Philip* was debonaire, open, and full of clemency, affecting empire, but affecting alſo ſo mild a government, as to leave men in doubt whether they ſhould not prefer it to liberty; whereas the other *Philip* was ſuſpicious, implacable, ready to ſhed blood, and alike covetous of power, and of making himſelf terrible by his power. The firſt was proſperous in all things, the latter proſpered not in any [k].

Perſeus. *Year after the flood* 2820. *Year before Chriſt* 179.

If *Philip* had entered upon this ſcheme of his ever ſo little earlier, he had in all probability ſucceeded; for we do not find that the *Macedonians* were much addicted to *Perſeus*, or, that they at all diſliked *Antigonus*; but inaſmuch as the king thought not of it till his life grew near a cloſe, *Perſeus* found means to bribe his phyſician *Caligines*, who gave him from time to time notice of his father's ſtate of health, and who adviſed him of his death a conſiderable time before he ſuffered it to be known to the public. *Perſeus* laying hold of this opportunity, came unexpectedly to the city of *Demetrias*, where his father died, with a body of troops, and ſeated himſelf

[k] Tit. Liv. lib xli. Justin. lib. xxxii.

on

a on the throne by force. His firſt care was to ſettle himſelf firmly, which he conceived could not be done, till *Antigonus* was taken off; he began his reign therefore with ſhedding blood, and little regarding either the virtues of the man, or his near relation to his own family, he cauſed him to be put to death. Then he began to take gentler meaſures, and to put on the appearance of clemency and generoſity; virtues with which in truth he was wholly unacquainted. We have before-mentioned *Philip*'s inviting the *Baſtarnæ* to change their cold barren ſeats for the fruitful country of *Dardania*. This project with much difficulty he had brought to bear in the very laſt year of his life, and theſe people were then actually on their march through *Thrace* to the country he had offered them. But when the news of *Philip*'s death
b came to be publiſhed, this buſineſs began to go backwards. The *Baſtarnæ* themſelves doubted, whether it were beſt for them to proceed, and the *Thracians* were irreſolute as to the permiſſion of their further progreſs. Hereupon quarrels enſued, under pretence that the *Thracians* exacted on the *Baſtarnæ* in their markets, whence a war took riſe, in which at firſt the *Thracians* were grievouſly handled, loſing all the plain country to their new gueſts, who not contented therewith, began to follow them to the mountains. In this expedition their fortune failed them, and either the deſpair of the *Thracians*, or, as ſome authors have reported, a miraculous tempeſt of hail, rain, and lightning, compelled the far greateſt part of theſe barbarous invaders to return with their wives and children to their ancient dwellings. Only thirty thou-
c ſand penetrated into *Dardania*, and began there to carve out for themſelves new ſettlements, were privately aſſiſted by *Perſeus*, who well knew both the nature and importance of his father's ſcheme. His circumſtances did not allow him to act according to his inclination; his pride and avarice ſwelled his boſom with almoſt all the vices capable of deforming the human will; his fear however taught him to counterfeit ſome of the virtues which give the higheſt luſtre to a crown. Moved by the terror of their greatneſs, he ſent an embaſſy to the *Romans*, intreating them to renew the league made with his father, and to acknowledge him for king of *Macedon*, promiſing in return to act as their faithful ally, to leave his neighbours in peace, and to undertake no war without their permiſſion. At home he affected all things that
d might reconcile him to the minds of the people; he not only curbed his innate thirſt of wealth, and made a ſhew of generoſity, but his adminiſtration was alſo wonderfully mild, and, above all, he affected a rigid regard to juſtice. He ſat daily to hear cauſes, and having a clear head, decided upon them with ſome applauſe. Towards the *Greeks* he behaved with the utmoſt moderation; he gratified them in all things they deſired of him; he relinquiſhed all the pretences of his anceſtors upon any of their cities; in ſhort he behaved ſo over graciouſly, that his very favours rendered him ſuſpected. The *Romans*, when they had heard his miniſters, ſent over embaſſadors of their own into *Macedon*, who were kindly entertained by *Perſeus*, till they began to act like tutors. Firſt, they interrogated him about the *Baſtarnæ*, and began
e to intimate, that the *Romans* would not ſee the *Dardanians* ſubjected by theſe barbarians. *Perſeus* affirmed, that he did not invite them; but that would not ſerve his turn, they were for forcing him to drive them back again. Shortly after the *Dolopians*, who were the ſubjects of *Perſeus*, rebelled, and ſlew *Euphanor* his governor, under pretence that he had behaved tyrannically; *Perſeus* marched againſt them with an army, and by force reduced them again under his dominion, not without chaſtiſing them pretty ſeverely for their revolt; this furniſhed the *Roman* embaſſadors with new cauſe of complaint; they ſaid, he was tied up by his treaty from making war without the conſent of their ſtate; they intimated as much to *Perſeus*, while he was in the field; but he would not hear of being tied up from puniſhing rebels, which
f to him appeared little leſs than taking from him his kingdom. Henceforward therefore the *Romans* and he were never upon good terms, though they were not immediately engaged in war, which however the uneaſineſs only of their reſpective circumſtances hindred, and not any inclination in either to enter into an amicable diſquiſition of the cauſes whence the diſcord between them ſprung. After ſubduing the *Dolopians*, *Perſeus* went to make a viſit to the temple of *Apollo* at *Delphi*, marching however at the head of his army; this ſeemed to be at once a dangerous and unneceſſary expedition, on account of his paſſing through the territories of ſtates little affected to him, and to whom indeed the conduct of his father might have juſtly rendered him obnoxious; yet *Perſeus* ſo managed it, as not only to avoid giving farther offence, but alſo to make this very march a means of reſtoring friendſhip and

and confidence between himſelf and theſe ſtates. He took ſuch care in quartering his army, that none were oppreſſed, and paid ſo exactly for whatever they had, that many thought his paſſage a benefit to them. The deputies which were ſent to compliment him, he received kindly, and with reſpect; and when he had performed his journey to *Delphi*, he returned without leaving any mark either of reſentment or ambition behind him. This was a new cauſe of complaint at *Rome*, where, if the king lived upon ill terms with his neighbours, it was reſented as a mark of his thirſt of power; and if he was deſirous of being upon good terms with them, that too was reſented as an indication of his ſeeking allies, in caſe he made war with the *Romans*. To ſay the truth, ſuſpicion reigned at preſent in *Italy*, and in *Greece*, the *Romans* holding none for friends who ſcrupled obedience in any thing; and the *Greeks* began to diſtruſt the *Roman* friendſhip, when they found it as fatal to their liberty as the enmity of others [k]. Hence two factions ſprung up in *Greece*, the one wholly dependent on *Rome*, the other deſirous of reſtoring the ancient glory of their country, and therefore favouring the king of *Macedon*, who on all occaſions affected to ſpeak warmly on this topic, and to repreſent the independency of *Greece* as the main point he had in view. As a war was generally expected, and as the king himſelf meant at laſt to recur to force, he took great pains to be well provided for it; he cultivated the friendſhip of the *Rhodians*, who had been his father's open enemies, and this with ſuch ſucceſs, that in a moſt ſumptuous manner they conveyed to him *Laodice* the daughter of *Seleucus*, ſon of *Antiochus the Great* [l]. About the ſame time he married his ſiſter to *Pruſias* king of *Bithynia*, whom he had engaged in alliance with him. With the *Thracians* he not only ſtruck up a peace, but drew them to conſent to furniſh him with ſoldiers, when and in what proportion he pleaſed. In his own kingdom of *Macedon*, he not only laid up vaſt ſums of money, but provided magazines of proviſions for a great army for ten years, keeping up at the ſame time thirty thouſand foot, and five thouſand horſe. Theſe ſteps appeared ſo prudent to the *Greeks*, that, forgetting *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus*, their old favourite, upon whom they had heaped extravagant honours, they began to incline to *Perſeus*, who gave himſelf out for the patron of the *Greek* liberty againſt the pride of the *Romans*; *Eumenes*, provoked at this, and being alſo an hereditary enemy to *Perſeus*, whom he greatly hated, determined to make a ſpecial journey to *Rome* on purpoſe to incite the ſenate to pull down his competitor, whom he now looked on as the idol of *Greece*. *Perſeus* had alſo his embaſſadors, the chief of whom was one *Harpalus* at *Rome*, who when *Eumenes* had been heard, requeſted to ſpeak in the king's defence. This was granted them, and *Harpalus*, who was at the head of the commiſſion, either of his own head, or by direction from the king, ſpoke in very high terms. He ſaid, that *Perſeus* had hitherto and would always give every reaſonable ſatisfaction to the *Romans*, but that he would ſtill remember he was a ſovereign prince; and if reaſonable ſatisfaction would not content them, he would not be afraid of betaking himſelf to arms. The ſenate acted with its uſual caution, concealed the ſubſtance of *Eumenes*'s ſpeech, that it might be thought to contain more than it really did, and gave the embaſſadors of *Perſeus* a cold general anſwer. *Eumenes*, when he went from *Rome*, reſolved to imitate the conduct of his rival, and in order to regain the favour of the *Greeks*, to viſit the temple at *Delphi*; *Perſeus* having intelligence of this, took ſpecial care for his reception, by cauſing four aſſaſſins to hide themſelves behind a wall making one ſide of a narrow paſſage from the ſea to the temple, whence with ſtones they might deſtroy *Eumenes* without being diſcovered themſelves. This ſcheme was carried into execution, and very narrowly miſſed meeting with ſucceſs. Theſe bravo's took the king at the propoſed diſadvantage, and ſo effectually ſtoned him, that they had not the leaſt ſuſpicion of his eſcaping death. They then endeavoured to provide for their own ſafety, and one of them being ſlower of foot than the reſt, they killed him to prevent his making any diſcovery. However the king came afterwards a little to himſelf, and was conveyed to the iſland of *Ægina*, where he lay concealed, till ſuch time as he was perfectly recovered. In all probability, *Perſeus* would have been well contented, notwithſtanding the miſcarriage of his deſign, if it had remained a ſecret; but it was his misfortune to have the whole break out with ſuch evidence as could ſcarce be denied. One *Praxo*, a lady of quality at *Delphi*, with whom king *Perſeus* had lodged, had entertained the aſſaſſins, and one of them was known to be *Evander*, a *Cretan*, who

[k] LIV. Hiſt. lib. xli. JUSTIN. lib. xxxiii. c. 4. [l] POLYB. Legat. lx.

was

a was general of the auxiliary troops in the ſervice of the king of *Macedon*. *Valerius*, a *Roman* embaſſador in *Greece*, cauſed *Praxo* to be ſeized, and ſent into *Italy*, where they had ſcarce made diſcovery of the plot againſt *Eumenes*, than the news of another, which more nearly concerned them, came from the diligence of the ſame perſon. *Valerius* brought with him one *Rammius*, a citizen of *Brunduſium*, who opened the following ſcene: he ſaid, that having a large houſe in his native city, he had often entertained the *Macedonian* embaſſadors when paſſing to *Rome*, and returning thence home. That king *Perſeus* having given him to underſtand that he took very kindly his civility to his miniſters, invited him into *Macedon*, and when he was come thither, cauſed to be propoſed to him the giving a certain poiſonous drug to the principal
b ſenators who were eſteemed enemies to the *Macedonian* intereſt, which poiſon *Rammius* was informed would work imperceptibly. That for fear of his own life he had accepted this commiſſion, but had immediately diſcloſed it to *Valerius*, and with him came home. The *Romans* upon this diſpatched orders to their embaſſadors in *Macedon* to acquaint *Perſeus* with the crimes laid to his charge, and to demand direct anſwers; of which the king being informed, he put off their audience ſeveral times, and having at length tired out their patience, they reſolved to return home. When they were about to put this deſign in execution, he ſent for them, and heard all they had to ſay. In anſwer to their harangue, he fell rudely upon their maſters: he ſaid the *Romans* were grown ſo intolerably proud, ſo exceſſively inſolent, and ſo unreaſonably
c greedy of authority, that they would not be content to have princes for their allies, unleſs they were alſo their ſlaves. That under colour of ſending embaſſadors, they ſent ſpies, and ſometimes tutors; that as to the league made with his father, he had nothing to do with it. That he had indeed ſubmitted to it on his firſt coming to the crown, becauſe his affairs were unſettled; but that for the future he would not look upon himſelf to be bound by it, though he was content to make a new treaty upon equitable terms. The embaſſadors having according to their inſtructions defied him, he commanded them to depart his dominions in three days. It was the misfortune of this king to have at ſome times too much, and at other times too little ſpirit. If he had begun the war with the ſame vigor that on this occaſion he ſeemed to declare it,
d in all probability he had ſucceeded therein; but ſuffering fear to get the better of him, and entertaining falſe hopes of peace, he once more fell into a train of negotiation, than which nothing could be more prejudicial to his affairs. Before we proceed farther, it will be neceſſary to take notice of the conduct of the princes, whoſe dominions bordered on thoſe of *Macedon*, in this nice conjuncture. *Gentius* king of *Illyria*, and the *Rhodians*, inclined to the *Macedonian* ſide, for which reaſon the *Romans* dealt haughtily with them for the preſent, and very ſeverely afterwards. *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus*, did not only diſcover his uſual complaiſance for the *Romans*, but alſo the moſt fierce and implacable hatred againſt *Perſeus*. *Pruſias* king of *Bythinia* deſired to ſtand neuter. He had obligations to the *Romans*, and he had married the king
e of *Macedonia*. *Antiochus* king of *Syria* declared for the *Romans*; ſo did the regency in *Egypt*, where the king was a child. *Cotys* king of the *Odryſians* declared for the *Macedonians*. As for the *Greek* cities, thoſe in the government were, generally ſpeaking, in the intereſt of *Rome*, and the people in moſt of them as generally favourers of *Perſeus* [m].

THE freſh applications of the king for peace produced no other anſwers than this, *That if he was ſincerely inclined to treat with the* Romans, *he might have an opportunity of doing it ſhortly in his own dominions, into which they were about to ſend their conſul with an army*. They were not at all worſe than their words. P. *Licinius Craſſus* was immediately after diſpatched with an army; but before he could arrive in *Greece*, *Perſeus*
f had attempted another method of treating; for having been informed that *Martius*, a *Roman* legate, was in *Theſſaly*, he came himſelf down to *Lariſſa*, and there deſired to have an interview with him, with which *Martius* complied. At this conference the artful *Roman*, though he talked in the high ſtrain of his country, yet he mingled ſo many obliging expreſſions, and teſtified ſuch perſonal reſpect for the king, as put him upon ſending embaſſadors once more to *Rome*, when his affairs required leading down a good army into *Greece*, which would have enabled his friends there to have acknowledged their attachment to him, and havé prevented the *Bœotians* and others from declaring as they did for the *Romans*, merely out of fear. When *Martius* the

War breaks out with the Romans.

[m] LIV. lib. xlii. POLYB. Legat. lxi. lxii. lxiii. DIODOR. SICUL. excerpt. lib. xxvi.

Roman embaſſador returned home, he valued himſelf very much for having over- a
reached the king, and drawn him into a truce; for he had agreed to one for a certain
time, whereby himſelf, who was in a condition of acting, was bound up, and the
Romans had time given them, till they could be in a condition to act. The embaſ-
ſadors of *Perſeus* who came in conſequence of this truce to *Rome*, had audience given
them; but notwithſtanding they ſignified the king's readineſs to give full and ample
ſatisfaction on every head, they received a very ſhort anſwer, and were commanded
to quit *Italy* in thirty days. When theſe embaſſadors returned, *Perſeus* with much
ado perceived that peace was upon no terms to be had, and therefore as if it had been
againſt his will, though his counſels had hitherto always led that way, he began to
prepare for opening the war. He appointed the general rendezvous of his army at b
Citium, whither when he himſelf came, he offered a hecatomb to *Pallas*, and then
proceeded to a general review. He muſtered on this occaſion thirty-nine thouſand
foot, and four thouſand horſe: the moſt numerous and by far the fineſt army that ſince
Alexander's expedition into *Aſia* any *Macedonian* king had brought into the field. The
king having viewed them, mounted his tribunal, from whence he made a long and
laboured harangue, entering into a detail of all that had paſſed between himſelf and
the *Romans* from his acceſſion to the crown to that time, which the ſoldiers heard with
ſome attention, and moderate ſigns of ſatisfaction; but when at the cloſe he repreſented
the ancient glory of the *Macedonians*, and the miſery to which the *Romans* ſought to
reduce them in pathetic terms, the army ſhouted aloud, and promiſed him that c
they would die in the field to a man, rather than not equal their anceſtors, and redeem
their country from any apprehenſions of being ſubjected by this new and arrogant
ſtate. The king after this gave audience to the deputies from the ſeveral cities
of *Macedon*, each of which offered men, money and proviſions for carrying on the
war. *Perſeus* teſtified the pleaſure he received from theſe tokens of their loyalty,
but told them in anſwer, that as the war he made was for their defence, ſo he would
endeavour that it ſhould be carried on without any burthen or expence to them, and
therefore except carriages for his baggage, he would expect nothing at preſent from
them. Theſe were quickly furniſhed, and the king took his rout into *Theſſaly*,
whither ſoon after came the *Roman* conſul with two legions, in hopes of finding a d
confederate army ready to receive him ſtrong enough to have faced *Perſeus*; but herein
he was miſtaken, and as ſoon as he found his miſtake, was compelled to act ſlowly
and cautiouſly. The *Macedonian* king in the mean time had abundance of cities opened
to him, and ſeveral of thoſe that did not yield, he took by force. At length he
began to waſte the country about *Pherea*, notwithſtanding the conſul lay with his
army within a few miles of it; and though he had in his army ſeveral kings and princes
who came on purpoſe to ſhew their fidelity to the *Romans*, and their hatred to *Perſeus*.
The conſul however durſt not adventure to offer the enemy battle, which when the
Macedonian perceived, he advanced within twelve miles of him, and with his horſe
and light-armed troops came and inſulted him in his camp. This he repeated ſeveral e
days together, though he was obliged to ſend every day carriages laden with casks
of water to refreſh his troops, there being none in the road. At length he took a
nearer ſtation by ſeven miles, from whence he could with greater facility march to and
diſturb the *Roman* camp. Accordingly inſtead of coming as he was wont to do a little
before noon, he appeared next morning before the *Roman* camp by break of day. The
whole camp was in confuſion, and the ſoldiers began to have but an indifferent opinion
of a conſul, whoſe firſt intelligence of the enemy came from the noiſe of their arms.
Licinius drew up the foot within the camp, the horſe and light-armed troops he ſent
to fight the *Macedonians*. When *Perſeus* perceived them iſſuing from their camp, he
drew his own forces into a line within five hundred paces of their retrenchments. f
Cotys king of the *Odryſians* took poſt with his own troops on the left. The *Mace-
donian* and *Cretan* horſes on the right. The king with his houſhold troops in the
centre, having before them a forlorn of four hundred ſlingers and archers. On the
other ſide all the *Roman* and *Italian* horſe were in the right under the command of
Caius Licinius Craſſus. The troops of the allies in the left. *Quintus Mucius* with
a choice corps of horſe was in the centre, having before him a troop of a hundred
Gauls, and three hundred of the horſe brought by *Eumenes*. Four hundred *Theſſa-
lian* horſe were placed as a corps of reſerve on the left of the left wing, and the
reſt of the forces of *Eumenes* under the command of himſelf and his brother *Attalus*
drew up behind the laſt line of horſe between them and the retrenchments. The action

was

a was lively, and quickly over, ending every-where to the advantage of the *Macedonians*. *Cotys* with his *Thracians* beat the flower of the *Roman* cavalry. King *Perſeus* in the centre broke the auxiliaries, and greater ſlaughter had been made, if the *Theſſalian* horſe with the light-armed troops had not covered the retreat of the reſt into the camp. The troops on each ſide were about four thouſand. The *Romans* loſt two hundred horſe killed on the ſpot, as many taken priſoners; and of the foot there were no leſs ſlain than two thouſand. Of the *Macedonians* there fell twenty horſe, and forty foot only. While *Perſeus* remained in the field, his generals, *Hippias* and *Leonatus*, without ſtaying for his command, brought up the phalanx, and preſſed him to ſtorm the enemy's retrenchments. If he had followed their advice, in all
b probability he had put an end to the war; for by this time the very *Greeks*, who were in the ſervice of the *Romans*, began to perceive they were rivetting their own chains, and would gladly have laid hold of any opportunity of declaring againſt their maſters with ſafety. But the cowardly counſel of *Evander* the *Cretan*, who had managed the aſſaſſination of *Eumenes*, prevailed with *Perſeus* to let things remain as they were till next day; but the conſul prevented his taking ſuch an advantage a ſecond time, by paſſing the river *Peneus* in the night, and betaking himſelf to an advantagious poſt. The next day *Perſeus* came with his horſe and foot to take a view of what they might have done the day before; afterwards he advanced to *Mopſelus* under colour of ſtreightening the *Romans* in their new quarters, but in truth, that he
c might have an opportunity of treating with the conſul. Accordingly he ſent deputies to acquaint him, that notwithſtanding his late victory, he was contented to accept of the terms which had been granted to his father *Philip* after he was vanquiſhed. The conſul anſwered, that he would grant him no terms, but thoſe of ſubmitting himſelf and his kingdom to the diſcretion of the *Roman* people. The king not yet to be diſcouraged, ſent again to offer tribute, and when he found this application alſo vain, he retired to his old camp. This puſilanimous conduct ruined him in the opinion both of friends and foes; the *Romans* would grant him nothing, and the *Greeks* were afraid to expreſs any inclination towards him, having no reaſon to expect that he would defend them, who had ſo little heart to defend himſelf. When *Perſeus*
d found that he had no choice but war, he began to renew it, and as he had once been very near ſurprizing the *Roman* camp, he thought to be quicker the next time; but the *Roman* conſul was become more careful, and ſo his forced marches had no other conſequences than fatiguing his troops. He then fell upon their foragers with ſome ſucceſs, but this drawing on another horſe battle, he was routed with conſiderable loſs; whereupon he retired into *Macedon* [n]. On his retreat the conſul recovered ſeveral places in *Theſſaly*, and *Lucretius* the *Roman* admiral levied heavy contributions on the *Greek* coaſt. Afterwards *Appius Claudius* was ſent to penetrate *Macedon* on the ſide of *Illyria*; but he had very ill entertainment, for the inhabitants of a frontier town pretending to betray it, the *Roman* general entered it ſo careleſsly, that
e they had an opportunity of falling upon his troops, which they uſed ſo well, that he was glad to make a very precipitate retreat. However not long after he took it, while *Perſeus* with great trouble made an expedition into *Ætolia*; the principal city in which it was promiſed ſhould be yielded up to him. In this the king miſcarried; but in his return he took ſeveral places, and having ſtrengthened one of his lieutenant generals with ſome recruits, that general fell upon *Claudius*, routed him, and retook *Uſcana*. The next ſpring the conſul *Martius* was ſent to command againſt *Perſeus*. As ſoon as he came to the army he began to make war in earneſt; his intent was to penetrate into the very heart of *Macedonia*, which however he found a very difficult matter. *Perſeus* had diſtributed his forces in ſuch a manner as to guard all the paſſes, not know-
f ing where the enemy would break through, encamping himſelf at *Dium* with a conſiderable corps of troops, that he might be ready to aſſiſt any of his guards that ſhould be attacked. This was wiſely enough contrived, if he had executed his ſcheme with tolerable courage. The *Roman* conſul attempted to paſs over a very high mountain at a ſmall diſtance from his camp; the road through which he was to paſs was extremely narrow, and very much encumbered, ſo that if there had been no enemy at hand to oppoſe him, the paſſage had been difficult enough. *Hippias* however with a body of *Macedonian* foot appeared in his way, and ſuch trouble they gave him, that he neither knew how to proceed, nor how to retire. If *Perſeus* had ſup-

[n] Liv. lib. xliii.

ported

ported his own ſoldiers, the conſul had been undone; but he ſpent his time in making a
courſes with his cavalry, ſo that *Hippias* was left to fight it out, and *Martius* with much ado got into the famous vale of *Tempe* contrary to all expectation, and when he might have been repelled with eaſe, or, which was worſe, might have been ſtarved with all his army. As ſoon as the timorous *Perſeus* received the news of the *Roman* conſul's being in full march towards him, he inſtantly ſlighted *Dium*, a place ſtrong by ſituation, and well fortified, crying out that he was vanquiſhed without a battle, and that all was loſt; he alſo diſpatched orders to *Andronicus*, governor of *Theſſalonica*, to burn the arſenal there with all the naval ſtores he had with ſo much pains laid up; and to *Nicias*, governor of *Pella*, he ſent poſitive directions to throw all his treaſures into the ſea. The former of theſe orders, *Andronicus* who received it, had too much b
wiſdom to execute; the latter *Nicias* conceived delivered in terms too preciſe to be diſobeyed, ſo the treaſures were inſtantly thrown into the ſea. When the king recovered his fright a little, and perceived that the conſul now he was come into *Macedon* could effect no great matter, he ſent to have his treaſures recovered by *divers*, which was alſo done, and then to reward the wiſdom of *Andronicus*, the loyalty of *Nicias*, and the labour of thoſe poor men who had plunged to the bottom of the ſea to ſerve him, he ordered them all to be put to death, hoping by this means to conceal from the world his ſcandalous meanneſs of ſpirit, in throwing up all hopes the very moment he was attacked. With the ſame view he ſent for *Hippias* and *Aſclepiodatus*, who had ſo bravely defended the paſſages, and after having with great heat reproved them at c
the head of the army, he with much ſeeming reluctancy left them in their commands: had they attempted to defend their conduct, which in itſelf was above cenſure, they had without doubt ſhared in the fate of *Andronicus*, *Nicias*, and the *divers*. In the mean time the conſul *Martius* took poſſeſſion of *Dium*, and advanced farther into *Macedonia*, having ſent orders to the prætor *Lucretius* at *Lariſſa* to tranſport with all diligence proviſions for his army into *Macedon*. Whether the prætor executed the commands ſent him with all the care he was able, or whether the badneſs of the roads permitted not the waggons to proceed farther than *Phila*, certain it is, that there they ſtopped. The conſul the farther he marched found his diſtreſs ſtill increaſe, ſo that terrified with the fear of loſing his whole army, he ſuddenly did what the king had d
done before, abandoned all that was already in his power, and marched precipitately back to *Phila*. *Perſeus* ſeized this opportunity, and after having given directions for repairing *Dium*, encamped on the river *Euripus*, where he fortified himſelf ſo well, that the conſul durſt not attack him, and, which was ſtill worſe, could not advance farther into the country, ſo that except taking the city of *Heraclea*, he did nothing throughout the whole campaign. To ſhew his good-will however, he ſent orders to the *Roman* admiral to make deſcents on the ſea coaſt, and to make himſelf maſter of all, or at leaſt of moſt of the conſiderable ports [n]. In obedience to theſe directions, the admiral firſt attempted *Theſſalonica*, but with very indifferent ſucceſs; the country about it he ravaged, but for the city itſelf he found his forces were not either e
able to inveſt, or to attack it, ſo he ſailed ſtill along the coaſt, landing and attacking the little cities of *Ænia* and *Antigonia*, without being able to take either. Then proceeding to *Caſſandria*, he was there joined by king *Eumenes* with twenty ſhips of war; they both agreed to beſiege the citadel of *Caſſandria* in form, which accordingly they did, and for ſome time proceeded ſucceſsfully by ſap; but while they ſounded an alarm in their camp, and made other diſpoſitions for a falſe attack to amuſe the gariſon, the beſieged ſuddenly ſallied and ſurprized them, cutting off the miners, and the troops who were ſent to ſupport them. A little after they received relief by ſea, whereupon king *Eumenes*, and the *Roman* admiral, reimbarqued their troops, and ſtood away for *Demetrias*. When they arrived before that city, they again landed; f
but there they found *Euphranor*, a *Macedonian* general, who having a fine corps of troops under his command, not ſatisfied with preſerving the city, encamped before it, and would not ſo much as ſuffer the *Romans* to pillage the country without calling them to a ſevere account; whereupon the admiral once more imbarqued his forces, being obliged to put an end to the campaign on his ſide, having done juſt nothing at all. The prætor *Appius Claudius* lay all this while in *Illyria* with a body of troops; but whether he was never ſtrong enough to invade *Macedon*, or whether king *Perſeus* by himſelf or his lieutenants defeated him in any expedition for that purpoſe, we know

[n] Tit. Liv. Hiſt. lib. xliv.

not,

a not, having none but *Roman* guides to inſtruct us; this is certain, that by the end of the campaign he was in a very miſerable condition, inſomuch that he earneſtly demanded of the *Achæans* a reinforcement of five thouſand men, which he had certainly received, if the envy of *Martius* the conſul had not induced him to ſend a contrary order under pretence of ſparing the *Roman* allies °. Theſe ſucceſsleſs proceedings joined with ſome apprehenſions that the *Romans* were not very well affected to any kings, induced *Eumenes* to think of changing ſides, and of coming to ſome agreement with his old enemy *Perſeus*. He thought however that his friendſhip being of great value, ought to be well paid for, and knowing that the *Macedonian* had heaped up large treaſures, he ſet his amity at a very high price, no leſs than
b fifteen hundred talents. This alſo he required to be paid down, promiſing to give hoſtages for his obſerving an exact neutrality; and if a further ſum was paid him, to make peace for him with the *Romans*. *Perſeus* liked every thing but parting with the money, and to this even the giving of hoſtages would not perſuade him, though nothing could be clearer, than that the ſingle detaching of *Eumenes* from the *Roman* intereſt was of much greater value than that ſum. The policy of *Perſeus* ran quite a contrary way, he fancied that his very negotiations would produce the deſired effect without parting with a talent; and herein he was right, for they did produce an inveterate hatred between the *Romans* and their old friend *Eumenes*; but that hatred did not produce him any good, and we ſhall ſee that the ſame conduct had
c the like event in other places. *Illyria* was the only ſide of the *Macedonian* kingdom which afforded a plain and open paſſage. This had hitherto been well ſecured, partly by force, and partly by artfully keeping up diſſenſions and diſputes between *Gentius* king of *Illyria*, and the *Romans*. *Perſeus* was very deſirous of puſhing this matter ſtill farther; he knew well that if he could kindle a war againſt *Rome* on this ſide, it would at leaſt protect his territories, and at the ſame time divide the forces of the republic. He therefore commiſſioned his embaſſadors to make *Gentius* large offers in caſe he would break with the *Romans*, and carry on the war with vigor. This young *Illyrian* prince hearkened willingly to the offers made him, for he comprehended eaſily enough that the *Romans* would extend their dominions on all ſides, and that to
d be their ally would be only in other terms to become ſubject to them. He therefore plainly anſwered *Perſeus*, that he was content to take a ſhare in the war, but that he by no means could ſtir till he had a conſiderable ſum of money. This mention of money ſtopped *Perſeus*'s mouth for a time; however, when the conſul broke into *Tempe*, *Perſeus* thought he might as well give *Gentius* his wealth, as throw it into the ſea; wherefore he ſent him ten talents by way of earneſt, and ſealed up three hundred more, which was the ſum agreed on in the preſence of the *Illyrian* embaſſadors, and ordered them alſo to be conveyed to his ally; yet here again covetouſneſs getting the better of his fear, he directed they ſhould make very ſlow marches, and ſtop upon the frontiers, till they had further orders. When *Gentius* had received from
e *Pantauchus* the *Macedonian* miniſter ten talents and letters from his own embaſſadors, importing that three hundred more were actually upon the road, he was perſuaded to take what was called the firſt neceſſary ſtep on his ſide, which was to ſeize the *Roman* embaſſadors in open violation of the law of nations. Of this when *Perſeus* had advice, he ſent immediately to put a ſtop to the progreſs of the treaſure waggons; for he knew that *Gentius* would be forced for his own ſake to engage in a war on account of his having impriſoned the legates of the republic. This low policy iſſued in the ruin of the *Illyrian*, his kingdom and family, at the ſame time that it produced *Perſeus* no good in the world. Theſe miſtakes one would have thought might have induced the king to have thought better for the future; but he was everlaſt-
f ingly ſteady in wrong meaſures, and would never be brought to act otherwiſe than as a moſt careful treaſurer for his enemies. It happened that *Clondicus*, who, from the beſt intelligence we have, ſeems to have been king of the *Baſtarnæ*, that is, of ſuch of them as had ſettled themſelves on the frontiers of *Macedon*, had agreed to bring a very conſiderable reinforcement to the king's army, provided that they might enter into preſent pay upon reaſonable terms. *Perſeus* promiſed all things, and *Clondicus*, not dreaming that a king would break his word, ſet out with ten thouſand foot, and as many horſe, all choice troops, and well diſciplined. As ſoon as king *Perſeus* had intelligence of their approach, he ſent one *Antigonus*, a lord of his court, to

° Polyb. legat. lxxviii.

I

congratulate *Clondicus*, and to deſire him to haſten his march to the camp; when *Antigonus* had delivered his meſſage, *Clondicus* anſwered him, that the *Gauls* could not march a ſtep farther without money, and that if he had not brought it with him, he muſt return to his maſter, and demand it inſtantly. *Antigonus* having received this ſhort anſwer, returned with all imaginable ſpeed to his maſter. *Perſeus* hereupon called a council of war, in which he made a long ſpeech, tending only to ſave his money. He ſaid that the coming of ſuch a number of *Gauls* might have a very bad tendency, and that it might be as difficult to get them out of the kingdom, as the *Romans*; though it was evident enough, he might have employed them immediately in *Theſſaly*, where whether they had acted according to his inſtructions or not, they muſt have made a very powerful diverſion, and compelled the *Romans* to have quitted *Macedonia*. When *Perſeus* had declaimed upon this head ſufficiently, he proceeded to ſhew that five thouſand horſe would be as many as he ſhould have occaſion for; and when he had delivered himſelf ſo fully on this ſubject, how could it be expected that any in his council ſhould oppoſe it? *Antigonus* therefore was ſent back to *Clondicus* to inform him that king *Perſeus* would accept no more than five thouſand horſe; intelligence which might have ſtirred a man of baſe principles to act in ſuch a manner as *Perſeus* moſt feared. *Clondicus* however made no other anſwer than this: *That it was very extraordinary the king ſhould not have conſidered how many he wanted before they had marched ſo far*, and at the ſame time recurred to his old demand, *viz.* whether he had brought pay for thoſe five thouſand men? *Antigonus* being forced to own that he had not, *Clondicus* and his *Gauls* would have no longer patience; but immediately began their march home again, ſpoiling ſome part of *Thrace* in their way, which created *Perſeus* new enemies, at the ſame time that he was juſtly deprived of the aſſiſtance that he hoped from his friends. Beſides the attempts already mentioned, this prince made ſome others, as well for the ſupport of himſelf, as for the withdrawing ſome of their allies from their attachment to the republic. With this view he ſent embaſſadors to *Antiochus* king of *Syria*, with orders to repreſent to him, that the *Romans* were alike enemies to all kings, and that his turn would be next, if once *Macedonia* was ſubdued; wherefore he prayed him to interpoſe ſo far, as either to oblige the *Romans* to leave himſelf in quiet poſſeſſion of the kingdom of his anceſtors, or by joining with him, bring about ſuch a reduction of the power of the commonwealth, as to compel her to allow peace to all princes, without pretending to preſcribe them laws in their own dominions. *Perſeus* alſo ſolicited the *Rhodians*, who at this time were very powerful at ſea, and by flattering them, induced a favourable regard to be ſhewn to his intereſts. The conſul *Martius* had alſo ſome points to carry with theſe people, he therefore inſinuated to them, that if they ſent deputies to *Rome*, they might be a means of reſtoring peace to this part of the world, through their mediation: but in this he moſt egregiouſly deluded them, as they found to their coſt; for when their miniſters had audience of the ſenate, and in their harangue propoſed their mediation, they received an anſwer, not only harſh and ſevere, but contemptuous alſo in the higheſt degree. The embaſſadors of the king of *Bythinia*, who likewiſe laboured the ſame point, had a cold return made them; but *Oneſimus*, a *Macedonian* nobleman, whoſe attachment to the *Romans* had obliged him to leave his country, was not only favourably heard by the ſenate, but had a very large penſion aſſigned him, and in all public places was treated with the higheſt reſpect. But it is now time to return to the war, which ended the next campaign in the ruin of *Perſeus*, and the total reduction of his kingdom, though that campaign was over in a fortnight [p].

P. Emilius *ſent into* Macedonia.

The *Romans* had no reaſon to be ſatisfied with thoſe who had hitherto commanded in *Macedon*; for though it did not appear, and perhaps it was never ſuſpected, that they were biaſſed from their duty, yet they had very clearly ſhewn, that they wanted courage and conduct to finiſh the war. Theſe commanders therefore were all removed, and new ones appointed. The conſul *Paulus Emilius* had the command aſſigned him of the army already in *Macedonia*; *Octavius* was appointed admiral, and *Anicius* ſent into *Illyria*. Theſe changes were all ſo much for the better, that it is not eaſy to ſay, which of the three executed his charge the beſt. *Emilius*, when he arrived in the *Roman* camp, found about thirty thouſand men therein, of whom upwards of twelve thouſand were *Roman* foot. The ſoldiers thought to have treated

[p] Polyb. legat. lxxx. lxxxvi. lxxxvii. &c. Liv. ubi ſupra. Plut. in vit. Æmil.

him

a him as they had done his predeceſſors, ſo they began to queſtion all his commands, to reaſon upon his orders, and to diſcuſs in their own minds the worth of thoſe motives upon which he acted. The conſul would bear nothing of this; he adviſed them to whet their ſwords; as for the duty of a general, he would not lay ſo heavy a burthen upon any of his ſoldiers, but was content to take it intirely upon himſelf. To ſhew them however that he really knew more than either they or thoſe who had hitherto commanded them, he decamped, and drew nearer the enemy, a motion hitherto thought impracticable on account of the want of water. *Emilius* rightly conceived, that though there were not either ſprings or rivulets viſible, yet it could not be that ſo great a mountain as *Olympus*, ſo covered with fine graſs, and beautiful
b trees, ſhould want water; he therefore ordered wells to be ſunk, which perfectly anſwered his purpoſe, by their becoming preſently full of water; this alſo raiſed the courage of his ſoldiers, and made them perfectly tractable. *Emilius* next directed inquiries to be privately made, whether there were not ſome roads, however difficult or round about, that led to the top, and ſo over this mount *Olympus*; for the conſul ſaw plainly, that to attack *Perſeus* in his retrenched camp, where with extreme diligence he had fortified himſelf, would be to expoſe his troops to a moſt bloody, and at the ſame time a moſt hazardous encounter. His enquiries were not fruitleſs; he was in a ſhort time informed that there was ſuch a way as he apprehended there was, and that, as it was extremely ſteep and craggy ſo the guard poſted there
c was but ſlender. This news rejoiced him, and he thereupon detached five thouſand light-armed troops under the command of *Scipio Emilianus*, and *Q. Fabius Maximus*, his own ſons, but adopted into other families. When this detachment marched from the camp, it took the road to the ſea, the conſul giving out that they were to go on board the fleet, which under the command of *Octavius* lay upon the coaſt, in order to waſte the maritime parts of *Macedonia*. But when *Scipio* and *Q. Fabius* had received the neceſſary proviſions, and night began to fall, they faced about, and marched with all imaginable diligence up the mountain. Three days they employed in paſſing it, and during thoſe three days *Emilias* drew out his forces, and attacked the *Macedonian* camp, notwithſtanding that *Perſeus* by the ſituation and fortifications
d of his camp, with the engines placed upon them, eaſily and conſtantly repulſed the *Romans*. At length the detachment reached and defeated the *Macedonian* guards, whom they ſurprized aſleep, though they afterwards ſtood to their arms, and made ſome defence. This obſtacle removed, *Scipio* and *Fabius* with their men deſcended by the channel of a brook, now dry, into the country below, and appeared ſuddenly on the other ſide of the *Macedonian* camp. *Perſeus* appriſed of this, and frighted with the report of his guards, immediately decamped, and retired precipitately to *Pydna*. There he held a council of war, in which ſome of his beſt friends adviſed him to gariſon his ſtrongeſt cities with his beſt troops, and to lengthen out the war, experience having ſhewn that the *Macedonians* were better able to keep
e cities, than the *Romans* were to take them; but this opinion the king rejected from this cowardly principle, that perhaps the town he choſe for his reſidence might be firſt beſieged. Thoſe who like him diſliked this ſentiment, were for putting all upon a battle. The reaſons they aſſigned in ſupport of their judgment were theſe: Firſt, that the army of *Perſeus*, which conſiſted of ſomewhat more than forty thouſand men, exceeded the conſul's in number: Secondly, that his troops were the flower of the *Macedonian* infantry, and horſe: Thirdly, that they were to fight now for their cities, wives, and children, and would therefore not only behave valiantly, but like deſperate men: Fourthly, that the king, and moſt of the nobility being preſent, would greatly encourage them: Fifthly, they had now leiſure to chuſe their ground, ſo as
f to bring the phalanx, hitherto invincible, to act with the greateſt advantage. It muſt be confeſſed, theſe poſitions were very plauſible, and therefore we need not wonder that they prevailed on *Perſeus*, who was a prince of a very deſultory genius, ſometimes violent in one opinion, and preſently recurring with the ſame violence to a contrary ſentiment. When once it was reſolved to fight, the ground was next conſidered, and a line of battle marked out perfectly advantagious to the phalanx, and whereby the wings of the *Macedonian* army were flanked by the city on one ſide, and by the mountains on the other; theſe diſpoſitions gave the ſoldiers ſuch ſpirits, that inſtead of being apprehenſive, they rather wiſhed for an engagement, as on the other hand, *Emilius* marched with all imaginable ſpeed, that he might overtake the *Macedonians*, and decide the war at once, being afraid of nothing ſo much as being obliged

obliged to take city after city, whereby the war would have been exceedingly protracted. When the troops under the command of the conſul had joined thoſe commanded by *Scipio* and *Fabius*, they perceived the enemy drawn up in battalia before them. It was growing late, but the ardor of *Scipio* engaged him to preſs *Emilius* not to loſe the preſent opportunity, but to engage immediately. The fact is certain, but the diſcordance between what is ſaid by *Livy* [q], and by *Plutarch* [r], as to the ſpeeches of theſe captains on this occaſion, ſhew, that under their names we have the ſentiments only of thoſe authors. In this they agree, that *Emilius* over-ruled the propoſition, and would not hear of attacking with ſoldiers wearied by a long march, men juſt come out of quarters, and who had proviſions and refreſhments at hand. The conſul however directed that the army ſhould form in order of battle; but while the firſt line remained under arms, the ſecond was employed in diſpoſing and retrenching a camp, into which, after they had amuſed and haraſſed the enemy, the whole *Roman* army retired, the *Macedonians* being exceedingly ſurprized to ſee them ſafely and regularly encamped, without their having the leaſt notice of their breaking ground. The ſame evening there happened an eclipſe of the moon, which, as *Livy* tells us, *Sulpitius Gallus*, one of the *Roman* tribunes foretold; firſt to the conſul, and then with his leave to the army, whereby that terror which eclipſes were wont to breed in ignorant minds, was entirely taken off, and the ſoldiers more and more diſpoſed to confide in officers of ſo great wiſdom, and of ſuch general knowledge. In the *Macedonian* camp however, things went not ſo well, the army were terribly amazed at the eclipſe, and began to affright themſelves with the apprehenſion of its portending the extinction of their glory. Early the next morning *Perſeus* made all the neceſſary diſpoſitions for battle, and did every thing in his power to encourage the ſoldiers to behave themſelves bravely. On the other hand the conſul alſo made the proper diſpoſitions, and when he had ſo done, offered a ſolemn ſacrifice to *Hercules*, who it ſeems was not eaſily pleaſed, for twenty victims were offered without any ſigns of ſucceſs. Upon the offering the twenty-firſt, the ſoothſayer pronounced his judgment, that the victory would be to the *Romans*, if the enemy attacked them. It is not improbable, that *Emilius* himſelf gave into this delay, for all the morning the ſun was full in the eyes of his ſoldiers. About three a clock in the afternoon, he ordered a horſe to be turned looſe, as ſome ſay, or, as others affirm, ſent out a party to forage, that the *Macedonians* might be tempted to attack them, and ſo bring on a battle. However it was, by deſign or chance, a horſe running into the water, and two or three *Roman* ſoldiers following to catch him, ſome *Thracians* adventured to take him from them; whereupon a great fray enſued, and ſoon after a general engagement. The *Macedonian* army was extremely well drawn up; the *Thracians*, mercenaries and auxiliaries making a very martial appearance; but the phalanx ſtruck a peculiar terror from the excellency of its order, and the condition of thoſe who compoſed it; all picked men, all habited in ſcarlet, their ſhields bright and ſhining, and thoſe of the veterans, of poliſhed braſs, with their long ſpears, diſpoſed with the utmoſt exactneſs, as if they were drawn up for a review, and not for a battle. The *Romans* were in their uſual line of battle, and ſhewed the greateſt alacrity in doing their duty, to which *Emilius* encouraged them by ſhewing himſelf every-where. *Polybius* and *Livy* agree in relating that *Perſeus*, after the field oration, retired into the city of *Pydna*, and there ſpent his time in ſacrificing to *Hercules* [s]. But one *Poſidonius*, a *Greek* writer, who affirmed he was preſent in the battle, tells us quite another thing: he ſays the king had the day before received a kick of a horſe on his thigh, which diſabled him from fighting; but that, againſt the advice of his friends, when the engagement was begun, he ordered a pad to be brought, and being ſet on the horſe unarmed, he rode into the midſt of the battle, encouraging his ſoldiers by his voice and preſence, till he was wounded by one of the *Roman* darts, then indeed he withdrew [t]. But where-ever king *Perſeus* was, the engagement ſeemed at the beginning to go in his favour. The light-armed *Macedonians* charged with ſuch vigor, that after the battle was over, the bodies of ſome of them were found within two furlongs of the *Roman* camp. When the phalanx came to charge, the points of their ſpears ſtriking into the *Roman* ſhields, kept their heavy-armed troops from making any motion, while on the other hand, *Perſeus*'s light-armed men did terrible execution. On this occaſion, it is ſaid, *Emilius* tore his cloaths, and

[q] Hiſt. lib. xliv. [r] PLUT. in vit. Æmil. [s] LIV. ubi ſupra. POLYB. ap. PLUT. [t] POSIDON. ap. PLUT.

almoſt

a almoſt gave up all hopes. However, perceiving that as the phalanx gained ground, it loſt its order in ſeveral places, he cauſed his own light-armed troops to charge in thoſe ſpaces, whereby the *Macedonians* were ſoon put into confuſion. If *Perſeus* with his horſe had on the firſt appearance of this charged the *Romans* briskly, their infantry would have had time to recover themſelves; but inſtead of this, they baſely provided for their own ſafety by a precipitate flight. The foot finding themſelves deſerted, at laſt fled too, but not till twenty thouſand of them were ſlain. *Perſeus* with the horſe had taken the road to *Pella*; the foot took the ſame road, and when it was almoſt night, overtook them in a wood, where they halted; there they fell to upbraiding them with their ſcandalous behaviour; and laſt, grudging ſuch cowards
b ſhould have horſes to carry them out of the reach of their enemies, fell to plucking them off, and mounted themſelves. At which *Perſeus* was ſo frighted, that with a few of his friends he ſtruck into a by road, pulled off his purple cloak, and tied it before him, and carried his diadem in his hand. About midnight he arrived at *Pella*, very ſlenderly accompanied; his noblemen being more afraid of him than of the *Romans*, knowing that he ever loved to ſhift his own ill conduct upon others. In his capital he found *Euctus* and *Eudeus*, two of his chamberlains, and ſome other officers of his houſhold, who came to wait upon him as they were wont; but *Euctus* and *Eudeus* laying hold of this opportunity to demonſtrate to the king the folly of his former conduct, and to exhort him to act more ſteadily for the future, *Perſeus* in
c a rage drew his dagger, and ſtabbed them both, of which wounds they died in his preſence. After this his court conſiſted but of three perſons, viz. *Evander* the *Cretan*, *Archidemus* the *Ætolian*, and *Neo* the *Bœotian*, with about five hundred *Cretan* ſoldiers, who remained with him, not out of fidelity, but becauſe they could not depart from the treaſure which he carried along with him. As *Pella* was the chief city of *Macedon*, ſo it was alſo one of the ſtrongeſt. It was ſeated on a hill in the midſt of impaſſable marſhes, and was commanded by a citadel much ſtronger, and more inacceſſible than itſelf. *Perſeus* however, who could not think himſelf any-where ſafe, fled from thence as precipitately as from the battle, marching with incredible expedition to *Amphipolis*. When he came thither, he found that *Diodorus* the governor
d had by a ſtratagem expelled his *Thracian* gariſon, leſt they ſhould plunder the city. This however did not hinder the king from ſtirring up the *Biſaltæ* to take arms, and come to his aſſiſtance. But when he found all this was in vain, he grew very diſconſolate, and began to fear, that to preſerve themſelves the *Amphipolitans* would deliver him up to the *Romans*. He therefore came out with *Philip*, the only child he had with him; and having mounted the tribunal, began to ſpeak; but his tears flowed ſo faſt, that after ſeveral trials, he found it impracticable for him to make an oration. Deſcending again from the tribunal, he ſpoke to *Evander*, who then went up to ſupply his place, and actually began an harangue; but the people hating him, refuſed to hear him, crying out, *Be gone, be gone; we are reſolved not to expoſe ourſelves,*
e *our wives, and our children, for your ſakes. Fly therefore, and leave us to make the beſt terms we can with the conquerors.* The king now at his wits end, ſhipped his money, which he ever carried with him, on board ſome barks, ſuffering his *Cretans* to plunder him of fifty talents, which he left upon the ſhore for them, fearing to give it them, leſt the *Macedonians* in ſpight ſhould take all the reſt. Attended by theſe guards, he came firſt to *Galipſus*, and the next day after landed in the iſland of *Samo-Thrace*, where he brought on ſhore two thouſand talents, intending there to take up his reſidence. Let us now return to the conſul, and obſerve the ſteps he took in ſubduing the kingdom [t].

Paulus Emilius being a man of ſtrict juſtice, gave, according to the rules of war, Macedonia *ſubmits.*
f the plunder of the camp to the infantry, and of the adjacent territory, to the horſe. *Year after the flood* 2832. *Year before Chriſt* 167.
As for the cities, he would not ſuffer them to be touched; and as for the royal treaſures, he carried the laſt farthing of them to *Rome*, though it procured him the ill-will of the army. *Hippias* with other officers who were in *Berea*, with a conſiderable body of forces, rendered, and immediately after *Theſſalonica*, *Pella*, and the reſt of the principal places in *Macedon*, ſo that the whole kingdom was given up in two days, excepting only *Pydna*, under the walls of which the battle was fought; the reaſon of which was, that ſeveral thouſand ſoldiers taking ſhelter there, were aſhamed to deliver up ſo conſiderable a place without a capitulation. This was readily granted

[t] Plut. in vit. Æmil. Tit. Liv. ubi ſupra. Justin. lib. xxxiii. c. 2.

them; and as ſoon as the place was evacuated, the conſul marched away to *Amphipolis*. There he received letters brought by three very mean perſons, who yet were ſtyled the embaſſadors of *Perſeus*. The conſul no ſooner ſaw them, but turning to thoſe who were about him, he ſaid, *Mark the inconſtancy of fortune; this man, who but t'other day thought the ample kingdom of* Macedon *nothing, if he was hindered from ſubduing the* Dardanians *and* Illyrians, *now confined in a narrow iſland, and an exile from his native land, ſends theſe poor men to ask favours from me.* Then reaching out this hand to receive the letters, as ſoon as he had read the ſuperſcription, which ran thus; *King* Perſeus *to the conſul* Paulus *health*; he refuſed to open it, or to give any anſwer. As ſoon as *Perſeus* had notice of this, he readily perceived that he was now no more than a private perſon, or at leaſt ſo conſidered by the *Romans*; whereupon he wrote letters a ſecond time, and addreſſed them to the conſul, without aſſuming himſelf any title at all. In theſe he bewailed his own miſery, implored mercy from the *Romans*, and begged that commiſſioners might be ſent to treat with him. This laſt, which was all the conſul had in his power to grant, he readily complied with. With theſe commiſſioners let us tranſport ourſelves to *Samo-Thrace*, in order to obſerve the laſt ſcene of royalty performed by this unfortunate king, and which, if poſſible, we ſhall ſee worſe performed than any of the reſt [u].

King Perſeus *flies to a ſanctuary.*

THE temple of *Caſtor* and *Pollux* in *Samo-Thracia* was at this time an inviolable aſylum, and in truth the whole iſland was looked upon as holy, and conſecrated to thoſe deities. This was the cauſe which induced king *Perſeus* to fly thither, as ſuppoſing he ſhould there remain in ſafety. On the arrival of *Lentulus*, *Albinus*, and *Antonius*, who were the commiſſioners ſent by the conſul to treat with him, *Perſeus* inſtantly entered into a negotiation, which however he managed ſlowly and improvidently, inſiſting that he ſhould ſtill retain the title of king, which the commiſſioners told him the conſul could not grant; but that, if he would ſubmit himſelf and his affairs to the direction of the *Roman* people, the conſul would undertake for his ſafety. While theſe things were debating, *Octavius* the *Roman* admiral arrived with a great fleet, which exceedingly awed the *Samo-Thracians*. Theſe people conſidering the inſecurity of their own condition, called frequent councils to deliberate what was moſt fit for them to do. In one of theſe aſſemblies, *Attilius*, a young *Roman*, appeared, and deſired leave to ſpeak; which once given him, he made a long harangue, wherein having premiſed many things concerning ſanctuaries in general, he came at laſt to put this queſtion, whether *the whole iſle of* Samo-Thrace *was not holy?* Which the aſſembly having preſently determined in the affirmative, he proceeded next to demand, *Whether it would not be polluted by a notorious murderer's taking ſhelter therein?* This being alſo admitted, he ſaid, he would prove that *Evander* the *Cretan*, who was with king *Perſeus* in the temple, had been the principal actor in the aſſaſſination of king *Eumenes*. The *Samo-Thracians* upon this ſent to inform *Perſeus*, that they expected *Evander* ſhould either ſubmit himſelf to a fair trial, or that he ſhould quit the iſland. *Perſeus* affrighted at this meſſage, and grievouſly apprehenſive of the conſequence, if *Evander* ſhould fall into the hands of the *Romans*, and to obtain favour for himſelf, ſhould charge that aſſaſſination on its original author; ſent for him, and told him, that the neceſſity of affairs required that he ſhould voluntarily put himſelf to death to ſtop all further inquiries. *Evander* deſired that he might die by poiſon, rather than by the ſword, hoping that if he could get a little time he might eſcape. But *Perſeus*, ever vehement in thoſe ſort of enterprizes, ſuſpecting ſomething from this delay, ordered him to be immediately diſpatched; and then fearing that the *Samo-Thracians* would look upon this as a polution of their ſanctuary, bribed one *Theondas* with a very large ſum of money to aver, that *Evander* was his own executioner. This ſalved the matter well enough with the *Samo-Thracians*; but it effectually loſt *Perſeus* the hearts of all his friends. *Evander* was doubtleſs a bad man, otherwiſe he would not have been concerned in the attempt on *Eumenes*; but as he did this at the command of *Perſeus*, as he had conſtantly followed the fortunes of that prince, and had never betrayed him in any thing, it was held an act of the greateſt ingratitude and meanneſs of ſpirit in the king to forget all his ſervices in an inſtant, and at the firſt ſight of danger to give him up to a violent death, not by the hands of ſtrangers, but his own ſervants. *Perſeus* having now a proſpect of his miſery in a true light, beholding himſelf without forces, without friends, and without hopes,

[u] LIV. ubi ſupra. PLUT. ubi ſupra.

reſolved,

a reſolved, if poſſible, to eſcape into *Crete*, and to that end bargained with one *Oroandes* a *Cretan*, who had a ſmall ſhip in the haven of *Samo-Thrace*, to carry himſelf, his wife, his ſon, his treaſure, and three attendants to the iſland before-mentioned. The crafty maſter of the veſſel took the money on board firſt, and then aſſigned an hour in the night for the king and his company to come on board. But as ſoon as it began to grow dark, he hoiſted ſail, and left the hapleſs *Perſeus* to deplore at leiſure his credulity, and the loſs of his money. At midnight the king, his wife, his ſon *Philip*, and three attendants, ſlipped by a back gate into a garden behind his apartment; then clambering with much difficulty over a wall, they made the beſt of their way to the port, and after wandering till it was almoſt light on the ſea ſhore,
b were informed by a ſtranger, that *Oroandes* ſailed for *Crete* the evening before. The king, his conſort, and the young prince, with thoſe who attended them, were forced to make all imaginable ſpeed back, that they might regain the temple before they were diſcovered by the *Romans*. But finding the day broke before they reached the wall of the garden, they were conſtrained to hide themſelves there behind a corner, till by degrees they could get in unperceived. It was not long after this, that the king ſurrendered himſelf to the admiral *Octavius*, moved thereto by new misfortunes, eſpecially the two following accidents: Firſt, the deſertion of all his pages, which happened on the *Romans* publiſhing a manifeſto or proclamation, whereby they declared that all ſuch as quitted the ſervice of king *Perſeus*, ſhould not only be ſafe
c in their perſons, but have their eſtates reſtored them alſo in *Macedon*, and remain at full liberty. The other, the news that *Ion* of *Theſſalonica*, one of the king's principal favourites, had given up all the reſt of the royal family intruſted to his care to *Octavius*. He it was who had the honour of receiving priſoner alſo the king of *Macedon*, his eldeſt ſon *Philip*, and the few that were yet about him. *Octavius*, as ſoon as he had him in his power, ordered the king to be put on board the admiral, and having embarqued alſo all his treaſure that was left, the *Roman* fleet weighed, and ſtood over to *Amphipolis*. Thence the admiral diſpatched an expreſs to acquaint the conſul with what had happened; to aſſure him, that *Perſeus* was in his cuſtody, and that he ſhould be ſpeedily ſent to attend his pleaſure [w].

d As ſoon as *Paulus Emilius* received the letter of *Octavius*, he ſent *Tubero* his ſon-in-law with ſeveral perſons of diſtinction to receive the king. He ordered ſacrifices to be immediately offered, and made the ſame rejoicings, as if a new victory had been obtained. When he was informed the king drew near, he aſſembled a council of war in his own pavillon, where he reſolved to wait for him. The whole camp ran out to ſee the royal priſoner, and the crowd was ſo very great, that the lictors were conſtrained to make a way for him to go to the conſul's tent. *Perſeus* walked alone, covered with a mourning cloak; and when he entered the tent, would have thrown himſelf at the feet of the conſul; but *Emilius* riſing haſtily, ſtepped forward a little, gave him his hand, and would not ſuffer him to kneel. He then placed him in a ſeat over-
e againſt thoſe who aſſiſted at the council. When ſilence had been obſerved ſome time, the conſul demanded of the king what wrong the *Roman* people had done him, which had conſtrained him to take up arms, and with ſuch obſtinacy to perſiſt in hazarding his perſon, ſubjects, and kingdom, as he did. The king looking on the ground, and ſhedding tears, ſpake not a word. Whereupon the conſul continued his diſcourſe: "If, ſaid he, you had been very young when you came to the throne, "I ſhould have imputed your raſhneſs to your not knowing the world. But inaſ- "much as you ſerved in that war, which your father waged againſt us, knew its "ſucceſs, and knew alſo how faithfully we obſerved the treaty we made with him; "what ſtrange policy was it for you to chuſe war rather than peace, with a people,
f "whoſe force, and whoſe fidelity, you had already tried; and therefore might well "apprehend what might be feared from the one, or hoped from the other?" The king ſtill remaining ſilent, the conſul after ſome pauſe concluded thus: "However "theſe things have come to paſs, whether by human error, by chance, or through "neceſſity, do not deſpair; the clemency of the *Roman* people, ſo well known, and "ſo often experienced, may afford you not only hope, but aſſurance of ſafety." All this the conſul ſpoke in *Greek*; then turning to his council, he ſaid in *Latin*, "You ſee here a notable inſtance of the incertainty of human grandeur, and of the "mutability of fortune; let it make a proper impreſſion on you all; but eſpecially

The reception of Perſeus *in the* Roman *camp.*

[w] Liv. lib. xlv. Plut. in vit. Æmel.

"on

" on ſuch of you as are in the vigor of your age. Let not preſent proſperity ſo a
" far puff up any man, as to make him behave with arogance towards another ;
" neither let any man confide in his good fortune, for he cannot tell how ſoon it may
" forſake him. His courage only ſhall be admired by me, which neither the flow
" of fortune ſwells, or its ebb decreaſes ; but who preſerves a ſteady temper of mind
" in all times, and on all occaſions." Then he committed *Perſeus* to the cuſtody of *Tubero*, directing that he ſhould ſup with him that night, and then and ever after treated him with all imaginable civility and reſpect. *Emilius* having thus ſettled all things in *Macedon*, proceeded to a progreſs through *Greece*, where he ordered all matters as might beſt ſuit the intereſt of the *Romans* ; and though he was naturally a merciful man, uſed ſeverity enough. At length hearing that ten legates, all men b
of conſular dignity, were coming from *Rome* to aſſiſt him in ſettling a new form of government in *Macedonia*, he ſpeedily returned thither, directing his courſe to *Apollonia*, where he was informed they were to land ; there he was met by king *Perſeus*, whom *Sulpitius*, to whoſe cuſtody, on the conſul's going into *Greece*, he had been committed, ſuffered to go at large. *Emilius* received the king kindly ; but when he came to *Amphipolis*, he checked *Sulpitius* very ſeverely for ſuffering the king to go where he pleaſed. *Poſthumius* therefore had the charge of him for the future, who kept him and his ſon *Philip* very ſtreightly ; as for his younger ſon *Alexander*, and his daughter, *Emilius* ſent for them from *Samo-Thrace* to *Amphipolis*, where he treated them with much kindneſs. As to the eſtabliſhing of the new government, *Emilius* c
iſſued his precepts, directing that ten deputies from each of the *Macedonian* cities ſhould appear before him at a day certain, and bring with them ſuch papers of ſtate, and all ſuch ſums of money and plate as they had any knowledge of belonging to the king. At the day aſſigned, they appeared : then it was that *Emilius* with his ten collegues mounted the tribunal, together with the prætor *Octavius*, the lictors attending. The *Macedonians*, though they had been uſed to ſee their princes do juſtice, and were no ſtrangers to courts eſtabliſhed by their authority, yet were ſurprized at this ; the auſterity of the *Romans*, the uſing the *Latin* language in all their proceedings, and their cuſtoms ſo different from thoſe of the *Greeks*, ſtruck terror and amazement into the deputies, and all who were preſent. However, they were not left long in the d
dark, as to what the ſenate and people of *Rome* expected from them. *Emilius* had the decree ready drawn in his hand, which he pronounced with a ſlow and audible voice, but in the *Latin* tongue. Then the prætor *Octavius* acquainted the aſſembly, that it was to the following purpoſe : Firſt, that the ſenate ordained the *Macedonians* ſhould be free, and that they ſhould enjoy all the cities and territories they were now poſſeſſed of, living for the preſent under their own laws, and electing annually their magiſtrates, as they were wont to do, paying to the people of *Rome* half the tribute which they uſually paid to their kings : Secondly, their will was, that *Macedonia* ſhould be divided into four regions ; the firſt to contain all the countries between the rivers *Strymon* and *Neſſus*, together with ſuch boroughs, cities, and caſtles, as e
Perſeus held beyond the river *Neſſus* ; the cities of *Ænus*, *Maronea*, and *Abdera* excepted. On the weſt of *Strymon* the territory of the *Biſaltæ* and *Heraclea Syntica* were added to this region. The ſecond included the country between *Strymon* and *Actius*, together with *Pæonia*. The third had the river *Actius* for its eaſt, and the river *Peneus* for its weſt boundary. Towards the north it was bounded by the mountain *Bora*, the cities of *Edeſſus* and *Berea* being annexed thereto. The fourth contained the remainder of *Macedonia* beyond the mountain *Bora*, having *Illyria* on the one ſide, and *Epirus* on the other. The capital of the firſt region was to be *Amphipolis* ; of the ſecond *Theſſalonica* ; of the third *Pella* ; of the fourth *Pelagonia*. To
theſe cities they were once a quarter to be ſummoned to hold general aſſemblies to f
raiſe money, and to elect magiſtrates. Thirdly, it was declared unlawful for any perſon to intermarry, to carry on any trade, to buy or ſell any lands to any who was not an inhabitant of his own region. Fourthly, they were prohibited to work any mines of gold or ſilver ; thoſe of iron and braſs they were allowed to work, paying half the rent to the *Romans*, which they were wont to pay to their kings. Fifthly, they were prohibited from importing any foreign ſalt. Sixthly, they were forbid to ſell any timber fit for building ſhips to the barbarous nations. But they were allowed for their neceſſary defence to keep gariſons on their frontiers. Seventhly, the *Macedonians* were directed to inrol their names, *Emilius* ſignifying to them that he intended to give them laws. When this decree was publiſhed, it greatly affected the

a the minds of the people. Glad they were to be reſtored to their liberty; but at the ſame time they were ſorry that they could not well comprehend what that liberty was they were reſtored to. They ſaw evident contradictions in the decree, which though it ſpake of leaving them under their own laws, impoſed many new ones, and threatened more. What moſt diſturbed them was the diviſion of the kingdom, whereby, as a nation, they were torn and mangled, ſeparated and disjointed from each other. One thing however was generally applauded, *viz.* the prohibition to work the gold and ſilver mines, which was founded upon this caution. The ſenate ſaw, that to collect a revenue from them, tax-gatherers, ſurveyors, and receivers, muſt of neceſ-ſity be employed; they therefore choſe to forego all the advantages theſe mines could
b produce, rather than plague their new ſubjects with officers of revenue; as *Livy* expreſsly informs us. *Emilius* proceeded next to regulate the reſt of the *Grecian* affairs at *Amphipolis*, where, at the cloſe of the proceedings, *Andronicus* the *Ætolian*, and *Neo* the *Bœotian*, becauſe they had been always friends to *Perſeus*, and had not deſerted him, even now, were condemned, and loſt their heads. Then came out a proclamation, whereby the ſupreme power in *Macedon* was veſted in certain ſenators. All the nobility, as alſo all their children exceeding the age of fifteen, were commanded immediately to tranſport themſelves over into *Italy*; as were likewiſe all ſuch as ever had any commiſſion even of the ſmalleſt importance from the king or his predeceſſors; and it was declared, that whoever preſumed to contravene that
c edict, ſhould be puniſhed with death. Laſt of all, *Emilius* publiſhed the laws he had promiſed, which, whether they were or were not to the liking of the *Macedonians*, they were ever after bound to obey. Theſe ſerious matters once out of the way, *Emilius* celebrated games at *Amphipolis* with a magnificence unknown to former times. The brazen ſhields belonging to the *Macedonian* phalanx, he ſent on board the ſhips. All the reſt of the arms belonging to the *Macedonians*, he cauſed to be brought to *Amphipolis*, and, as it was intended they ſhould never raiſe armies, nor be troubled with military expeditions more, theſe weapons were framed into a prodigious pile, and after ſolemn prayers offered to *Mars*, *Minerva*, and other deities, the conſul firſt ſet fire to them with a torch he had in his hand; and then the principal officers
d in the army threw in thoſe lighted torches with which they had aſſiſted at the ſolemnity. All the rich furniture, plates, ſtatues, and other valuable things found in the royal palaces, were firſt expoſed to public view, and then put on board the fleet (D). *Emilius* afterwards marched away for *Oricum*, having firſt given inſtructions,

(D) It is a great misfortune to ſuch as are engaged in writing the hiſtories of nations conquered by the *Romans*, that they have no materials, but the writings of *Romans*, or of *Greeks*, who flattered the power of the *Romans* more than the ſpirit of their own writers would allow them to do. *Livy*, whoſe hiſtory may be juſtly ſaid to vie with its ſubject, repreſents his countrymen as acting upon the nobleſt and moſt philoſophical principles upon all occaſions. He ſays, that with reſpect to the *Macedonians*, the conſul *Emilius* treated them in ſuch a manner, as tended to convince the world, that the *Romans* did not make war with a view to enſlave free men, but on the contrary, that they might be able to ſet ſuch nations as were already enſlaved free (7). *Plutarch* ſpeaks much the ſame language, and highly commends his hero, the ſenate and people of *Rome*, for ſo generouſly treating thoſe whom they had totally ſubdued (8). To adventure without authority, to contradict authors ſo much and ſo juſtly in eſteem, may ſeem a high preſumption. Yet this preſumption we muſt be guilty of, in order to ſet this part of our hiſtory in its proper light; it will however be ſomewhat alleviated by our grounding all the obſervations we make on facts recorded by the authors, from whoſe ſentiments we beg leave to differ. In the firſt place, let us remark that *Perſeus*, from the very beginning of the war, was for ſubmitting almoſt to any thing, provided the *Romans* would grant him peace, which was refuſed him, except he would put himſelf in that condition into which the moſt unſucceſsful war could ſcarce reduce him. This the conſul *Licinius Craſſus* told him in few words, when as yet the *Romans* had not entered *Macedonia*, but were on the contrary in danger of being beat out of *Theſſaly*. This conduct may be ſanctified with the epithets firm, magnanimous, heroic; but whoever conſiders who the *Macedonians* were, muſt allow, that it was at leaſt haughty, if not tyrannical. If ſubjection was ſo hateful to the *Romans*, that they thought all things lawful to ſhake it off; why ſhould it not appear in the ſame dreadful light to the *Macedonians*; and, if ſo, what magnanimity was there in preſſing it upon them, and how was *Perſeus* or his ſubjects to blame for endeavouring to avoid ſo ſervile a ſubmiſſion? ſecondly, what ſort of liberty was it theſe people received from *Emilius* after his victory? To anſwer this queſtion in few words, we may juſtly alledge, that they received none at all; for which we aſſign this reaſon, that the conſul left them not ſo free as they had been under their kings. It is clear from the foregoing hiſtory, that the moſt eminent cities in *Macedonia* were like the free cities of the *German* empire; a ſort of little republics aſſociated among themſelves, and owing certain homage to their prince. The liberty they enjoyed made them populous and rich, the government they were under provided effectually for their ſafety, nor did *Perſeus* himſelf, for ought we ſee, violate the rights of theſe cities; on the contrary,

(7) *Tit. Liv. Hiſt. lib.* xliv. xlv.

(8) *Plut. in vit. P. Æmil.*

that all that part of *Epirus* which had revolted to *Perſeus*, ſhould be plundered; and a that this might be done with more effect, centurions were ſent to the ſeveral cities, who gave out that all gariſons were to be withdrawn, and the *Epirots* reſtored to their liberty; yet on a day aſſigned when the people thought themſelves all ſafe, the troops in every city ſacked and plundered it, carrying off an immenſe ſum of money; after which joining *Emilius*, the whole army together, with the captive kings *Perſeus* and *Gentius*, who was taken by the prætor *Anicius*, were tranſported to *Italy* [x] (E).

[x] Plut. in vit. Æmil. Liv. ubi ſupra.

contrary, when their deputies offered him levies and ſubſidies, he declined both, and deſired only that they would furniſh his army with waggons. *Paulus Emilius* inſtantly divided the whole realm into tetrarchies, with a ſevere prohibition to the inhabitants of each tetrarchy to interfere with the inhabitants of another tetrarchy in any amicable way whatſoever. He alſo took upon him the office of a legiſlator, and gave them not only new laws, but a new conſtitution. Where then was their liberty? Thirdly, great ſtreſs is laid on the great abatement of tribute made by the victor; for inſtead of two hundred talents yearly exacted by the *Macedonian* kings from their ſubjects, the *Romans* were contented with one hundred. Yet what intelligent perſon can deny that a hundred talents annually paid to a foreign people, is a heavier load than two, nay, then four hundred raiſed, and afterwards ſpent at home? But, beſides, one may juſtly wonder how it could be thought equitable to charge theſe people with any taxes, when ſuch an immenſe ſum of ready money was taken from them, as releaſed the *Romans* from all taxes for one hundred and twenty-five years. If we ſum up therefore all theſe regulations, *viz.* the quartering the kingdom, the ſettling new laws, the carrying away all the wealth, the prohibition to bring in bullion from the mines, the leaving them ſtill burthened with a tax of a hundred talents, and add to theſe the carrying away of all their nobility above the age of fifteen, we ſhall have a right comprehenſion of the matter, and be well able to account for two things, *viz.* how the *Romans* came to ſtand leſs in fear of the *Macedonians*, when a free people, as they called them, than while they were under the dominion of their kings. And, ſecondly, how theſe *Macedonians* came to be ſo ſtrangely ungrateful, as eagerly to lay hold of every opportunity of taking arms againſt theſe *Romans*, and of endeavouring to change their new conſtitution for their old one (9).

(E) The fate of *Genius* king of *Illyria* hath ſuch a neceſſary dependence on the *Macedonian* hiſtory, that there was a neceſſity of taking notice of it ſomewhere, and therefore to avoid prolixity, we thought proper to digeſt it into a note. The reader has been already informed, that the prætor *Appius Claudius* had been able to do little or nothing of this ſide, except giving umbrage to the king of *Illyria*, which made him the more ready to hearken to the propoſitions made him by *Perſeus*. *Anicius*, who was named ſucceſſor to *Claudius* at the ſame time that *Emilius* was ſent to command in *Macedon*, made very quick diſpatch in the *Illyrian* war. He took care to have his army well recruited, and acting as he did in ſtrict conjunction with the conſul, and the admiral *Octavius*, all things went on well. *Gentius* had aſſembled an army of fifteen thouſand men at *Liſſus*, where he waited for the coming of the three hundred talents, intending on the receipt of them to have marched away into *Macedonia*, there to have joined the king. *Anicius* ſaved him this trouble, by meeting him with the *Roman* army; whereupon a ſmart engagement happened, in which at laſt *Gentius* was overcome. However he had the ſtrong city of *Scodra* behind him, and to which with much ado he retreated. If he had been content to have defended that city, he had gained time at leaſt, and in the end perhaps might have made ſome ſort of treaty; but the *Illyrians*, vexed at their late defeat, flattered themſelves with better ſucceſs in another engagement, and therefore on the firſt appearance of the *Roman* army, would needs march out to fight them. *Anicius* looked upon this to be an event more fortunate than he could have expected; wherefore he immediately gave them battle, and with great ſlaughter defeated them. However the king got a ſecond time into *Scodra*, which was a city ſtrong by ſituation, and extremely well fortified. It had alſo in it a very numerous gariſon, the flower of the *Illyrian* nobility, and the king himſelf; yet it ſcarce made any defence. *Gentius* was terrified; for, to ſay the truth, he derived all his courage from the bottle, and having now time to be ſober, grew quite out of heart. He therefore ſent to the prætor, deſiring leave to treat, and that a truce of three days might be granted him, which, with much ado, he obtained. This delay he procured in expectation of ſuccours; but either his people were not over loyal, or their force was quite exhauſted, ſo that within the ſpace of theſe three days, the king had certain intelligence that his expectations were vain, which determined him to yield on the prætor's terms, that is, at diſcretion. In conſequence of this, himſelf, his mother, his wife, children, brother, and friends, were yielded priſoners, and were afterwards led in triumph at *Rome*; and his whole kingdom delivered up. This conqueſt coſt a campaign only of a month, ſo that *Perpenna*, one of the *Roman* embaſſadors, whom *Gentius* had impriſoned, carried the news to *Rome* of the ending of the war before they had any notion there of its being begun (10). The *Illyrians* were not the only people, as the reader hath ſeen in the text, whom *Perſeus* brought into a moſt diſtreſſed condition: part of *Epirus* had revolted to him, and paid dearly for that revolt. The occaſion of it is ſo much to our purpoſe, that we cannot omit it. In the war againſt *Philip* the father of *Perſeus*, one *Charopus*, an *Epirot* by birth, had conducted *Titus Flaminius* with the *Roman* army over the mountains; for this eminent ſervice he and his ſon of the ſame name were highly careſſed at *Rome*, and after a time the young one returned into his own country, where he affected to govern all things at his pleaſure, ſending private informations to the ſenate againſt ſuch of the nobility as oppoſed him, and thereby working ſuch quick deſtruction to them and their families, as compelled them to have recourſe to *Perſeus* (11). The *Achæans* too being ſuſpected of having wiſhed the king no evil, were for that reaſon conſtrained to ſend a thouſand perſons of diſtinction to *Rome*, who were immediately impriſoned as malefactors convict, and in ſpight of repeated embaſſies in their favour, remained ſeventeen years in that cuſtody, and at length thirty, being all that remained alive, were allowed to return home; among whom was *Polybius* the famous hiſtorian. Such were the fatal conſequences of this *Macedonian* war (12).

(9) *Vide infra.* (10) *Tit. Liv. Hiſt. ubi ſupra.* (11) *Excerpt. Diodor. Sicul. lib.* xxvi.
(12) *Liv. ubi ſupra.*

Emilius

The miſerable end of Perſeus.

a *Emilius* ſailed up the *Tiber* in king *Perſeus*'s royal galley, richly adorned with the arms of his priſoners, and with the king's purple robes. Though nothing could be more glorious than the ſhort and ſudden conqueſt which this great general had made of ſo large a kingdom, yet on account of ſome diſcontent his ſoldiers had taken, there aroſe great diſputes about his triumph. Until ſuch time as this could be decided, and afterwards, while the neceſſary preparations were making for the triumph, king *Perſeus* was confined in a common gaol. When he knew that a triumph was decreed *Emilius*, he ſent to beſeech him, that he might not be made a ſpectacle therein; to which the general made anſwer, *This is intirely in his own power, he needs not ask this favour of me.* Intimating, that the king might kill himſelf, and thereby avoid that b ſhame of which he ſtood in fear; but if he had inclined to this, he might as well have done it in *Macedonia* or *Samo-Thrace*, unleſs that we ſuppoſe he relied upon the general's promiſe at *Amphipolis*, which was indeed very indifferently kept. On the day of the triumph, immediately after the arms, treaſures, and gold plate belonging to king *Perſeus*'s table, followed his ſons, *Philip* and *Alexander*, and his little daughter, with their nurſes, preceptors, and attendants; all brought to them on this occaſion, not to render them any ſervice, but to heighten the pomp of the proceſſion. Theſe poor people wept, and wrung their hands, and made the children alſo extend their arms to move the compaſſion of the people. Next them came *Perſeus* alone clad in deep mourning. Behind at ſome diſtance his friends, and the chief nobility of *Macedon.* c They moved along with their hands folded, and their eyes fixed upon the king, as if their concern for him had ſwallowed up all concern for their own condition. After the triumph, *Perſeus* was ſent back to the gaol, and put amongſt the meaneſt criminals, no care being taken that he ſhould have ſo much as a ſubſiſtance. In this miſerable ſtate, he remained four days faſting. At laſt he beſought ſome of the poor people there to give him a part of their proviſion, which they very readily did, and at the ſame time procured for him a rope, and a ſword, ſuppoſing that he would be glad to end his misfortunes by one of them; which however he did not, but continued to live on. Some time afterwards, at the requeſt of *Emilius*, he was taken out of this priſon, and put into a milder cuſtody. Some ſay that he was ſent with his ſon *Alexander*, his eldeſt d ſon being dead, to *Alba*, where, though he had a guard placed upon him, he had a houſe, a table, and neceſſary attendants aſſigned him. Yet, after all, he ended his days moſt miſerably; for ſome ſay, that having diſobliged his keeper, he killed him. Others, that the ſoldiers appointed for his guard taking a diſlike to him, would never ſuffer him to ſleep, and ſo by continual watching brought him to his end. It is but juſt we ſhould obſerve, that ſome ſay he died a natural death, which however can hardly be credited, if we conſider the authority on which the former opinion is built, and which we have therefore ſet down at large in a note (F). Here

(F) We are indebted to *Diodorus Siculus* for a diſtinct account of the death of the unfortunate *Perſeus*, as we are indebted to the judicious patriarch *Photius* for preſerving us this account; which is to the following effect: *Perſeus* after he had been led in triumph, fell into ſuch extreme miſery, and experienced ſuch incredible misfortunes, that hardly any thing related by writers of romances can be compared with what is truly recorded of his ill fate. Yet ſtill he was fond of life. "Before the ſenate had determined any thing as to his puniſhment, one of the "city prætors threw him and his children into the "gaol *Albinus*. This priſon is a deep dungeon of "the bigneſs of a chamber, capable of nine beds at "the moſt; dark and full of all ſorts of filth and "naſtineſs, by reaſon of the multitude of men con"demned for capital offences, that from time to "time were thruſt down there; and generally moſt "of ſuch malefactors were put into this place. So "that many being ſhut up together in ſo ſtrait a "place, thoſe miſerable creatures were even turned "into beaſts. And in regard the meat, drink, and "other neceſſaries which were brought them, were "jumbled together into one chaos, and heap of "confuſion, there aroſe thence ſuch a ſtench, that "none that came near were able to endure. In a "moſt miſerable condition *Perſeus* continued here "for the ſpace of ſeven days, inſomuch that he "begged relief, and ſome ſhare of the food of thoſe "ſtrangers in priſon who had only a ſtinted allow"ance. They, out of compaſſion to this miſerable "man, with great humanity, and tears in their "eyes, gave him part of that ſmall pittance they "had, and withal offered him a ſword and a rope "to uſe, which of them he would at his pleaſure, "for the putting an end to his life. Yet nothing "ſeems ſo ſweet as life, even to the miſerable; "though they ſuffer what is equivalent to death "itſelf in the mean time. To conclude, he had "certainly ended his days in this extreme miſery, if "*Marcus Emilius*, preſident of the court, out of "reſpect to the dignity of his perſon, moved by "the natural and innate humanity of the *Romans*, "had not, with ſome indignation, moved the ſenate "in his behalf, putting them in mind, that though "they feared not man, yet they ſhould bear ſome "awe and reverence to *Nemeſis*, who will take ven"geance on them that uſe their power with pride "and inſolency. Upon this he was committed to "a more moderate confinement; and while he was "feeding himſelf with freſh hopes, he ended his "days agreeable to the former misfortune of his "life. For after he had lived two years in this fond "love of life, having diſpleaſed his barbarous keepers, "they would not ſuffer him to ſleep, and ſo he "died" (13).

(13) *Diodor. Sicul. lib.* xxxi. *apud Phot. Bibliothec. p.* 1157.

the

5

the ancient and famous kingdom of *Macedon* took end, after having ſubſiſted from a
the time of *Caranus* upwards of ſix hundred years, and from the death of *Alexander the Great* not quite a hundred and threeſcore. It is certain, that nothing contributed ſo much to the deſtruction of the *Macedonian* empire, as the unhappy diſpoſition of its laſt prince. *Perſeus* laid the foundation of all his ſubſequent misfortunes in his father's life-time, by deſtroying his brother *Demetrius*, whereby he loſt the affections of a great part of his countrymen, and at the ſame time drew upon himſelf the implacable hatred of the *Romans*. His capital vices were covetouſneſs and cruelty. He diſcovered the laſt firſt by murdering *Apelles*, whom his father had ſent embaſſador to *Rome*, and whom himſelf had ſuborned to deliver the forged letter, which took away his brother's life. Thenceforward he addicted himſelf to all ſorts of ſiniſter b
methods for filling his treaſures, and taking off his enemies. Poiſons, aſſaſſinations, murders with his own hand; actions which might have ſhaken the fidelity of any people, did not render the *Macedonians* diſloyal. Perhaps both they and the allies of *Perſeus* ſaw clearly, that, bad as he was, he was the only inſtrument they could make uſe of to ward off that ſlavery, which, notwithſtanding all their fair pretences, the *Romans* were ſpreading over *Europe*, *Aſia*, and *Afric*. Natural timidity, and the conſciouſneſs of a long ſcene of crimes, rendered *Perſeus* unable to manage ſo great a controverſy againſt ſo potent and ſo firm an enemy as the *Romans*. His own ſenſe of his incapacity, which muſt have ſaved him, if he had made uſe of it in time, moſt effectually contributed to his ruin, by ſuggeſting to him deſires of peace out of all c
time: all writers agree, that *Perſeus* was the very reverſe of his father; for as *Philip*'s prudence ſerved him beſt in adverſity, and taught him to reſtore to a flouriſhing condition, a kingdom quite exhauſted, ſo *Perſeus*, after ſhewing great abilities in proſperity, ſeemed to loſe them all with his fortune, and to ſuffer his ſpirits to ſink as low as his condition. The treatment given him by the *Romans* cannot however be excuſed, either from their greatneſs, or his miſery. The former left them little to fear, and the latter took away that little which they might pretend to fear. We muſt therefore attribute their conduct towards *Perſeus* to that haughtineſs which began to grow upon them, and made them forget, as well the meanneſs of their former ſtate, as the grandeur of others [y]. d

His poſterity. *Perſeus*, when he was led in triumph, had two ſons, *Philip* and *Alexander*, and a daughter, whoſe name we find not. As to their ages, we can ſay nothing with certainty, except that they were all very young, and the two laſt infants. *Philip* is ſaid to have died before his father; but how or where cannot be collected, becauſe the books of *Livy*, and of *Diodorus Siculus*, which treat of theſe times, are loſt. As for *Alexander*, he was put out to a joyner, carpenter, or turner, and grew an ingenious man in his profeſſion, and addicted himſelf alſo to the *Latin* learning; he became afterwards clerk or ſecretary to the ſenate. This was another inſtance of the *Roman* pride, for at the ſame time *Nicomedes* the ſon of *Pruſius*, king of *Bithynia*, was educated with all imaginable pomp and ſplendor, becauſe his father had ſent e
him thither, and put him under the care of the republic. It may be wondered, that the allies and relations of *Perſeus* could do nothing either for him or his offspring; but we need not be at much pains to account for this; they had much ado to bring off themſelves. After *Emilius* had viſited *Greece*, the *Rhodians* were called to an account for the kindneſs they had expreſſed to *Perſeus*. King *Eumenes* was treated with great coldneſs, not to ſay contempt, for not hating that prince to the laſt, as heartily as he had done at firſt. The ſon of *Cotys* king of *Thrace*, one of the wiſeſt and moſt generous princes of his time, was made priſoner at the battle of *Pydna*; and though the *Romans* did vouchſafe to ſend him back to his father, yet they ſent embaſſadors with him, who read *Cotys* a very round lecture, exaggerating his fault, the mercy f
ſhewn him by the *Romans*, and how dangerous it would be for him to offend a ſecond time. As we have conducted the *Macedonian* kingdom to its cloſe, it ſhould ſeem that we ought here to put an end to this ſection. But the reader muſt remember that the *Macedonians* were ſtill free, and our buſineſs is to ſhew how they loſt their freedom, and how that once noble kingdom came to be reduced into the form of a province; and as theſe events were not brought about, but by new and fierce wars, it is neceſſary that we enter into a detail of them, and look upon the laſt ſtrugglings of this noble nation to preſerve themſelves from being ſwallowed up by the *Roman*

[y] PLUT. in vit. Æmil. OROS. lib. xi. JUSTIN. lib. xxxii. LIV. ubi ſupra. DIODOR. SICUL. excerpt. lib. xxxi. apud Phot.

power,

a power, after they had once held the empire of the world, and for a long time the ſupreme authority in *Greece* [z].

THE ſettlement made by *Paulus Emilius* in *Macedon*, was extremely well adapted to the purpoſe of the ſenate and people of *Rome*; for in the firſt place, every city became a ſort of republic. Once in three months the general aſſembly of the diſtrict met, and deputies were annually choſen in each of the regions, in whom the ſupreme power, ſo far as was conſiſtent with their duty to *Rome*, was veſted. All their ancient nobility dwelt in *Italy*. Thither their wealth had been transferred, and conſequently whatever boaſt might be made of ſetting them free, they were now no better than a poor, divided, headleſs, and heartleſs people. Sixteen years they had remained b in this ſtate, when it began to be whiſpered about, that one of the ſons of *Perſeus* was living. All who ſpeak of this matter being either *Latin* writers, or ſuch as took their materials from them, we muſt be content to hear the ſtory in the form they were pleaſed to place it, though very probable it is, that the *Greek* hiſtorians of thoſe times might deliver it in another manner. The beſt accounts we have tell us, that one *Andriſcus*, a native of the city of *Adramyttium*, in the country of *Troas* in *Leſſer Aſia*, by birth and manners of the very dregs of the people, took upon him to be *Philip* the ſon of *Perſeus*. Not that *Philip* who was led with his father in triumph, but another begotten on a nameleſs concubine of his, and preſerved from ſlaughter, as he pretended, thus: He was born, he ſaid, while *Perſeus* was engaged in c the war againſt the *Romans*; and the king being already apprehenſive of its iſſue, ordered his birth to be concealed, and committed him to the care of one *Cyrtheſa* to be privately brought up, that in caſe things ſhould fall out amiſs, one of the blood royal might be preſerved, and one day aſſert his right to the kingdom. He was bred up at *Adramyttium*, by a man in mean circumſtances, till he was twelve years old, without having the leaſt ſuſpicion that he was any other than that man's ſon. But about that time his foſter-father falling ſick of a mortal diſeaſe, he diſcloſed to this *Andriſcus* the ſecret of his birth, and that his true name was *Philip*. There was likewiſe a narrative to this purpoſe ſigned with the hand of *Perſeus*, in the cuſtody of his foſter-mother, whom the dying man charged to deliver it to *Philip*, d when he ſhould arrive at the age of fourteen. This was performed very exactly, and in that memorial there was mention made of two cheſts of treaſure privately depoſited for the uſe of this ſon by king *Perſeus*. The woman, when ſhe put this paper into the young man's hand, recommended it to him to make all imaginable haſte out of this part of the world, leſt *Eumenes*, the inveterate enemy of *Perſeus*, and all his race, ſhould gain intelligence of his birth, and procure him to be murdered (G). Full of apprehenſions, *Andriſcus* or *Philip* retired into *Syria*, and went to the court of *Demetrius Soter*, who had married the ſiſter of king *Perſeus*, and from whom on that account he hoped favour and protection. This *Demetrius* having heard *Andriſcus*'s ſtory, conſidered it attentively, till by degrees either himſelf or his wife traced out e ſuch imperfections in it, as gave them grounds to ſuſpect the whole was a fallacy. The *Romans* were at this time ſo powerful, and *Demetrius* had ſo little inclination to have any diſputes with them, that to prevent his being made accountable for any thing that this pretended *Philip* might attempt, though without his countenance or aſſiſtance, he fairly ſeized him. Under the name of *Andriſcus* an impoſtor, falſely pretending to be the ſon of *Perſeus*, he was ſent by *Demetrius* to *Rome*, who no doubt thought he ſhould by this act win great credit with that ſtate [a].

Andriſcus *calls himſelf* Philip *the ſon of* Perſeus. *Year after the flood* 2847. *Before Chriſt* 152.

[z] PLUT. LIV. JUSTIN. ubi ſupra. [a] Epitom. LIV. lib. xlviii. xlix. ZONAR. ex DIONE. FLOR. l. ii.

(G) It may ſeem a little odd, that ſince there were many princes who might have prerended ſome title to the throne of *Macedon*, in right of their deſcents from its ancient kings, none offered at any ſuch thing; but on the contrary, left all things quiet, and in the ſtate they were ſettled by *Paulus Emilius*. This is however eaſily accounted for, if we conſider the condition of the kings of *Syria* and *Bithynia*, who were nearly allied to *Perſeus*. The former was a prince of mean abilities, and terribly afraid of the *Romans*, whoſe wrath he ſought to avert by ſending the pretender to the throne of *Macedon* to them as ſoon as he came into his dominions. He was ſenſible enough that he held his crown almoſt by their permiſſion, and therefore durſt not think of putting in any claim to another, while he was unable to act independently in the kingdom he poſſeſſed; as for *Pruſias* of *Bithynia*, he was alſo a mean-ſpirited prince, and beſides was ſo plagued by foreign enemies and diviſions in his own family, which were at laſt attended with fatal effects, that he had ſmall leiſure to look abroad; and this encouraged *Andriſcus*, if he was indeed an impoſtor, to act as he did.

Andriſcus *eſcapes from* Rome.

The ſenate cauſed this matter to be inquired into upon the firſt arrival of *Andriſcus*; but whether it was that the conſequences of his pretences were not apprehended, or whether, as the *Roman* writers affirm, he looked, ſpoke, and acted ſo little like the ſon of a prince, that there ſeemed to be nothing dangerous in him; certain it is, that he was committed to a very gentle cuſtody, and no ſentence at all pronounced upon him. It is very poſſible the ſenate might apprehend, that while *Alexander* the ſon of *Perſeus*, who had been led in triumph, was a peaceable man, and their ſcribe, as all the world knew, this *Andriſcus* with a lame ſtory, and, as they thought, very mean parts, would gain no credit; but that the contrary might happen, if he was ſeverely dealt with; no juſt cauſe appearing, for which he might be put to death. *Andriſcus* did not let ſlip the favourable opportunity offered him by the careleſsneſs of thoſe who had the cuſtody of him; but ſecretly ſtealing out of *Italy*, took ſhelter in *Thrace* [b]. a b

Troubles in Macedonia, *and their cauſes.*

In the mean time the *Macedonians* were in a very bad ſituation; for as the genius of the people was wholly ſuited to a mixt government, or, in other words, a well regulated monarchy, ſo the new conſtitution which had been given them, ſat very indifferently on their minds, ſome being too proud of their freedom, and others deſiring to ſee themſelves once more an independent nation, and as conſiderable as in former times. The *Romans* ſending embaſſadors into *Aſia*, ordered them to paſs over from thence into *Macedonia* to appeaſe theſe troubles, and to engage the people to live peaceably under the new government. What effects the exhortations of theſe legates had, we know not; but in all probability, they did not operate very ſtrongly, ſince in a few years the ſame diſturbances broke out again with ſtill greater vehemence, ſo that it appeared plainly a popular government was little for the advantage of the inhabitants of this kingdom. The *Macedonians* dwelling at *Rome*, had intereſt enough to prevent any harſh meaſures from being taken with their countrymen; this intereſt they were at great pains to cultivate, attending the funerals of their conqueror *Emilius* with all imaginable marks of ſorrow and concern, applying themſelves afterwards to *Scipio* his ſon, ſurnamed *Africanus*. Him they owned for the protector of their nation, and publicly ſolicited the ſenate that he might be ſent into *Macedonia* to compromiſe the diſturbances there. But the affairs of the republic in *Spain* being fallen into a dangerous condition, inſomuch that many declined ſerving there, *Scipio* deſired to be ſent thither, as conceiving it would be more for his country's ſervice, though he was very ſenſible of the affection borne him by the *Macedonians*, and would moſt willingly, but for this accident, have gone thither to repair the breaches which had been made in his father's ſettlement of the affairs of that people. It is very poſſible, that while the *Romans* apprehended no ill conſequence to themſelves from the diſputes among the *Macedonians*, they were not very much diſturbed at their continuance, ſince it appears clearly from *Polybius*, that the *Romans* were by this time become great politicians, and extended their own power on every ſide by practiſing on others, and taking advantage either of their misfortunes, or of their errors in government. Be it as it will, *Macedonia* was in great confuſion, and little or no care was taken to redreſs the grievances the people complained of; indeed the redreſſing of them was the more difficult, becauſe there were no *Roman* officers amongſt them; but from themſelves thoſe were taken who were made uſe of to oppreſs them [c] (H). c d e

Andriſcus,

[b] Epitom. Liv. lib. xlix. Val. Patercul. lib. i. Zonar. ex Dion. [c] Polyb. Legat. cvii.

(H) 'Twas an eſſential maxim of the *Roman* policy to let the ſubjects of the republic enjoy much greater quiet than their allies and dependants; and it was built on this ſuppoſition, that either by art or force the countries of their allies might be reduced into provinces, either without reſiſtance, or under colour of juſtice. Hence it was, that while they acknowledged the *Achæans* to be free, and gloried themſelves in the title of protectors of the liberties of *Greece*, they treated the former worſe, and regarded the latter leſs than the *Macedonians* had ever done, when they had the pre-eminence in that country. For whereas the kings of *Macedon* permitted the *Greek* republics to chuſe their own magiſtrates, and to judge all criminals in their own courts, and according to their own laws, the *Romans* moſtly ſent legates of their own to hear and determine differences among ſtates they pretended to call free, and not ſeldom drew the cauſes to *Rome*, whither the parties were conſtrained to follow them. We have already ſhewn how *Charopus*, almoſt againſt their wills, drove the *Epirots* into rebellion; and yet this man was again inveſted, not only with almoſt regal authority, but his mother alſo, a moſt vindictive and covetous woman, plundered and harraſſed the ſe unhappy people with equal malice and impunity. In *Macedonia*, thoſe who had the government of its ſeveral diſtricts in their hands, were either extremely neceſſitous, and from thence prone to oppreſſion, or were the relations and allies of the nobility who were priſoners at

a *Andriſcus*, when he firſt came into *Thrace*, depended rather on the charity of the inhabitants, and eſpecially of their petty princes, than on any pretenſions of being of uſe to them, which would have come with an ill grace from a perſon in his condition. However by often repeating his ſtory, by ſhewing them the incroachments which were daily made on their neighbours, and by explaining the methods whereby one king was employed to ruin another, and thereby reduced into circumſtances which rendered him unfit to defend himſelf; he begat in the minds of the *Thracians* ſuch ſuſpicions, and kindled in their boſoms ſuch an ambition of being once more independent, that at firſt he had ſome attendants, which ſoon after grew into a little court, and at length he was permitted to raiſe an army; which when it had b ſwelled to a reaſonable bigneſs, he boldly led down into *Macedon*, and there began publicly to declare his title to the crown. Some places he reduced by force, others ſubmitted through fear; moſt were willing to lay hold of any pretext to rid themſelves of their new maſters, and to regain their ancient conſtitution, the loſs of which had rendered it but ſo much the more deſirable. Such as were in poſſeſſion of power, and conſequently were ſtrictly dependent on the *Romans*, endeavoured to make what reſiſtance they could; but it proved even feebler than *Andriſcus* or *Philip* could have expected. Such as had been moſt forward to ſupport theſe men in their authority for the ſake of reaping rewards, which it was only in their power to give, were the firſt to deſert them, in order to rejoin authority again; and thus c *Macedonia* was reduced by one who called himſelf the ſon of *Perſeus*, in almoſt as ſhort a time as *Perſeus* himſelf had loſt it. Nay, ſo full was he of that courage, which ſucceſs uſually inſpires, that not content with *Macedon*, he began to meditate an invaſion on the adjoining provinces, as well to gratify his own ambition, as to keep up the hopes and ſpirits of his new ſubjects [d].

Andriſcus *or* Philip *recovers* Macedon.

THE *Romans*, on the firſt news of this extraordinary event, were not a little at a loſs; they had no army in theſe parts; they had all the reaſon in the world to believe that the *Greeks* would by no means raiſe an army in favour of thoſe who had of late treated them but very indifferently. However, they ſent *Scipio Naſica* with other legates, rather to diſpoſe the minds of the people in *Greece* to remain ſteady d to the *Roman* intereſt, than to perform any notable ſervice againſt the new king of *Macedon*, whom the *Romans* qualified with the name of *Pſeudo-Philippus*, i. e. the *ſham Philip*. *Scipio* and his collegues found things in quite another ſtate than they expected. For, in the firſt place, *Andriſcus* or *Philip* was much more powerful than he had been thought at *Rome*. And, ſecondly, the *Achæans*, contrary to all expectation, laying aſide all former jealouſies and ſuſpicions, appeared moſt ready to ſide with the *Romans*, and to do whatever they required. *Scipio*, as he was of great parts, ſo he was alſo naturally juſt, temperate, and courteous, in the higheſt degree; theſe good qualities ſupplied the place of an army, and rendered him more formidable to the enemies of the republic, than a perſon of another diſpoſition would have e been, attended by legions. The firſt thing he did was fully to inform the ſenate of what had happened in *Greece*: That the diſturbance in *Macedon* was not a ſudden tumultuary inſurrection, but that the people for the moſt part had not only willingly, but joyfully received this pretended *Philip*, not ſo much becauſe he ſtyled himſelf the ſon of *Perſeus*, as on account of his declaring he would expel the *Romans*, and give liberty to all *Greece*. When *Scipio* had diſpatched theſe advices, he applied himſelf to the diſcharge of his commiſſion; he viſited all the principal cities of *Greece*, harangued the people in their general aſſemblies, heard all their remonſtrances patiently, excuſed ſome things, admitted others, promiſed the redreſs of all; by which arts he drew every city to furniſh a certain quota of troops, and join- f ing theſe with a conſiderable body of auxiliaries raiſed by the *Achæans*, he at laſt entered *Theſſaly*, where he immediately ſtopped the progreſs of *Andriſcus*, or *Philip*;

Scipio Naſica *ſent into* Greece.

[d] Epitom. LIV. lib. xlix. l. PATERC. lib. i. L. FLOR. lib. ii.

at *Rome*, and were therefore much more addicted to the intereſt of the republic, than to that of their country. The rebellion of *Andriſcus* might eaſily have been prevented; for he was a long time in *Thrace* before he was in any condition to invade *Macedon*; or when it was begun, it might have been preſently quaſhed; but it is probable the *Romans* deſired neither, but rather wiſhed for an opportunity of reducing the whole kingdom into a province, which at length they obtained, and did not fail to uſe (14).

(14) *Liv. lib.* xlix. *L. Polyb, legat.* cvii. *Diodor. Sicul. excerpt. lib.* xxvi.

retook

retook ſuch of the cities as he had gariſoned, and in the end compelled him with his army to retire back into *Macedon*; which was all or rather more than could have been expected from a perſon in his ſituation, whoſe commiſſion extended no farther than to provide for the ſafety of *Greece* [e]. a

The prætor Juventius defeated and ſlain.

AT *Rome*, as ſoon as the diſpatches from *Scipio* arrived, and it was perceived that the affair in *Macedonia* was become very ſerious, the prætor *P. Juventius Thalna*, and *Q. Cælius*, were ſent with a great army to reduce the rebels. It quickly appeared, that an able general was capable of doing more without an army, than a raſh officer with very numerous forces. *Juventius* was a man of fire and ſpirit, one who was deſirous of performing very great things, but altogether void of that calmneſs and conduct which are ſo eſſential to the character of a hero. Hence it was, that he b made all imaginable haſte to enter *Macedonia*, and, as if his preſence only would have finiſhed the war, advanced as faſt as the army was able to march towards *Andriſcus*. This *Pſeudo-Philippus*, as the *Romans* called him, was owned, attended and obeyed as king of *Macedon*; he therefore having notice of the manner in which the prætor *Juventius* behaved, and that he regarded himſelf as a theatrical prince only, who by putting on royal robes, had qualified himſelf to be led in triumph. *Andriſcus* was encouraged to attack him. When the *Roman* general was come within a day's march of his camp, the *Macedonian* prince began to move at the very break of day; and having refreſhed his army the next day, about noon, he in the evening ſhewed himſelf in ſight of the *Roman* camp, which, as he rightly judged it would, drew the c prætor out of his intrenchments, and induce a general engagement, wherein the *Roman* army was totally defeated. The prætor *Juventius*, and *Q. Cælius*, being ſlain, if the night had not interpoſed, and afforded the remains of the army time to retreat, there had not been a man left. Thoſe who eſcaped, made all the haſte they could out of *Macedon*; and *Philip* purſuing the blow he had ſtruck, not only reduced the whole kingdom again to his obedience, but alſo opened a paſſage into *Theſſaly*, which he again united to his dominions, ſeeming now to be effectually ſeated on the throne, as having expelled his mortal enemies, and having about his perſon a numerous and victorious army ready to undertake any thing at his command [f].

Andriſcus *or* Philip *proves a tyrant.*

THE *Carthaginians* not long after this victory ſent embaſſadors to congratulate d *Philip*, and to engage him into an alliance for reducing the exorbitant power of the *Romans*, who were on the point of beginning the third *Punic* war. The *Macedonian* received theſe miniſters very graciouſly, and made them large promiſes of aſſiſtance, which he might have fulfilled at leaſt in ſome meaſure by an invaſion on *Greece*, and thereby making a diviſion, which would conſequently have weakened the *Romans*. But him whom adverſity could not, proſperity ruined; his fortune buried his abilities, and his virtues, if he really had any, and did not put on the appearance of good qualities to drawn in and cajole the people. The *Romans* he thought no more of, and inſtead of endeavouring to cheriſh his ſubjects, to revive trade, and to make them happy, he began to play the tyrant, and to make them feel the weight of his e ſceptre, almoſt as ſoon as he had handled it himſelf. If he had been hurried on by the impetuous rage of any one vice, the people might have hoped for quiet, when it was ſatiated; but he ſoon diſcovered that he had almoſt all the ill qualities which are wont to render men odious, and that he purſued every one of theſe as eagerly as if it had been his only and darling vice. His pride was intolerable; coming late as he did to royalty, he thought he could never have enough ſubmiſſion paid him. He was ſuſpicious to ſuch a degree, that imprudence was a capital crime, and a circumſpect conduct an indication of treaſon. His cruelty was ſo great, that he ſpared none whom he either diſliked, or whom he conceived to diſlike him and his proceedings. With all this he was ſo rapaciouſly covetous, as having been till f lately exceſſively indigent, that he ſearched all corners of the kingdom for money, and where-ever he found it, declared himſelf its owner; urging the care of the public ſafety as a pretext for public robbery; and in ſhort from the moment he gained the ſovereign authority, acted as if he had deſigned nothing leſs than to retain it. Yet the *Macedonians* bore all with invincible patience, and ſhewed themſelves infinitely more loyal to this *Philip* than he was true to himſelf. The reaſon of this is eaſily found; they hoped for a ſucceſſor, whoſe government might be milder, and were willing to bear any thing, ſo they might once more become an independent people [g].

[e] DIODOR. SICUL. excerpt. lib. xxvi. FLORUS, lib. ii. c. 14. V. PATERCUL. lib. i. c. 11. [f] LIV. ubi ſupra. DION. FLOR. PATERCUL. ubi ſupra. [g] DIODOR. SICUL. excerpt. lib. xxvi. LIV. FLOR. & PATERCUL. ubi ſupra.

WHEN

a When the news of the defeat and death of *P. Juventius* was known at *Rome*, *Q. Cæcilius Metellus* was immediately named to ſupply his place, and troops were with all imaginable care tranſported into *Macedon*. Thither alſo the new prætor ſpeedily repaired, and the king found himſelf on a ſudden under a neceſſity of fighting once more for his life and crown. He ſhewed on this occaſion the only good quality he had, *viz.* unconquerable courage, a quality deſirable in all princes, and peculiarly reverenced by the *Macedonians*. He quickly aſſembled his forces, and to prevent the *Romans* from plundering the adjacent country, he encamped under the walls of *Pydna*, and there expected the prætor. *Metellus*, underſtanding *Philip*'s reſolution, marched with the *Roman* army, and encamped over-againſt him. Thus far both generals b ſeemed to act with prudence, and military skill. The king of *Macedon* however quickly betrayed an extraordinary confidence in his fortune, and his forces. *Metellus* was ſtrongeſt in horſe, *Philip* ventured an engagement with cavalry only; and though the *Macedonians* were inferior in number, and not ſo well armed, yet after a long and obſtinate diſpute, they had the victory, and compelled the *Romans* to retire into their camp with ſome confuſion. This new ſucceſs compleated the king's deſtruction; for underſtanding immediately after that the allies of the *Romans* were about to attack his conqueſts in *Theſſaly*, he ſent a great detachment from his army to cover them. *Metellus* appriſed of this, attacked him now he had weakened his forces, and after an obſtinate and bloody battle, totally routed him, inſomuch that not being able to c collect out of his broken army troops enough to keep the field, he was forced to fly to his old friends the *Thracians*. Theſe people whom we ſo often find branded by the *Greek* writers with the name of barbarians, were neither deterred by his preſent adverſity, nor by the ill uſe he had made of his former proſperity, from receiving him with open arms, and giving him all the aſſiſtance in their power, inſomuch that in a very ſhort ſpace he was enabled to enter *Macedonia* again with a numerous army, which increaſed daily, and which, if he had managed prudently, would have enabled him to have protracted the war, a thing the *Romans* could leaſt of all bear. His conduct was the very reverſe of what it ought to have been, ſince, forgetting his late misfortunes, and breathing nothing but a vehement ambition of becoming once again d maſter of *Macedonia*, and all its dependencies, he marched directly to fight *Metellus*, and in a ſecond battle met the ſame ill fate which had attended him before. In theſe two engagements he had five and twenty thouſand men killed upon the ſpot, ſo that he found it abſolutely impoſſible to raiſe a third army in defence of his pretenſions. Conſulting therefore his own ſafety, he fled to *Byzas*, a petty prince of *Thrace*, who at firſt received him very kindly; but when he ſaw clearly that he ſhould draw upon himſelf the vengeance of the *Romans*, he delivered up *Andriſcus* to *Metellus*, who now hoped that he had put a full end to the troubles in this country; but it preſently appeared that the *Macedonians* were not ſo eaſily ſubdued, for immediately there ſtarted up a new pretender to the regal dignity, who called himſelf *Alexander*, e and boaſted that he too was the ſon of *Perſeus*. He ſet up his ſtandard in the firſt region of *Macedonia*, that is, in the country bordering upon *Thrace*, and very quickly reduced under his obedience the whole territory between the rivers *Strymon* and *Neſſus*. But *Attalus* king of *Pergamus*, who had aſſiſted *Metellus* with a fleet, remaining ſtill upon the coaſt, and the prætor advancing towards the river *Strymon*, *Alexander* found himſelf too weak to engage the numerous and victorious army of the *Romans*, and quitting his conqueſts, and the enſigns of the regal dignity which he had aſſumed, he withdrew into *Dardania*, where he ſo effectually concealed himſelf, that the *Romans* could never get him into their power. Such was the end of this war, which afforded what had been ſo long deſired, an opportunity of reducing *Macedonia* into f a *Roman* province, a thing immediately put into execution, as well as the chaſtiſing the *Thracians*, and other borderers, for having ſhewn greater affection to the *Macedonians*, than duty towards the republic. *Q. Cæcilius Metellus* on his return to *Rome*, triumphed, and led *Pſeudo Philippus*, as the *Romans* ſtiled him, in the cavalcade; after which the victor took the ſirname of *Macedonicus*; which ſhews of what conſequence this conqueſt was, and how arduous the war by which it was obtained [h].

Is twice defeated by Metellus.

Year after the flood 2851. *Before Chriſt* 148.

As the *Macedonians* were reduced to the ſame ſtate with the reſt of the nations conquered by the *Romans*, by *Q. Metellus*, ſo by him alſo they were deprived of what ſmall remains of their ancient grandeur *Emilius* had left behind him; among the reſt

Two other pretenders defeated.

[h] Liv. Flor. Patercul. ubi ſupra. Strab. lib. xiii. p. 624. Jul. Obseq. de prodigiis. Eutrop. lib. iv.

of the brazen ſtatues ſet up at *Dium*, for ſuch of *Alexander*'s guards as had fallen in the battle of *Granicus*. *Metellus* alſo appointed new magiſtrates, and changed in every reſpect the government under which they had lived before. As the reſt of *Greece* ſoon after fell under the like circumſtances, it was not doubted but the ſpirits of theſe people were effectually quelled, and that they would never think more of throwing off that yoke, which after repeated victories, they had ſeen impoſed upon the braveſt and moſt potent of their neighbours. Yet it happened otherwiſe; a new *Pſeudo Philippus* ſhewed himſelf on the borders of *Thrace*, and having drawn together a ſmall band of deſperate men, began to haraſs the country, and particularly to deſtroy ſuch as he either knew or ſuſpected to be attached to the *Romans*. The love of liberty amongſt the *Macedonians* increaſing with the loſs of it; they reſorted in crowds to this new pretender, and adviſed him to invade the kingdom, with full aſſurance that he would meet with little oppoſition. Accordingly he came down with his forces into the heart of *Macedonia*, where he was continually joined by new recruits, making in a ſhort time ſo quick a progreſs, as the greateſt part of the country ſubmitted to him; and thus with the regal title he gained the power and authority of a king. To reduce him, the *Romans* ſent a numerous army under the command of the quæſtor *Lucius Tremellius*, who no ſooner entered the province, than he began to retake the cities which *Philip* had ſubdued and fortified; and though he managed with much greater prudence than *Andriſcus*, who had aſſumed the ſame name, had uſed, yet in the end he was defeated and ſlain. He ſeems to have been the laſt who pretended to vindicate the liberty of the *Macedonians*, or to attempt the recovery of that kingdom under colour of a right derived from *Perſeus*, or any of its ancient princes [1] (I).

The Macedonians *complain of their governor* Syllanus.

THE trouble which the ſubduing this province had coſt, and the manifeſt diſaffection which the people had ſhewn towards the republic, encouraged ſuch as were intruſted with the government to exerciſe great ſeverities, and no leſs grievouſly to oppreſs, under colour of ſeverity, thoſe whom they were ſent to rule. *D. Junius Syllanus*, a man of high quality, exceeded all his predeceſſors, as well in fleecing the *Macedonians*, as in treating them with exceſſive rigor. In ſhort, though few years had elapſed ſince their country had been reduced into a province, and they had all the reaſon in the world to believe that their ſtrenuous endeavours to avoid it were well remembered at *Rome*; yet ſo much of their ancient ſpirit remained, that they could not bear the thoughts of enduring tamely ſo ſharp a ſubjection. They therefore ſent deputies to *Rome* to repreſent their grievances, and to pray that more juſtice might be done on their rapacious governor, than ever he had done in his province. When this matter came before the ſenate, the deputies were heard with great ſhew of kindneſs, and *Junius Syllanus* was commanded to appear at a certain day, and anſwer to the crimes objected againſt him. Before that time was expired, *Titus Manlius Torquatus* his father, a very eminent perſon, of the old *Roman* ſtamp, preferred a petition, that the cauſe might be referred to him, and he be allowed to hear and determine it at his

[1] LIV. lib. liii. VARRO. de re Ruſtic. lib. ii. c. 4.

(I) It muſt be eaſily diſcerned, that the hiſtory given in the text of the endeavours of the *Macedonians* to preſerve or rather to recover their freedom, is very imperfect; the cauſe of this is, that we collect from fragments; a line or two from *Polybius* furniſhes us with one circumſtance (15), an extract from *Diodorus* (16) with another; the contents of thoſe books of *Livy* which are loſt, and certain epitomes of *Roman* hiſtory, with the reſt. That it was requiſite to put all theſe circumſtances together appears from hence; the epitomizer of *Livy* tells us, that *Metellus* recovered *Macedonia*, which was before loſt (17). *Florus* intitles his detail of this buſineſs, *Of the third* Macedonian *war*. *Q. Cæcilius Metellus* triumphed, led *Andriſcus* in chains, and took the ſirname of *Macedonicus*. *Florus* adds, after reciting the fate of *Andriſcus*, *De eo populus Romanus, quaſi de vero rege triumpharet* (18). As we are now writing the *Macedonian* hiſtory, there is no queſtion to be made that the *quaſi* does not belong to us, but that we ought to treat expreſsly of the reign of *Andriſcus*, ſince the *Romans* triumphed over him, as over a true king. Whether he was in truth what the *Romans* ſaid, an impoſtor, and ſo far from being the ſon of *Perſeus*, that he was in fact ſprung from the very dregs of the people, is what cannot be determined any more than who they were who afterwards called themſelves *Alexander* and *Philip*, and put themſelves at the head of the *Macedonian* armies againſt the *Romans* (19). Moſt certain it is, that the *Macedonian* kings were wont to have ſeveral wives, and not ſeldom many concubines; this being ſo, admitting none of theſe men were in reality deſcended from the royal family, it muſt remain however a thing difficult to prove it; and the *Macedonians* in general being diſaffected, the colour of truth was ſufficient to lead them into rebellion. This then may ſuffice for excuſing thoſe imperfections neceſſity hath occaſioned in this part of our work.

(15) *In legat.* (16) *ap. Phot.* (17) *Tit. Liv. lib.* lii. (18) *Flor. lib.* ii. *c.* 14. (19) *Eutrop. lib.* iv.

own

a own houſe, which was granted. There the *Macedonian* deputies appeared, and boldly opened the particular cauſes of their complaints; exhibited their proofs, and fully replied to the defence made by *Syllanus*. At length *Titus Manlius* gave ſentence that his ſon was guilty, and ordered him to be taken out of his preſence. A little after *Junius Syllanus* hanged himſelf, and when the good old man was informed of it, he ſhewed no concern; but on the very day of his funeral kept his houſe open, and tranſacted all ſorts of buſineſs, as if his ſon's deviating from virtue had divorced him from his family, and made him a ſtranger to his blood. After this we meet with nothing relating to the *Macedonians*, which deſerves to be recorded in their hiſtory, to which therefore we ſhall now put an end [1] (K).

A ſummary view of this hiſtory.

b THE intelligent reader by comparing the contents of this with thoſe of former ſections, will acquire a perfect knowledge of the ſteps by which the ſtate of *Macedon* roſe, the arts uſed by its princes to render it formidable, the wars and conqueſts by which it became arbiter of *Greece*, and ſovereign of a great part of the known world; the accidents which contributed to its quick declenſion, and the cauſes which by ſlower degrees brought on its total ruin (L). For in a political ſenſe, a government is ſaid to be brought to deſtruction, when it no longer reſides in the hands of natives, and the conſtitution under which the people live owes its form, not to their choice, but to the will of their conquerors. From ſuch a compariſon as we have mentioned, it will appear that all this ſeries of events did not take up a ſpace c of above ſeven hundred years. That the firſt ſettlement of *Caraunus* and his *Argives* in the centre of that country, which was afterwards called *Macedonia*, is very obſcurely related by ancient hiſtorians; and yet that we have a better account of the tranſactions of his reign than of his immediate ſucceſſors, whoſe names are all that we have tranſmitted to us. That the homage yielded by the *Macedonian* princes to the *Perſian* emperors was one great cauſe of their ſubſequent power, inaſmuch as it preſerved them from being haraſſed by the wars made by the *Perſians* on the reſt of the *Greek* ſtates, brought great ſums of money into *Macedonia*, and afforded frequent opportunities of annexing cities and diſtricts to the kingdom by grants from the great king, in truſt, as it were, for the better ſecuring their ſubmiſſion to his empire. That the declen- d ſion of the *Perſian* power, while there were but weak princes on the throne of *Macedon*, had well-nigh cauſed the deſtruction of their kingdom, endangered alike from the rapacious violence of its barbarous neighbours, the boundleſs ambition of the *Greek*

[1] TIT. LIV. Epiſt. lib. liv.

(K) The puniſhment of *Syllanus*, with the very extraordinary circumſtances which attended it, plainly prove that the *Romans* were now very deſirous of making the *Macedonians* eaſy, by preventing thoſe acts of tyranny and oppreſſion, which for the ſake of aggrandizing themſelves and their families, governors were but too ready to commit. And theſe proceedings of theirs fully juſtify an obſervation which we heretofore made, that they were deſirous to give all poſſible eaſe to their proper ſubjects, though they encouraged troubles among their allies, and in ſuch ſtates as were tributary to them. Such a conduct naturally conciliated the minds of the people, who when they found themſelves protected, and well uſed, were no longer inclined to take up arms againſt thoſe who had ſo often ſubdued them; whereas neceſſity and oppreſſion would have wrought their old effects, and the *Macedonians* would have roſe in arms time after time, till they had been either relieved or extirpated. But indulgence got the better of the love of liberty, and when they were allowed to be quiet, they forgot that quiet was only allowed them, and that they did not owe peace to themſelves, but to the will of their maſters.

(L) The principal intent of the recapitulation in the text was to demonſtrate the uſefulneſs of this work, in which, without any interruptions or digreſſions, the hiſtories of nations are to be found from their infancy to their decay. In the famous Sir *Walter Raleigh*'s hiſtory of the world, we have a very imperfect account of the kingdom of *Macedon* before the reign of *Philip* the ſon of *Amyntas* (20), and no deſcription of the country at all. In Dr. *Howell*'s hiſtory, there is no amendment of this matter; the kings preceding *Philip* are but juſt mentioned, and there are ſome miſtakes, and ſeveral omiſſions in the little which is ſaid (21). Mr. *Rollin* is by much the faireſt writer, for he ſets out with acquainting us, that the hiſtory of *Macedon* before *Philip* is very obſcure and confuſed, and ſo he leaves it (22). Sir *Walter Raleigh*, in the conduct of his hiſtory, treats of the affairs of *Alexander*'s ſucceſſors in a continued narration, which blends the tranſactions in ſeveral nations one with another. Dr. *Howell* avoided this, but his hiſtory of *Macedon* from the time of *Alexander* to the captivity of *Perſeus* is too conciſe, neither is the period well fixed, for it ought to have ended with the reduction of *Macedonia* into a province. Mr. *Rollin* takes the ſame method with Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and one may ſafely ſay, that dean *Prideaux* is a guide he ſeldom or never forſakes. On the whole, the regular ſeries of events traced in the text is not to be met with in any other hiſtory or collection of hiſtory that has come to our hands. We alſo take the liberty to add, that what has been before laid down, may be as well applied to the hiſtories of other nations as this; for having purſued the ſame method in all, all have the ſame advantages.

(20) P. i. B. iv. c. 1. ſect. 1. (21) B. ii. ch. 2. ſect. 5. (22) *Hiſt. Ancien. Vol. VI.*

republics,

republics, and thoſe civil diſſenſions which raged in its own bowels. But when a prince of great abilities aſſumed the regal dignity, he by dint of genius quieted domeſtic feuds, by force of arms repreſſed the barbarous nations, and then made a ſucceſsful war againſt thoſe republics which had held his immediate anceſtors in a kind of ſubjection, till from theſe acceſſions of power, directed by his own ſuperior wiſdom, he acquired the ſovereignty of *Greece*, wherein himſelf and his people at the beginning of his reign were ſcarce at all regarded, or rather contemned as *Barbarians*. That as his conduct founded, ſo the courage and military virtues of his ſucceſſor wonderfully extended the *Macedonian* empire; which for want of his having an heir at age, was broke in pieces, and the kingdom of *Macedon* left in the ſame condition in which the victorious *Alexander* received it. That the ſucceſſors of theſe great monarchs preſerving the ambition without the abilities of thoſe they imitated, inſtead of reſtoring, weakened, and loſt all the dependencies to the dominion of *Macedon*, and at laſt, by an ill-timed attempt to recover them, delivered up the kingdom itſelf into the hands of ſtrangers (M). Againſt whom its inhabitants, with a ſpirit far ſuperior, though as ſucceſsleſs as that of their laſt princes, ſtruggled for a time, till at laſt, worn out, and breathleſs, they yielded to the power of the conqueror, and were content that *Macedonia*, which had been the miſtreſs of ſo many provinces, ſhould now become a province herſelf. There remained ſtill however ſome unſubjected fragments of her ancient empire, *viz.* the kingdoms of *Syria* and *Egypt*, the hiſtory of which, to their reduction by the *Romans*, the next ſections will relate. a b c

(M) We choſe to give a liſt of the princes who ruled in *Macedon* after the death of *Alexander the Great* rather in a note at the end of the hiſtory, than at the beginning of this ſection, becauſe of their different titles and authorities which could not there, but will be here eaſily underſtood.

A Table of the *Macedonian* Princes.

Aridæus or *Philip* the ſon of *Philip*.
Alexander the ſon of *Roxana*.
Caſſander the ſon of *Antipater*.
Philip the ſon of *Caſſander*.
Antipater and *Alexander* his ſons alſo.
Demetrius Poliorcetes the ſon of *Antigonus*.
Pyrrhus.
Lyſimachus.
Ptolemy Ceraunus.
Meleager.
Antipater the ſon of *Philip*.
Soſthenes.
Antigonus Gonatus, ſon of *Demetrius*.
Demetrius the ſon of *Antigonus*.
Antigonus Doſon, firſt protector, then king.
Philip the ſon of *Demetrius*.
Perſeus.
Andriſcus, or *Pſeudo-Philippus*.

They were all as to their power alike ſovereigns of *Macedon*, but they differed as to the authority they claimed, and as to the titles by which they claimed. Some were lawful princes, as *Aridæus* and *Alexander*; others downright uſurpers, as *Caſſander* and his ſons. The choice of the people beſtowed the crown on *Demetrius* the ſon of *Antigonus*. Conqueſt gave the ſmall right they had to the princes interfering between *Demetrius* and his ſon *Antigonus Gonatus*. After him the kingdom continued hereditary to its extinction.

SECT.


Vol. 3. Pag. 509
Septentrio
Meridies
Occidens
Orientis
Taurus Mons
SYRIA, after y Death of ALEXANDER the GREAT.
CILICIA CAMPESTRIS
COMMAGENE
MESOPOTAMIA
Cyrrhestica
Chalcidene
COELE SYRIA
MARIS MEDITERRANEI PARS
MARE CILICIUM
PHOENICIUM
PALAESTINA
Chaucha beni
Solitudo Palmyrena
ARABIA DESERTA
Arabes Scenitæ
CHALDAEA
BABYLONIAE FINES
PROPRIA
Antiochia
Seleucia
Tripolis
Laodicea
Gabala
Caliotis
Aradus Insula
Orthosia
Byblus
Berytus
Sidon
Sarepta
Tyrus
Ptolemaïs
Abila
Abilene
Damascus
Heliopolis
Paradisus
Laodicea Cabiosa
Arethusa
Emesa
Apamea
Epiphanea
Larissa
Hierapolis
Europus
Beroea
Thapsacus
Barbalissus
Nicephorium
Callinicum
Circesium
Gordiani sepulcrum
Sura
Palmyra
Thadmor
Sitha
Dacira
Pombodita
Forsebora
Vologesocerta
Fissenia
Noarda
Beana
Casama
Adada
Adana
Danaba
Solaramia
Coara
Mamuga
Abila
Tetrapolis
Libanus Mons
Amanus Mons
Taurus Mons
Majius Mons
Chaboras Fl.
Euphrates Fl.
Tigris Fl.
Orontes Fl.
Belus Fl.
Chrysorrhoas Fl.
Lamotis Lacus
Mare Mortuum

SECT. IX.

The hiſtory of the Seleucidæ *in* Syria, *to the reduction of their dominions by the* Romans.

b AFTER the battle of *Ipſus*, wherein *Antigonus* was ſlain, and *Demetrius* put to flight, the empire of *Alexander* was, as we have related above [a], by a new partition, divided into four kingdoms. *Ptolemy* had *Egypt*, *Libya*, *Arabia*, *Cœle-Syria*, and *Paleſtine*; *Caſſander Macedon* and *Greece*; *Lyſimachus Thrace*, *Bithynia*, and ſome other provinces beyond the *Helleſpont* and the *Boſphorus*; and *Seleucus* all the reſt. The two kingdoms of *Syria* and *Egypt* continued in the ſame families through a long ſeries of princes, without any conſiderable alteration. But *Macedon* often changed its maſters, and the provinces, which fell to the ſhare of *Lyſimachus*, were, upon his death, as they lay at a great diſtance from each other, ſeized by different princes, and ſo diſmembered, that his kingdom may be truly ſaid to have ended with his life.

c The hiſtory of the kingdom of *Macedon*, from its foundation to *Alexander* the *Great*, and from that period to its being reduced to a *Roman* province, we have already delivered, and ſhall therefore now proceed to the two other kingdoms, which the above-mentioned diviſion of provinces produced, *viz.* thoſe of *Syria* and *Egypt*. The kingdom of *Syria*, to which, as the moſt powerful and extenſive of the two, we ſhall give the precedency, was not confined to that country alone; but, beſides *Syria*, comprehended thoſe vaſt and fertile provinces of the upper *Aſia*, which formed the *Perſian* empire; being, in its full extent, bounded by the *Mediterranean* on one ſide, and the river *Indus* on the other. Theſe vaſt ſpreading dominions were commonly called the kingdom of *Syria*, becauſe *Seleucus*, the firſt of the *Syro-Macedonian*

d kings, having built the city of *Antioch* in that province, choſe it, as did likewiſe his ſucceſſors, for the uſual place of his reſidence. Here his deſcendants, from him ſtiled *Seleucidæ*, reigned, according to *Euſebius* [b], for the ſpace of two hundred fifty-one years, that is, from the one hundred and ſeventeenth olympiad, when *Seleucus* recovered *Babylon*, to the third year of the one hundred and eightieth, when *Antiochus Aſiaticus*, the laſt of the race of *Seleucus*, was driven out by *Pompey*, and *Syria* reduced to a *Roman* province. Before we proceed to the hiſtory of the *Seleucidæ*, we ſhall exhibit a ſeries of the kings of that race, with the years of their reſpective reigns.

e *A table of the kings of* Syria, *from the foundation of that monarchy, to its being reduced by the* Romans, *with the years of their reſpective reigns.*

Seleucus Nicator	32	*Alexander Zebina*	5
Antiochus Soter	19	*Antiochus Theus*	2
Antiochus Theus	15	*Antiochus Sidetes*	9
Seleucus Callinicus	20	*Antiochus Grypus*	19
Seleucus Ceraunus	3	*Antiochus Cyzicenus*	21
Antiochus the Great	36	*Seleucus*	months 7
Seleucus Philopator	11	*Antiochus Euſebes*	1
f *Antiochus Epiphanes*	11	*Demetrius Euchærus*	3
Antiochus Eupator	2	*Philip*	7
Demetrius Soter	12	*Antiochus Dionyſius*	3
Alexander Balas	6	*Tigranes*	18
Demetrius Nicator	13	*Antiochus Aſiaticus*	4

Seleucus, the founder of the *Syro-Macedonian* empire, was the ſon of *Antiochus*, one of the chief captains of *Philip* the father of *Alexander*. We are told by *Juſtin* [c], that his mother *Laodice*, nine months before he was born, dreamt, that *Apollo* being in bed with her, preſented her with a precious ſtone, on which was engraved the figure Seleucus Nicator

[a] Vol. III. p. 441. [b] Euseb. in Chron. [c] Justin. l. xv.

of an anchor, commanding her to deliver it to the ſon ſhe ſhould bring forth; and a
that next morning upon waking ſhe found in her bed a ring, with a ſtone like that
which ſhe had ſeen in her dream. The ſame author adds, that not only the child
ſhe was afterwards delivered of, but all the *Syrian* kings of his race had the mark of
an anchor on their thigh (A). The ancients ſpeak of ſeveral other dreams, prodi-
gies, reſponſes of oracles, *&c.* portending to *Seleucus* ſome extraordinary riſe and
good fortune; but the eminent parts he brought with him into the world, joined to
a great ſweetneſs of temper, to an obliging behaviour, and a no leſs gallant than
prudent conduct, were the ſureſt prognoſtics of his future greatneſs. He ſerved
under *Alexander* from his tender years, attended him in his expedition into *Aſia*, and
was by him honoured with the chief command of the elephants, a commiſſion of
great truſt and reputation. After the death of that conqueror, *Perdiccas*, whom b
the officers had unanimouſly appointed regent of the empire, put him at the head
of the cavalry of the allies; in which command he acquitted himſelf with ſuch repu-
tation, that *Antipater*, who ſucceeded *Perdiccas* in the regency, raiſed him to the
Made governor of Babylon. government of *Babylon*, and its territory. In this poſt he was tempted, by the
example of the other captains of *Alexander*, who aſpired to the ſupreme power in
their reſpective allotments, to betray his truſt, and entertain thoughts of ſetting up
for himſelf; whence, when *Eumenes*, on his march into *Suſiana*, preſſed him to
Aſpires to the ſovereign power in his government. join the governors of the upper provinces againſt *Antigonus*, who had openly revolted,
he not only refuſed to lend them any aſſiſtance, but even attempted to deſtroy both
Eumenes and his army, by cutting the ſluices of the *Euphrates*, and laying the whole c
plain where they were encamped under water. *Eumenes* however, tho' thus ſurprized,
gained an eminence with his troops, before the waters roſe to any height, and the
next day, by diverting their courſe, found means to eſcape the danger, without the
loſs of a ſingle man. *Seleucus*, finding this ſtratagem prove unſucceſsful, ſent emiſ-
ſaries under-hand into *Eumenes*'s camp, ſoliciting, with mighty promiſes, the *Argy-
raſpides*, and *Antigines* their leader, to abandon *Eumenes*, and come over to him;
but not being able to prevail with them upon any terms whatſoever, he made a
truce with *Eumenes*, granting him a free paſſage thro' his province. However, he
ſent an expreſs at the ſame time to *Antigonus* in *Meſopotamia*, adviſing him to come
with all poſſible expedition, and fall upon *Eumenes*, before he was joined by the d
governors of the upper *Aſia* [c]; for as *Eumenes* was unalterably attached to the intereſt
of the kings, and withal the beſt general and greateſt ſtateſman *Alexander* had left
behind him, *Seleucus*, as well as the other governors, who were prompted by their
ambition to uſurp the ſovereign power in their governments, were under no ſmall
apprehenſion of his ſuperior merit and genius. *Antigonus* followed the reaſonable
advice of his friend *Seleucus*, and being attended in his expedition againſt *Eumenes*
with the great ſucceſs we have related above [d], he returned to *Babylon*, where *Seleu-
cus* received him with rich preſents, and, at a vaſt charge, feaſted his whole army.
Falls out with Antigonus, *and flies to* Egypt. But when *Antigonus* demanded an account of the revenues of his government, he told
him in plain terms, That he was not accountable to any-body for the revenues of a e
province, which the *Macedonians* had beſtowed upon him, as a reward for his ſer-
vices in *Alexander*'s life-time. This blunt anſwer occaſioned a miſunderſtanding
between him and *Antigonus*, who, as the breach grew daily wider and wider, waited
only for an opportunity of cutting off this new rival, as he had already treated

[c] Diodor. Sicul. l. xix. Plut. in Eumen. Corn. Nep. c. 7. [d] Vol. III. p. 419.

(A) To this *Auſonius*, ſpeaking of the cities of *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, alludes in the following verſes:

Et vos ite pares, Macedúmque attolite nomen,
Magnus Alexander te condidit, illa Seleucum
Nuncupat: ingenitus nævus fuit anchora ſignum:
Qualis juncta ſolet generis nota certa: per omnem
Nam ſobolis ſeriem nativa cucurrit imago (1).

But *Appian*, without taking any notice of this native mark, as *Auſonius* ſtiles it, tells us, that *Laodice* was warned in a dream to deliver to her ſon the firſt ring ſhe ſhould find, and aſſured, that he ſhould reign in the country where the ring ſhould be loſt. In compliance with this admonition, *Laodice*, having ſome time after found an iron ring, with the figure of an anchor engraved on it, gave it to her ſon *Seleucus*, who loſt it near the *Euphrates*, where he afterwards reigned. The ſame author adds, that *Seleucus*, on his march to *Babylon*, having ſtumbled againſt a ſtone, and cauſed it immediately, out of a ſuperſtitious obſervance, to be dug up, found under it, deep in the ground, a ſmall anchor; and hence the cuſtom among the *Seleucida* of *Syria* to uſe an anchor on their ſeals (2).

(1) *Auſon. de clar. urbib.* (2) *Appian. in Syriac.*

others,

a others, whoſe abilities gave him umbrage; but *Seleucus*, ſuſpecting his deſign, ſtole away with fifty horſe only, and put himſelf under the protection of *Ptolemy* governor of *Egypt*, whoſe kindneſs and courteous behaviour towards all who fled to him for ſhelter, was every-where cried up. *Antigonus*, when informed of his flight, expreſſed great joy, being thereby put in poſſeſſion of a rich province without ſtriking a blow, or being obliged to imbrue his hands, as he had reſolved to do, in the blood of his old friend and confederate [e] (B).

Seleucus being got ſafe into *Egypt*, and received there by *Ptolemy* with all poſſible demonſtrations of kindneſs and friendſhip, repreſented ſo effectually to that prince, as he did alſo to *Lyſimachus* and *Caſſander*, the formidable power and ambitious
b views of *Antigonus*, that he engaged them all three in a league againſt him. This *Antigonus* apprehended, and therefore, to prevent them from entering into any meaſures prejudicial to his intereſt, ſent an embaſſy to each of the three, with new aſſurances of his friendſhip; but finding by their anſwers, and the high demands they made, that they were entered into a confederacy againſt him, he began, without loſs of time, to make the neceſſary preparations againſt the impending ſtorm [f]. This war, which put an end both to the life and reign of *Antigonus*, we have already deſcribed at length [g], and therefore ſhall at preſent confine ourſelves to that part alone which *Seleucus* acted in it. After the victory which *Ptolemy* gained over *Demetrius* at *Gaza*, *Seleucus*, having obtained of the conqueror a thouſand foot, accord-
c ing to *Appian*, eight hundred according to *Diodorus*, and two hundred horſe, took his rout towards *Babylon*, in order to attempt the recovery of that city. This undertaking was looked upon as a deſperate enterprize, even by his friends, but however was attended with all the ſucceſs he could have wiſhed for (C). On his arrival at *Carrhæ* in *Meſopotamia*, he prevailed, partly by force, and partly by perſuaſion, on the *Macedonians* who gariſoned the place, to revolt from *Antigonus*, and join him. Being thus reinforced, he entered the territories of *Babylon*, where great numbers of the inhabitants, his ancient ſubjects, flocked to him from all parts, offering him their ſervice, and declaring themſelves ready to ſtand by him, at the expence of their lives and fortunes. Among others, one *Polyarchus*, who bore an office in the
d city, came over to him at the head of a thouſand men compleatly armed. *Seleucus* had governed that province for the ſpace of four years, with great mildneſs and moderation, carrying himſelf in the moſt obliging manner to all, in order to gain the good-will of the people, and thereby ſecure an intereſt to himſelf, if at any time he ſhould have occaſion to contend for the ſovereign power. On the other hand, *Antigonus*, who was of a moroſe and ſurly temper, had, with his unſeaſonable ſeverity, ſo eſtranged the minds of all, that he was univerſally deteſted. No wonder then that as *Seleucus* approached the city the inhabitants went out to meet him, welcoming him and his ſmall army with loud acclamations, and all poſſible demon-
e ſtrations of joy. Thoſe, who favoured *Antigonus*, perceiving the general and irreſiſtable inclination of the people to *Seleucus*, retired into the caſtle, which was defended by one *Diphilus*; but as *Seleucus* was maſter of the city, and the affections of the people, he ſoon poſſeſſed himſelf of the fortreſs, and there found, to his inexpreſſible joy, his children, friends and domeſtics, whom *Antigonus* had detained priſoners ever ſince his flight into *Egypt* [h].

Recovers Babylon. *Year after the flood* 2687. *Before Chriſt* 312.

[e] Diodor. Sicul. Appian. & Justin. ibid. [f] Diodor. Sicul. ibid. Plut. in Demet. Appian. in Syriac. Justin. l. xv. [g] Vol. III. p. 439. & ſeq. [h] Diodor. Sicul. & Appian. ibid.

(B) *Diodorus* tells us, that upon the firſt news of the flight of *Seleucus*, the *Chaldeans* foretold to *Antigonus*, that if *Seleucus* ſhould get ſafe into *Egypt*, he ſhould one day become lord of all *Aſia*, adding, that if *Antigonus* oppoſed him, he ſhould fall in a battle. Hereupon *Antigonus* immediately diſpatched ſome horſemen after him, enjoining them to bring him back with a deſign to put him to death; but *Seleucus* happily eſcaped the danger, which greatly diſturbed *Antigonus*, tho' he had ever before ſlighted and ridiculed ſuch predictions (3).

(C) His friends ſeeing the inconſiderable number of his forces, and on the other hand the great ſtrength of the enemy, did all that lay in their power to divert him from ſuch an attempt; but he, in order to encourage them, and redeem himſelf from their importunities, told them in an harangue which he made to the ſoldiery, that he was ſure of ſucceſs, ſince *Apollo Branchides*, with whom he had adviſed about the iſſue of this undertaking, had given him the title of king, and *Alexander* ſtanding by him in his ſleep, had ſhewn him the enſigns of royalty, aſſuring him, that he ſhould be honoured with them in due time (4).

(3) *Diodor. Sicul. l.* xix. (4) *Diodor. Sicul. l.* xix.

Seleucus

Seleucus being now maſter both of the city and caſtle, judged it neceſſary to raiſe what forces he could, not doubting but *Antigonus* would ſoon ſend an army to drive him from theſe acquiſitions. Accordingly, while he was buſy in recruiting his army, and diſciplining his new-raiſed troops, news was brought him, that *Nicanor* governor of *Media* under *Antigonus*, was advancing full march againſt him, at the head of ten thouſand foot, and ſeven thouſand horſe. Upon this intelligence *Seleucus* went out to meet him with three thouſand foot, and four hundred horſe only, and paſſing the *Tigris*, concealed his men, as the enemy drew near, in the fens hard by the river, with a deſign to fall upon *Nicanor* at unawares, who not having had any intelligence of *Seleucus*'s march, encamped in a diſadvantagious poſt, where he was the following night ſurpriſed, and his army with great ſlaughter put to the rout. *Nicanor* had the good fortune to make his eſcape; but *Evager*, who commanded under him, and moſt of the chief officers, were killed on the ſpot. Such of the ſoldiers as outlived the ſlaughter, declared for *Seleucus*, which enabled him to purſue his conqueſts, and reduce in a ſhort time all *Media* and *Suſiana*, with many of the adjacent provinces. Having, by this victory, eſtabliſhed his intereſt and power in *Babylon*, he daily improved them by the clemency of his government, and by his juſtice, equity and humanity to all his ſubjects, to ſuch a degree, that, from ſo low a beginning, he became, in a few years, the greateſt and moſt powerful of all *Alexander*'s ſucceſſors [h].

Defeats Nicanor, *and recovers* Media, Suſiana, *&c.*

Æra of the Seleucidæ.

FROM this retaking of *Babylon* by *Seleucus*, commences the famous æra of the *Seleucidæ*, made uſe of all over the eaſt by *Jews*, *Chriſtians* and *Mohammedans*. The *Jews* ſtile it the *æra of contracts*, becauſe they were obliged, when ſubject to the *Syro-Macedonian* princes, to uſe it in all their contracts and other civil writings. This method of computing their years they followed till the tenth century of the *Chriſtian* æra, when, upon their being obliged to remove into the weſtern countries, they learned of the *Chriſtian* chronologers of thoſe parts to compute by the years of the creation. The ſame æra is called by the *Arabians Taric dehilkarnain*, that is, the æra of the *two-horned*; which appellation ſome derive from *Alexander*, who, in the *Coran* and other *Arabic* books, is frequently called *the two-horned*, probably becauſe he affected to be the ſon of *Jupiter Hammon*, whom the heathens repreſented with two rams horns on his head. But this æra has no relation to *Alexander*, tho' by ſome ignorantly derived from him, and alſo called by his name; for *Alexander* was dead twelve years before *Seleucus* recovered *Babylon*, from which recovery the æra of the *Seleucidæ* commenced. Others therefore, with better grounds, derive the *Arabic* name *Taric dehilkarnain* from *Seleucus*, who, as *Appian* informs us [i], was a perſon of ſuch extraordinary ſtrength, that ſeizing a bull by his horns, he could ſtop him ſhort in his full career; and therefore the ſtatuaries uſually repreſented him with two bulls horns on his head, which, without all doubt, gave riſe to the above-mentioned denomination, that æra taking its origin from him, and not from *Alexander*. In the two books of the *Maccabees* it is called *the æra of the kingdom of the* Greeks [k]; and they both uſe it in their dates, with this difference however, that the firſt book begins the years of this æra from the ſpring, and the other from the autumn following (D).

Antigonus receiving an account from *Nicanor* of the ſucceſs of *Seleucus* in the eaſt, ſent his ſon *Demetrius* with an army to *Babylon*, to drive him from that city, and diſpoſſeſs him of the provinces which he had lately ſeized, while he himſelf advanced

[h] DIODOR. SICUL. l. xix. APPIAN. in Syriac. p. 121. [i] APPIAN. in Syriac. p. 201. [k] MACCAB. l. i. c. 1. ver. 10.

(D) The *Syrians*, *Arabians*, *Jews*, and all others who anciently computed, or ſtill compute (for it is ſtill in uſe among the eaſtern nations) by this æra, began it from the autumn, excepting the author of the firſt book of the *Maccabees*, who begins it from the preceding ſpring, and *Ptolemy* of *Alexandria*, who, in his *great ſyntaxis*, places the beginning of this æra in the ſpring of the year following. *Ptolemy* did not reckon *Seleucus* thoroughly ſettled in the poſſeſſion of *Babylon* till *Demetrius* made his retreat from thence; and this retreat happening in the ſpring of the following year, from that ſeaſon he reckoned the years of the *Seleucidæ*. Some writers date the beginning of *Seleucus*'s reign from his recovering of *Babylon*, when this æra began. Others from the partition which was made twelve years after, upon the death of *Antigonus*, and defeat of *Demetrius*, in the battle of *Ipſus*; ſo that, according to ſome, he reigned twenty, according to others thirty-two years; for he died twenty years after that battle, and thirty-two after the recovery of *Babylon*. We have followed *Euſebius*, and the learned *Uſher*, who compute the years of his reign from his recovering of *Babylon* (5).

(5) *Vide Euſeb. in Chron.*

to

a to the coaſts of *Aſia Minor*, to defeat the deſigns of the confederate princes, whoſe power began to be formidable in thoſe parts. *Demetrius*, purſuant to his father's directions, having, with all poſſible expedition, aſſembled his forces at *Damaſcus*, marched from thence to *Babylon*, at the head of five thouſand *Macedonian* foot, ten thouſand mercenaries, and four thouſand horſe. His march was ſo expeditious, that paſſing the *Euphrates*, he inveſted *Babylon* before the enemy had notice of his departure from *Damaſcus*. *Seleucus* himſelf was then in *Media*, and *Patrocles*, whom he had intruſted with the government of the place, no ways in a condition to make head againſt ſo powerful an enemy. The wiſe governor therefore, inſtead of ſacrificing the few troops he had under his command to no purpoſe, retired with them into the fens and marſhes, ordering the citizens to follow him with their moſt valu-
b able effects, and abandon the city to the enemy. *Demetrius* finding the city deſerted, laid ſiege to the two caſtles, which ſtood on the two oppoſite banks of the *Euphrates*, and had been well gariſoned by *Patrocles* before his retreat. However one of theſe *Demetrius* took, and placed in it a gariſon of ſeven thouſand men; but not being able to maſter the other before the time was expired in which his father had appointed him to return with his troops into *Aſia Minor*, he left *Archelaus*, one of his principal officers, with a thouſand horſe, and five thouſand foot, to purſue the ſiege, and, with the reſt of the troops, marched to the aſſiſtance of his father in *Aſia Minor*. Before his departure, he allowed his ſoldiers to plunder the city, which proved very detrimental to his father's affairs, and greatly attached the inha-
c bitants to *Seleucus*, even thoſe, who till that time had ſtood up for *Antigonus*; for they all looked upon this act of depredation as a tacit declaration of his having intirely abandoned them, ſince he would never have treated them as enemies, if he had looked upon them any longer as ſubjects; they therefore all unanimouſly declared for *Seleucus*, who, on his return to *Babylon*, after the retreat of *Demetrius*, without much ado, drove out the few troops he had left in the city, recovered the caſtle which he had gariſoned, and thenceforth ſettled his authority in thoſe parts upon ſo firm a foundation, that it could never after be ſhaken [l]. From this year the *Babylonians*, as appears from *Ptolemy* of *Alexandria*'s ſyntaxis, date the æra of the kingdom of the *Seleucidæ*, tho' all other nations place its commencement in the autumn of the
d preceding year.

Demetrius *regains* Babylon.

But abandons it again.

The authority of Seleucus *eſtabliſhed in* Babylon.

And now *Seleucus* ſeeing himſelf in quiet poſſeſſion of *Babylon*, and its territory, advanced at the head of a conſiderable army into *Media*, where he engaged, and ſlew with his own hand, *Nicanor*, or, as others call him, *Nicator*, whom *Antigonus* had ſent againſt him. Having reduced all *Media*, he purſued his march into *Perſia*, *Bactria*, *Hyrcania*, &c. ſubjecting to his new empire theſe, and all the other provinces on this ſide the *Indus*, which had been formerly conquered by *Alexander* [m]. From theſe conqueſts, and not from *Nicanor* or *Nicator*, whom he ſlew, he took the ſurname of *Nicator*, as *Appian* and *Ammianus Marcellinus* inform us [n]. In the mean time *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* having aſſumed the title of kings, *Seleucus*, not
e to be behind-hand with them, took the ſame, ſtiling himſelf king of *Babylon* and *Media*.

Extends his conqueſts into Media, Bactria, Hyrcania, *&c.*

Takes the title of king.

Seleucus was now maſter of all the countries between the *Euphrates* and the *Indus*, but not of thoſe large provinces which lay beyond the latter of theſe rivers, and had fallen to his ſhare in the general partition. He was at this time cloſely united in point of intereſt with *Ptolemy*, *Caſſander* and *Lyſimachus*; the forces of *Antigonus* were divided into ſeveral diſtant bodies, and *Demetrius* was employed in the ſiege of *Rhodes*. Having therefore no enemy to fear on this ſide the *Indus*, he reſolved to croſs that river, and, by a ſudden irruption, make himſelf maſter of thoſe vaſt provinces which were known by the name of *India*. Theſe *Alexander* had formerly
f ſubdued; but, after his death, while his ſucceſſors were engaged in mutual wars with each other, one *Sandrocottus*, or, as others call him, *Androcottus*, an *Indian* of mean extraction, under the ſpecious pretence of delivering his country from the tyranny of foreigners, had raiſed a powerful army, and having driven out the *Macedonians*, ſeized the *Indian* provinces for himſelf. To recover theſe provinces *Seleucus* marched over the *Indus*; but finding that *Sandrocottus* had made himſelf abſolute maſter of all *India*, and, from the ſeveral provinces of it, drawn into the field an

Invades India.

[l] Diodor. Sicul. ibid. Plut. in Demet. [m] Diodor. Sicul. l. xix. & xx. Appian. in Syriac. p. 124. Justin. l. xv. c. 4. Ammian. Marcel. l. xxiii. Hiſtor. [n] Ammian. ibid.

army of ſix hundred thouſand men, with a prodigious number of elephants, he did a
not judge it adviſeable to provoke ſo great a power, and therefore entering into a
treaty with him, he agreed to renounce all his pretenſions to that country, provided
Concludes a peace with Sandrocottus, *and yields to him all* India. *Sandrocottus* furniſhed him with five hundred elephants; which propoſal the *Indian* prince willingly agreeing to, a peace was concluded between them [o]. *Seleucus*, having thus ſettled matters in *India*, marched back into the weſt againſt *Antigonus*; and the abſolute neceſſity he was under of engaging in this war, was what haſtened the peace with *Sandrocottus*; for *Caſſander* finding himſelf reduced to great ſtraits by *Demetrius*, and not being able to obtain a peace but upon terms of ſurrendering himſelf, without reſerve, to the will and pleaſure of *Antigonus*, agreed with *Lyſimachus*, who was in no better condition than himſelf, to ſend embaſſadors to *Seleucus* and *Ptolemy*, b
and by repreſenting to them the ſituation of affairs, the ambitious views and exorbitant power of *Antigonus*, prevail upon them to enter into an alliance againſt him as a common enemy. The alliance was ſoon concluded, for they were all under no ſmall apprehenſion of the over-grown power of *Antigonus*, and his ſon *Demetrius*, who had already driven both *Caſſander* and *Ptolemy* out of all the places they poſſeſſed in *Greece*. This confederacy induced *Seleucus* to haſten a peace with the king of *India*, and march back into *Aſſyria*, to provide there for the war [p], which was carried on with great vigour the firſt year by *Caſſander* in *Europe*, and *Lyſimachus* in *Aſia*, while *Seleucus* and *Ptolemy* were raiſing forces in their reſpective dominions, with a deſign to come againſt *Antigonus* with their whole ſtrength, and put all to c
the iſſue of a general engagement. Accordingly, in the beginning of the next ſummer, *Seleucus* having drawn together at *Babylon* twenty thouſand foot, twelve thouſand horſe, and four hundred and eighty elephants, with an hundred chariots armed with ſcythes, advanced into *Cappadocia*, and after joining the forces of the confederate princes, purſued his march into *Phrygia*, where he met *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* near the city of *Ipſus*. The confederate army was commanded by *Seleucus* and *Lyſimachus*, and conſiſted of ſixty-four thouſand foot, ten thouſand five hundred horſe, four hundred and eighty elephants, with an hundred and twenty chariots armed with ſcythes. The enemies forces, amounting to ſeventy thouſand foot, ten thouſand horſe, and ſeventy-five elephants, were commanded by *Antigonus* and *Deme-* d
The battle of Ipſus. *trius*, who, as we have already related, behaved on this occaſion with the utmoſt bravery; but their army being intirely defeated, and *Antigonus* killed, *Demetrius* was forced to ſave himſelf by flight, being attended only with five thouſand foot, and four hundred horſe, the poor remains of ſeventy thouſand men he had under his command at the beginning of the engagement [q].

AFTER this battle, the particulars whereof we have already related at length [r], the four confederate princes divided the dominions of *Antigonus* among themſelves, adding them to what they enjoyed before; but, before this diviſion, *Seleucus* marching into the upper *Syria*, made himſelf maſter of that rich province, and there built
Antioch *built by* Seleucus. *Year of the flood* 2699. *Before Chriſt* 300. on the river *Orontes* the city of *Antioch*, which ſoon became, and continued to be e
for many ages, the metropolis of the eaſt; for not only the *Syrian* kings, but afterwards the *Roman* governors, who preſided over the affairs of the eaſtern provinces, choſe it for the uſual place of their reſidence; and, in the *Chriſtian* times, it was the ſee of the chief patriarch of *Aſia*. It ſtood on the *Orontes*, about twenty miles from the place where that river empties itſelf into the *Mediterranean*, being equally diſtant from *Conſtantinople* and *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, that is, ſeven hundred miles from each [s]. *Seleucus* called it *Antioch*, either from his father's name, as *Malela*, *Cedrenus*, and the emperor *Julian* inform us, or from that of his ſon, as *Strabo*, *Appian* and *Trogus* inſinuate [t], or perhaps from both. He built ſixteen other cities bearing the ſame name, whereof one, ſituate in *Piſidia*, is mentioned in ſcripture [u]; but *Antioch* on f
the *Orontes* eclipſed all the others, being by far the moſt famous of the many cities *Seleucus* built. *Antigonus*, not long before, had founded a city in that neighbourhood, which, from his own name, he called *Antigonia*, and had deſigned for the capital of his empire. This city *Seleucus* razed to the ground, employing the materials to

[o] JUSTIN. l. xv. c. 4. APPIAN. in Syriac. p. 122, 123. STRABO. l. v. p. 724. PLUT. in Alexand. [p] DIODOR. SICUL. l. xx. JUSTIN. l. xv. c. 4. PLUT. in Demet. [q] ARRIAN. l. vii. PLUT. in Pyrrho. APPIAN. in Syriac. p. 122. [r] Vol. III. p. 440. [s] JOHANNES ANTIOCHENUS, MALELA & BAUDRAND, Geogr. de Antioch. Mag. [t] JUSTIN. ubi ſupra. STRABO. l. xvi. p. 750. APPIAN. ubi ſupra. [u] ACTS. xiii. 14.

build,

a build, and tranſplanting the inhabitants to people, his new metropolis (E). Beſides *Antioch*, *Seleucus* built in the ſame country ſeveral other cities, whereof three were more remarkable than the reſt. One of theſe he called *Seleucia* (F) from his own name; another *Apamea*, from his wife *Apama*, the daughter of *Artabazus* the *Perſian*; and the third *Laodicea*, from his mother *Laodice*. *Apamea* and *Seleucia* ſtood on the ſame river with *Antioch*, the former above it, and the latter fifteen miles below it, and five from the place where that river falls into the ſea. *Laodicea* ſtood in the ſouthern part of the ſame country. From theſe four cities, that quarter of *Syria*, in which they ſtood, was called *Tetrapolis*, or the country of the four cities; which indeed was but an occaſional name, if we may ſo call it, the true name of b that tract being *Seleucis*, a name given it by *Seleucus* himſelf; for *Syria*, under the kings of the *Macedonian* race, was divided into three parts, *viz.* *Syria* properly ſo called, *Coele-Syria* or the *Hollow-Syria*, and *Syria Paleſtina*. The firſt of theſe, called alſo the *Upper Syria*, contained *Commagena*, *Cyrrheſtica*, *Seleucis*, and ſome other ſmall diſtricts, and extended from mount *Amanus* on the north, to mount *Libanus* on the ſouth. It was, in after-ages, called alſo *Syria Antiochena*. The ſecond reached from *Libanus* to *Antilibanus*, including the city of *Damaſcus*, and its large territory. As this tract conſiſted moſtly of deep vallies between high mountains,

Seleucia, Apamea *and* Laodicea *built*.

(E) *Johannes Malela*, a native of *Antioch*, tells us in his chronicle, that *Seleucus* coming to *Iopolis*, a city in the hilly country of *Siliphum*, offered there, on the firſt of the month *Artemiſium*, a ſacrifice to *Jupiter the Thunderer*, in a chapel ſaid to have been anciently built by *Perſeus* the ſon of *Danae*. From *Iopolis* he advanced to *Antigonia*, and there offering a ſacrifice to *Jupiter*, on an altar newly built by *Antigonus*, he, together with *Amphion* the prieſt, begged *Jupiter* to ſhew him, by ſome ſign, whether he ſhould inhabit *Antigonia*, calling it by ſome other name, or build a new city in another place. They had ſcarce ended their prayer, when an eagle ſnatching up a piece of fleſh from the altar, dropt it near the hill of *Siliphum*. Hereupon *Seleucus* on that ſpot, where anciently ſtood a town called *Botzia*, laid the foundation of his new city, on the twenty-ſecond day of the month *Artemiſium*, that is, of our *May*. At a ſmall diſtance from the city he built a magnificent temple in honour of *Jupiter Botzius*. Theſe and many ſuch things we read in *Johannes Malela* concerning the origin of *Antioch*. This metropolis of *Syria* was afterwards known by the name of *Tetrapolis*, being divided, as it were, into four cities, each of them having its proper wall, beſides a common one, which incloſed them all. The firſt of theſe cities or quarters was built by *Seleucus Nicator*; the ſecond by thoſe who flocked thither on its being made the capital of the *Syro-Macedonian* empire; the third by *Seleucus Callinicus*, and the fourth by *Antiochus Epiphanes* (5). The place where it ſtood was very ſubject to earthquakes, by which it ſuffered greatly, and was often in danger of being intirely overwhelmed; however it continued to be, as *Pliny* calls it, the queen of the eaſt, for the ſpace of ſixteen hundred years, till it was taken in 1262, and utterly deſtroyed by *Bibaris* ſultan of *Egypt* (6). The walls of each quarter, as well as thoſe which ſurrounded the whole, are ſtill remaining; but as the houſes are intirely deſtroyed, thoſe four quarters look like ſo many incloſed fields (7). It is now a ſmall and contemptible village, known by the name of *Anthakia*, and remarkable for nothing but its ruins. *Aleppo* is become, in its ſtead, the metropolis of thoſe eaſtern parts, the patriarchal ſee, which once adorned it, being tranſlated to *Damaſcus*.

Daphne, mentioned in the ſecond book of the *Maccabees* (8), was reckoned one of the ſuburbs of *Antioch*, tho' four or five miles diſtant from it. There *Seleucus* planted a grove ten miles in compaſs, and in the middle of the grove built a temple, which he conſecrated to *Apollo* and *Diana*, making the whole an aſylum. Thither the *Antiochians* reſorted for their pleaſures and diverſions, as the *Romans* did to *Baiæ*, and the *Alexandrians* to *Canopus*. As perſons of all ranks and conditions flocked to this delicious place, in proceſs of time *Apollo* and *Diana* gave room to *Venus* and *Bacchus*, whereby it became ſo infamous, that *Daphnicis moribus vivere, to live after the manner of* Daphne, was uſed as a proverb, to expreſs a moſt voluptuous and diſſolute way of living. Such as had any regard for their reputation, avoided *Daphne* as they did the public ſtews, it being frequented only by young debauchees and women of profeſſed incontinency; inſomuch that when *Caſſius* the *Roman* general came to *Antioch*, the very next day after his arrival, he took care to forbid, by a public proclamation, and under the ſevereſt penalties, any of his ſoldiers to enter, or even go near, that place, leſt they ſhould be corrupted by the horrid abominations practiſed there by the natives (9). It was ſo remarkable a place, that to diſtinguiſh *Antioch*, near which it lay, from other cities elſewhere bearing the ſame name, the former was commonly called *Antioch near Daphne* (10).

(F) *Johannes Malela* tells us, that on the twenty-third day of our *April*, while *Seleucus* was ſacrificeing to *Jupiter* on mount *Caſius*, and conſulting him concerning a proper place to build a city in, an eagle ſnatching from the altar part of the ſacrifice, flew towards the ſea, and dropt it in a ſea-town of *Pieria*, not far from *Palæopolis*, a ſmall city, built in former ages by *Syrus* the ſon of *Agenor*. Hereupon *Seleucus* laid immediately the foundations of a great city on that ſpot, and called it from his own name *Seleucia*. Others tell us, that he was induced to build a city in that place, not by an eagle, but by a flaſh of lightning; whence lightning was ever after adored there as a deity, and honoured with hymns and prayers by the inhabitants (11). *Seleucus* allowed the *Jews* the ſame privileges and immunities in each of theſe new cities, as were enjoyed by the *Greeks* and *Macedonians*, eſpecially at *Antioch* in *Syria*, where that people ſettled in ſuch numbers, that they poſſeſſed as conſiderable a part of *Antioch* as their countrymen did of *Alexandria*.

(5) *Strabo. l.* xvi. *p.* 750. (6) *Golii notæ ad Alfraganum. p.* 281. (7) *Idem ibid. p.* 280. (8) *Maccab. l.* ii. *c.* 4. *ver.* 33. (9) *Vide Chryſoſt. ſermon. in Babylam martyrem.* (10) *Strabo l.* xv. *p.* 719. (11) *Appian. in Syriac. p.* 125.

it

it was on this account called *Coele-Syria* or the *Hollow-Syria*. *Syria Paleſtina* extended from *Antilibanus* to the confines of *Egypt*. The maritime parts of the two latter, lying between *Aradus* and *Gaza*, were known to the *Greeks* by the name of *Phoenice*. a

Antigonus being killed in the battle of *Ipſus*, and the power of *Demetrius* brought, by that dreadful overthrow, to a very low ebb, the confederate princes, having now no other enemy to fear, began to be jealous of each other. *Lyſimachus*, being under no ſmall apprehenſion of the over-grown power of *Seleucus*, entered into a ſeparate alliance with *Ptolemy*, taking to wife *Arſinoe* one of his daughters, and marrying his ſon *Agathocles* to another (G). This alliance gave umbrage to *Seleucus*, who thereupon entered into a treaty with *Demetrius*, marrying *Stratonice* the daughter of that prince by *Phila* the ſiſter of *Caſſander*. As *Demetrius* was at that time in a very low condition, he readily laid hold of *Seleucus*'s propoſal; and ſailing from *Greece*, where he ſtill held ſome cities, conveyed the new bride, with the few ſhips he had then remaining, into *Syria*. In his paſſage thither he made a deſcent on *Cilicia*, which then belonged to *Pliſtarchus* the brother of *Caſſander*, the four kings having, in the general partition, beſtowed it upon him. Hereupon *Pliſtarchus*, leaving *Cilicia*, went to complain to *Seleucus* of the wrong done him, and to expoſtulate with him for contracting an alliance with the common enemy, without the conſent of the other kings, which he apprehended to be an infraction of the treaty. *Demetrius*, receiving intelligence of this journey, advanced directly to the city of *Quinda*, where the treaſures of the province, amounting to twelve hundred talents, were kept. Theſe he ſeized, and haſtening back to his fleet with the booty, ſailed to *Oraſſus*, a maritime town of *Syria*, where he met *Seleucus*, and delivered to him his bride. After the two princes had ſpent ſeveral days there in nuptial rejoicings, and mutual entertainments, without arms or guards, *Seleucus* returned in great pomp and magnificence to *Antioch*, and *Demetrius* with his fleet to *Cilicia*, which he intirely reduced, and thereby conſiderably increaſed his power in thoſe parts, being, after this acquiſition, maſter of all *Cilicia*, of the whole iſland of *Cyprus*, and of the two rich and ſtrong cities of *Tyre* and *Sidon* in *Phoenice* [u].

Seleucus *enters into an alliance with* Demetrius.

b

c

It was highly impolitic in *Seleucus*, to permit a prince of an unbounded ambition, of extraordinary parts, and great skill in military affairs, to ſettle at ſo ſmall a diſtance from him, and uſurp from one of his allies a province ſo near his own dominions as *Cilicia*. His eyes however were opened at laſt, and growing jealous of ſuch a neighbour, he would fain have purchaſed *Cilicia* of him; but *Demetrius* rejecting the propoſal, *Seleucus*, to pick a quarrel with him, inſiſted upon his yielding up to him the cities of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, as belonging to *Syria*, of which he was king. *Demetrius* was fired at this demand, and in a great paſſion replied, That tho' he were to be vanquiſhed a thouſand times over, he would never purchaſe a ſon-in-law at ſo dear a rate; and immediately ſailed to both thoſe cities, reinforced the gariſons, and furniſhing them with all things neceſſary for a vigorous defence, defeated, for the preſent, the deſigns of *Seleucus*, whoſe proceeding on this occaſion was generally blamed; for as his dominions were of a vaſt extent, reaching from the river *Indus* to the *Mediterranean*, every one judged it baſe and mean in him to diſturb his father-in-law, who was under a cloud of misfortunes, in the enjoyment of thoſe poor remains of his broken fortune [w]. But *Seleucus*, notwithſtanding theſe public murmurs, falling upon *Cilicia*, made himſelf maſter of that whole country, while, on the other hand, *Lyſimachus* reduced all the territories belonging to *Demetrius* in *Aſia*, and *Ptolemy* made himſelf maſter of the iſland of *Cyprus*, and of the cities of *Tyre* and *Sidon* in *Phœnice*. Thus was *Demetrius*, notwithſtanding his alliance with *Seleucus*, ſtripped by the confederate princes of the beſt part of his dominions [x].

d

e

Seleucia *on the* Tigris *built.*

Demetrius being, by theſe loſſes, reduced ſo low as to give *Seleucus* no further jealouſy, that prince undertook the building of a new city, which he called from his own name *Seleucia*, and made the metropolis of all the provinces of his empire f

[u] Plut. in Demet. Strabo. l. xv. p. 719. Memnon. in excerpt. c. 5. Justin. l. xvii. c. 2. [w] Plut. ibid. [x] Plut. in Demet.

(G) *Lyſimachus* married the daughter, not of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, as we read in *Memnon* (12); but of *Ptolemy* the firſt, the ſon of *Lagus* and *Eurydice*, as *Plutarch* (13), *Juſtin* (14), *Pauſanias* (15), and even *Memnon* himſelf elſewhere informs us (16).

(12) *Memnon. in excerpt. c. 5.* (13) *Plut. in Demet.* (14) *Juſtin. l.* xvii. *c.* 2. *&* *l.* xxiv. *c.* 2. (15) *Pauſan. in Attic. p.* 8. (16) *Memnon. in excerpt. c. 9.*

beyond

a beyond the *Euphrates*. It was placed on the weſtern ſide of the *Tigris*, about forty miles from *Babylon*, over-againſt the place where at preſent the city of *Bagdad* ſtands. This new city ſoon became one of the moſt populous and flouriſhing in thoſe parts; for the country near *Babylon* being laid under water, by the breaking down of the banks of the *Euphrates*, and the branch of that river, which paſſed through the middle of the city, rendered innavigable, moſt of the inhabitants, forſaking their ancient habitations, ſettled at *Seleucia*; which *Seleucus* had not only made the place of his reſidence whenever he came into thoſe parts, but diſtinguiſhed it with many privileges above all the other cities of the eaſt. By theſe means *Babylon*, ſoon after the building of *Seleucia*, was quite abandoned, nothing remaining of that ancient
b city but its walls. *Pliny* [y] tells us, that it was drained of its inhabitants, and brought to deſolation by the neighbourhood of *Seleucia* on the *Tigris*, which *Seleucus Nicator*, to uſe *Pliny*'s words, built there for that purpoſe. *Jerom*, who flouriſhed in the fourth century of the *Chriſtian* æra, writes, that, in his time, *Babylon* was intirely ruined, the walls only being kept up by the *Parthian* kings, who had made the ſpace within a park for the keeping of wild beaſts [z] (H). On the other hand, *Seleucia*

[y] Plin. l. vi. c. 26. [z] Hieronym. Comment. in Eſai. c. 14.

(H) The firſt after *Jerom*, who mentions *Babylon*, is one *Benjamin*, a *Jew* of *Tudela* in *Navar*. This traveller, in his *Itinerary*, which he wrote about the middle of the twelfth century, tells us, that he was upon the ſpot where the city of *Babylon* ſtood, and that he ſaw only ſome ruins of *Nebuchadnezzar*'s palace ſtill remaining, which nobody ventured to viſit, by reaſon of the many ſerpents and ſcorpions that infeſted the place (15). *Texeira*, in the account he gives us of his travels from *India* to *Italy*, tells us, that, in his time, there was ſcarce any thing remaining of this great and famous city, and that the place on which it ſtood was the leaſt frequented of any in all that country (16). *Rauwolf*, a *German* traveller, who viſited thoſe places in 1574, confirms what we read in the above-mentioned writers. We ſhall quote his words: "The village of *Elugo*, ſays "he, ſtands on the place, where formerly *Babylon*, "the metropolis of *Chaldea*, ſtood. The harbour "is a quarter of a league off, whither thoſe uſe to "reſort, who intend to travel by land to the fa"mous city of *Bagdad*, which lies about a day and "a half's diſtance to the eaſt on the river *Tigris*. "This country is ſo dry and barren, that it cannot "be tilled, and ſo bare, that I ſhould have doubted "very much, whether this powerful and potent "city (which was the moſt ſtately and famous "one of the world, ſituated in the pleaſant and "fruitful country of *Sinar*) ſtood in that place, if I "had not known it by its ſituation, and ſeveral an"tiquities ſtill to be ſeen in that neighbourhood; "firſt, by the old bridge which was laid over the "*Euphrates*, whereof there are ſome arches ſtill "remaining, built of burnt brick, and wonderfully "ſtrong. — Juſt before the village of *Elugo* is the "hill whereon the caſtle ſtood; and you may ſtill "ſee the ruins of its fortifications. At a ſmall diſ"tance from the caſtle ſtood the tower of *Babylon*. "This we ſee ſtill, and it is half a league in diame"ter, but ſo ruined and full of venomous reptiles, "that nobody dares come within half a mile of it, "except in two months of the winter, when the "inſects keep within their holes. Among theſe "reptiles there are ſome called in the *Perſian* tongue "*Eglo*, bigger than our lizards, very poiſonous, *&c.* "(17)." All this ſhews how fully the predictions of the prophet *Iſaiah* relating to this place have been accompliſhed. His words are as follow; *And* Babylon, *the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the* Chaldees *excellency, ſhall be as when God overthrew* Sodom *and* Gomorrha; *it ſhall never be inhabited, neither ſhall be dwelt in from generation to generation; neither ſhall the* Arabian *pitch tent there, neither ſhall the ſhepherds make their folds there; but wild beaſts of the deſert ſhall be there, and their houſe ſhall be full of doleful creatures, and owls ſhall dwell there, and ſatyrs ſhall dance there, and the wild beaſts of the iſland ſhall cry in their deſolate houſes, and dragons in their pleaſant palaces, and her time is near to come, and her days ſhall not be prolonged* (18). Thus far *Iſaiah*; and, beſides him, ſeveral other prophets have uttered prophecies to the ſame purpoſe, foretelling the utter deſtruction of *Babylon*. 'Tis true, that *Lucan* (19), *Philoſtratus* (20), and others, mention the city of *Babylon* as ſtill ſtanding and flouriſhing in their time; but thoſe authors, and all others who ſpeak of *Babylon* as a city ſtill remaining after the time of *Seleucus Nicator*, are to be underſtood of *Seleucia* on the *Tigris*, and not of old *Babylon* on the *Euphrates*; for that city becoming, ſoon after it was built, the metropolis of the eaſt, was called alſo *Babylon*, as *Pliny* and *Stephanus* inform us (21). It was firſt called *Seleucia Babylonia*, or *Seleucia* in the province of *Babylon*, to diſtinguiſh it from ſeveral other cities in different provinces bearing the ſame name. Afterwards it was known by the name of *Babylonia*, and at length by that of *Babylon* (22). That *Lucan* by *Babylon* in the place above-mentioned means *Seleucia*, is very plain; for the poet ſpeaks there of the metropolis of the *Parthian* kingdom, where the trophies of *Craſſus* were hung up after the defeat of the *Romans* at *Carrhæ*; which can be underſtood only of the *Seleucian Babylon*, that city, and not the old *Babylon*, being the ſeat of the *Parthian* kings. The ſame author, ſpeaking in another place of *Babylon* (23), deſcribes it as ſurrounded by the *Tigris*; which plainly ſhews, that by *Babylon* he meant *Seleucia* or the new *Babylon*; for that city, and not the old *Babylon*, ſtood on the *Tigris*, as every one knows. As for *Philoſtratus*, he miſtook *Seleucia*, then called *Babylon*, for the old *Babylon*, and therefore gives us the ſame deſcription of it, which *Herodotus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Strabo* and others give of old *Babylon*; but this is not the only blunder *Philoſtratus* is guilty of in his account, or rather romance, of *Apollonius Thyanæus*. As *Babylon* was drained of its inhabitants by *Seleucia*, ſo was *Seleucia* in proceſs of time by *Cteſephon* and

(15) *Benjamin. Itiner. p.* 76. (16) *Texeira c.* 8. (17) *See Ray's edition of theſe travels in Engliſh, part* ii. *chap.* 7. (18) *Iſa. c.* xiii. *ver.* 19—22. (19) *Lucan. l.* i. *ver.* 10. (20) *Philoſtrat. l.* i. *c.* 17, 18, 19. (21) *Plin. l.* vi. *c.* 26. *& Steph. in Babylon.* (22) *Vide Plin. & Steph. ibid.* (23) *Lucan. l* vi. *ver.* 50.

became ſo populous, that, in *Pliny*'s time, it had ſix hundred thouſand inhabitants, a
And many other cities. and far excelled all the other cities of the eaſt [a]. Beſides *Seleucia*, *Seleucus* built ſeveral other cities, ſixteen of which he called *Antioch*, from the name of his brother *Antiochus*; nine *Seleucia*, from his own name; ſix *Laodicea*, from his mother *Laodice*; three *Apamea*, from *Apama* his firſt wife; and one *Stratonicea*, from his laſt wife *Stratonice* [b]. In theſe, as well as in the other cities he built, *viz. Beræa*, *Edeſſa*, *Pella*, &c. he planted the *Jews*, allowing them moſt ample privileges; and hence it was that they were diſperſed all over *Syria* and the *Leſſer Aſia*. They had been ſettled in the eaſtern countries beyond the *Euphrates*, and multiplied there in great numbers, ever ſince the *Aſſyrian* and *Babylonian* captivities; but *Seleucus Nicator* was the firſt, as *Joſephus* informs us [c], who granted them ſettlements in the provinces of *Aſia* on this ſide the *Euphrates*. b

WHILE *Seleucus* was thus employed in building cities, *Demetrius* having, as he thought, ſettled his affairs in *Greece*, began to make great preparations for the recovering of his father's dominions in *Aſia*. With this view he raiſed an army of an hundred thouſand foot, and about twelve thouſand horſe, and fitted out a fleet of five hundred ſail, which was the greateſt force that had been ſeen ſince the time of *Alexander*. Theſe formidable preparations alarmed *Ptolemy*, *Lyſimachus* and *Seleucus*, who renewing their ancient alliance for their mutual defence againſt *Demetrius* as a common enemy, prevailed alſo upon *Pyrrhus* king of *Epirus* to join in the ſame confederacy. *Demetrius*, not being able to withſtand ſo many enemies, was, after many great loſſes, obliged to abandon the conqueſts he had made in *Caria* and *Lydia*, and c
march into the eaſt; but *Agathocles* the ſon of *Lyſimachus* following him cloſe in his march, reduced him to ſuch ſtraits for want of proviſions, that a ſickneſs ſpreading thro' his army, ſwept off great numbers of his men; and when he attempted, with the ſmall remains of his troops, to paſs mount *Taurus*, he found all the paſſes guarded by the enemy, which obliged him to return to *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*, a city belonging to *Seleucus*, to whom he tranſmitted an account of the melancholy ſituation of his affairs, intreating that prince, in a very moving manner, to afford him the neceſſary ſubſiſtance for himſelf and the remainder of his troops. *Seleucus* at firſt pitying his condition, ordered his lieutenants in thoſe parts to ſupply him and his army with all things neceſſary; but afterwards, being put in mind of the valour and enterpriſing genius d
of this prince, inſtead of helping him, he reſolved upon his deſtruction; and accordingly marching againſt him, reduced him to ſuch difficulties, as we have already related, that he was obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion. *Seleucus* cauſed him to be conducted under a ſtrong guard to the *Syrian Cherſoneſus*, where he was detained priſoner till he died, but allowed the freedom of a park to hunt in, and plentifully ſupplied with all things neceſſary both for the ſupport and pleaſures of life [d]. Upon his death *Seleucus* took poſſeſſion of whatever he held in *Syria* and *Aſia*, and of both theſe kingdoms made, to uſe the expreſſion of *Euſebius*, one intire empire [e].

Death of Demetrius. *Year after the flood* 2715. *Year before Chriſt* 284.

A few months after *Demetrius* died alſo *Ptolemy Soter* king of *Egypt*, ſo that now
War between Seleucus *and* Lyſimachus. two only of all *Alexander*'s captains ſurvived, *viz. Lyſimachus* and *Seleucus*. As they e
were now drawing near to the laſt period of their days, each of them being upwards of ſeventy, one would have thought they ſhould have cloſed the ſcene of their life

[a] PLIN. ubi ſupra. [b] APPIAN. in Syriac. p. 201. [c] JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xii. c. 3. & contra APPIAN. l. ii. EUSEB. in Chron. [d] PLUT. in Demet. APPIAN. in Syriac. VAL. MAX. l. v. c. 7. [e] EUSEB. in Chron.

and *Almadayan*, and theſe two again by *Bagdad*. This laſt city was firſt built in the ſame place where *Seleucia* or new *Babylon* ſtood, which, without all doubt, gave riſe to the common error, that *Bagdad* ſtands on the ruins of old *Babylon*. In the year of the *Chriſtian* æra 754, *Seleucia* was reduced to ſuch a ſtate of deſolation, as to have nothing on the ſpot where it ſtood, but the cell of a monk called *Dad*, and a garden adjoining to it, whence it was called *Bagdad*; that is, in the language of the country, the *garden of* Dad. In this place *Abu Jaafar Almanſur*, caliph of the *Saracens*, not liking *Haſhemia*, where his predeceſſor had reſided, built a new city, which has ever ſince been called from the place *Bagdad*. This he made the capital of his empire, raiſing it upon the very foundations of *Seleucia* or new *Babylon*, on the weſt ſide of the *Tigris*; but not long after it was tranſlated to the other ſide, where it ſtill ſtands, that part which was built on the weſt ſide, being at preſent no more than the ſuburbs of it. It was, for many years, the capital of the *Saracen* empire, and is ſtill a place of great note; but ſuch as take it for the ancient *Babylon*, are greatly miſtaken, that city ſtanding on the *Euphrates*, and *Bagdad* on the *Tigris*, about forty miles from it (24).

(24) *Vide Bochar. Geog. Sacr. part* i. *l.* i. *c.* 8. *Gollii notæ ad Alfragan. p.* 121, 122. *Sionitæ deſcript. Bagdad. in Geog. Nubienſi.*

in

a in the union which had ſubſiſted ſo long between them, for they had ever been cloſely united, and, to the utmoſt of their power, ſupported each other; but it happened quite otherwiſe, a war, which proved fatal to both, ſoon breaking out between them, on the following occaſion: *Lyſimachus*, after the marriage of his ſon *Agathocles* with *Lyſandra*, one of *Ptolemy*'s daughters, married another of them called *Arſinoe* himſelf, and had by her ſeveral children. Hereupon great emulation aroſe between the two ſiſters, each of them ſtriving to form a powerful party in their favour againſt the death of *Lyſimachus*. As they were ſiſters by different mothers, for *Lyſandra* was the daughter of *Eurydice*, and *Arſinoe* of *Berenice*, the diſagreement of their mothers greatly contributed to the heightening and fomenting of the contenb tion between them. In the height of their emulation, *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, the brother of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, arrived at the court of *Lyſimachus*, and his arrival, as he was brother to *Lyſandra* by both parents, made *Arſinoe* apprehenſive, that his intereſt would prove too effectual to the party of *Lyſandra*, and enable them to deſtroy her and her children at the death of *Lyſimachus*. To prevent this ſhe plotted the death of *Agathocles*, and effected it, by repreſenting him to her husband as one who was forming conſpiracies againſt his life and crown, which induced the old king to confine him to a caſtle, and there put him to death. Hereupon *Lyſandra* with her children, and *Ptolemy Ceraunus* her brother, took ſanctuary in the court of *Seleucus*, and prevailed upon him to make war upon *Lyſimachus*. Many of *Lyſimac* chus*'s chief officers, even thoſe who had been moſt attached to his intereſt, were ſo much affected with the death of *Agathocles*, under whoſe conduct they had gained many glorious victories, that they went over to *Seleucus*, and backed the remonſtrances of *Lyſandra* with their own complaints. *Seleucus* was eaſily perſuaded to engage in this war, being already ſufficiently inclined to it on other accounts; but before he imbarqued in ſo great an undertaking, he not only reſigned to his ſon *Antiochus* a conſiderable part of his empire, but alſo, by an unparallelled example, his favourite queen *Stratonice*. The manner how this happened is thus related by *Plutarch* [f], *Appian* [g], and *Valerius Maximus* [h]. As *Stratonice* was the moſt beautiful woman of her age, *Antiochus* fell violently in love with her; but not daring to d own his paſſion, he ſilently languiſhed under it, and at length fell dangerouſly ill. *Eraſiſtratus*, an eminent *Greek* phyſician, who attended him, ſoon perceived that love was his diſtemper; but the difficulty was to diſcover the object of his flame: He therefore paſſed whole days in the apartment of his patient, and carefully watching the countenance of the prince when viſited by the ladies of the court, he obſerved, that when *Stratonice* came alone, or in company with *Seleucus*, to make him a viſit, great alterations happened in his pulſe, in his countenance, in his behaviour, *&c.* and that nothing of this was ſeen when any other lady entered his room. From theſe infallible ſymptoms *Eraſiſtratus* plainly perceived, that *Stratonice* was the object of his paſſion; e and the firſt time he was alone with the ſick prince after that diſcovery, he, with great dexterity, drew the ſecret from his own mouth. The prince owned his paſſion for *Stratonice* his mother-in-law, and declared that he had done all that lay in his power to vanquiſh it; that he had a thouſand times had recourſe to every conſideration that could be repreſented to his thoughts in ſuch a conjuncture, particularly the reſpect which was due from him to a father and a ſovereign, by whom he was tenderly beloved; the ſhameful circumſtance of indulging a paſſion altogether unjuſtifiable, and contrary to every maxim of decency and honour; the folly of harbouring a deſire, which he never ought to gratify, *&c.* but that his reaſon, in its preſent ſtate of diſtraction, being incapable of attending to any motives that could be f ſuggeſted, he had reſolved to put an end, both to his ſhameful paſſion and unhappy life, by abſtaining from all kind of food. *Eraſiſtratus*, plainly ſeeing that the prince neither could nor would live, unleſs ſome way were found out to apply the only remedy which was capable of curing him, for the bringing of this about thus managed the matter with great craft and dexterity. The firſt time *Seleucus* inquired of him after his ſon's health, he put on all the aſſurance he could, and told him, That the prince's diſeaſe was love, and that he was incurable, becauſe it was impoſſible for him to have the perſon he loved, and he could not live without her. *Seleucus*, ſurpriſed at this anſwer, asked, Why his ſon could not have the perſon he loved? *Becauſe ſhe is my wife*, replied the phyſician, *and I am not diſpoſed to yield her up to*

Seleucus *yields his queen* Stratonice *to his ſon* Antiochus, *with all the provinces of the upper* Aſia.

[f] Plut. in Demet. [g] Appian. in Syriac. [h] Val. Max. l. v. c. 7.

the

the embraces of another. How! ſaid *Seleucus, will* Eraſiſtratus, *my dear* Eraſiſtratus *refuſe to part with his wife to preſerve the life of a ſon I ſo tenderly love? Is this the friendſhip you profeſs for me? Nay then,* anſwered the phyſician, *make it your own caſe; if* Antiochus *were thus deſperately in love with* Stratonice, *would you part with her for the ſake of* Antiochus? *would you take the counſel which you give me? No certainly; and if you, who are a father, and have all the tenderneſs imaginable for your ſon, would not part with your wife to ſave his life, how can you expect ſuch a ſacrifice from any other? Ah! my dear friend,* ſubjoined *Seleucus, may the gods put the ſafety of the prince upon that iſſue; I would part, not only with* Stratonice, *but my empire, to preſerve the life of* Antiochus, *my deareſt* Antiochus. In uttering theſe words he burſt out into a flood of tears, when *Eraſiſtratus* taking him by the hand, *You have then no need,* ſaid he, *of any phyſician but yourſelf; for the love of* Stratonice *is the ſource of his diſtemper, and nothing can recover him but your yielding her up to him.* Hereupon *Seleucus* having, without much ado, prevailed upon *Stratonice* to accept of a young prince for her husband inſtead of an old king, the nuptials were ſolemnized with the utmoſt pomp and magnificence; after which *Antiochus* and *Stratonice* were crowned king and queen of *Upper Aſia*, *Seleucus* willingly reſigning to them all thoſe provinces g. From this inceſtuous marriage ſprung all the kings of *Syria*, who ſo tyrannically oppreſſed the *Jewiſh* nation in *Judah* and *Jeruſalem*, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel of this hiſtory (I).

Seleucus *marches againſt* Lyſimachus.

Seleucus being now eaſed of this inquietude, thought of nothing but marching againſt *Lyſimachus*. Having therefore drawn together a powerful army, he advanced at the head of it into *Aſia Minor*, where he eaſily reduced all the places belonging to *Lyſimachus*, moſt of the governors coming over to him out of hatred to that prince, on account of the murder of his ſon *Agathocles*, who was the darling of the army (K). The city of *Sardis* was the only place that ſuſtained a ſiege, which was carried on by *Seleucus* with ſuch vigour, that the gariſon was ſoon obliged to capitulate, and ſurrender at diſcretion, putting *Seleucus* in poſſeſſion of that important city, and of all the treaſures which *Lyſimachus* had laid up there, as in a place of great ſafety. *Lyſimachus*, upon intelligence of this invaſion, marched with all poſſible expedition to the *Helleſpont*, in order to check the progreſs of *Seleucus*, and having croſſed over into *Aſia*, met the enemy at a place called *Curopedion* in *Phrygia*. Both armies prepared for the engagement, being commanded by two generals, who, out of the thirty-ſix left by *Alexander*, were the only two captains now alive, and both ſeventy years old and upwards. The engagement was very bloody, and the victory long doubtful; but at laſt *Lyſimachus*, who had fought the whole time at the head of his troops with incredible bravery, being run through with a ſpear by one *Malacon* of *Heraclea*, and killed on the ſpot, his men betook themſelves to a precipitous flight, and left *Seleucus* maſter of the field, and all their baggage. Thus died *Lyſimachus*, after having ſeen the death of fifteen of his children; and as he was, to uſe the expreſſion of *Memnon*, the laſt ſtone of his houſe to be pulled down, *Seleucus*, without oppoſition, made himſelf maſter of all his dominions; but what

Lyſimachus *killed, and his army defeated.*

g PLUT. & APPIAN. ibid. LUCIAN. de dea Syra.

(I) The emperor *Julian*, ſurnamed the *Apoſtate*, relates in a fragment of his writings, which is ſtill extant, that *Antiochus* could not, by any means, be prevailed upon to marry *Stratonice* till after the death of his father; but herein he contradicts *Plutarch*, *Appian*, *Valerius Maximus*, *Lucian*, and all other writers (25). Some authors tell us, that *Leptinas* a mathematician, and not *Eraſiſtratus*, diſcovered the ſecret paſſion of *Antiochus*. *Eraſiſtratus* was the grandſon of *Ariſtotle*, by a daughter of that philoſopher, and, according to *Pliny* (26), a diſciple of *Chryſippus*, or, as *Laertius* will have it (27), of *Theophraſtus*. Againſt the followers of *Eraſiſtratus*, known by the name of *Eraſiſtrateans*, *Galen* wrote a book of *plebotomy*, or opening the vein, which is ſtill extant. *Plutarch* places the marriage of *Antiochus* and *Stratonice* before the death of *Demetrius*; but moſt other writers relate this adventure as happening at the time *Seleucus* engaged in a war with *Lyſimachus*; and theſe, with the learned *Uſher*, we have followed.

(K) Amongſt theſe was the eunuch *Philetærus*, by birth a *Paphlagonian*, whom *Lyſimachus* had truſted with all his treaſures in *Pergamus*. Theſe *Philetærus* ſeized, and making himſelf maſter of the city, offered to put *Seleucus* in poſſeſſion of both. *Seleucus*, not doubting of the ſincerity of his offer, put off going to take poſſeſſion of the place, and *Philetærus* improving this delay, raiſed with the money troops, by which he maintained himſelf in the ſovereignty of *Pergamus* for the ſpace of twenty years, and founded a new kingdom, as we ſhall relate in the hiſtory of that country. *Appian* calls him only *prince* or *potentate* of *Pergamus* (28); but in ſome ancient medals we find him honoured with the title of king (29).

(25) *Julian. in Miſopogone.* (26) *Plin. l.* xxix. *c.* 1. (27) *Laertius in vita Theoph.* (28) *Appian. in Syriac. p.* 129. (29) *Vide Huber. Golzii, Theſaur.*

gave

a gave him moſt pleaſure on this occaſion was, that he now was the only ſurvivor of all the captains of *Alexander*; and that, by the event of this battle, he was become, as he ſtiled himſelf, *the conqueror of conquerors*. This laſt victory, which he looked upon as the effect of a peculiar providence in his favour, gave him the beſt title to the name of *Nicator* or *Conqueror*, by which hiſtorians commonly diſtinguiſh him from other kings of the ſame name, who afterwards reigned in *Syria* [h].

His triumph on this occaſion did not laſt long; for ſeventh months after, as he was marching into *Macedon*, to take poſſeſſion of that kingdom, with a deſign to paſs the remainder of his life in his native country, he was treacherouſly ſlain by *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, on whom he had conferred innumerable favours; for he had re-
b ceived him into his court on his flight thither, and maintained him ſuitably to his rank; he had likewiſe taken him with him in this expedition, deſigning, upon his finiſhing it with ſucceſs, to employ the ſame forces in reſtoring him to his father's kingdom; but the baſe traitor, having no ſenſe of gratitude for theſe favours, conſpired againſt his benefactor, and villainouſly murdered him in the following manner: *Seleucus* having croſſed the *Helleſpont*, in his way to *Macedon*, as he was purſuing his journey from thence to *Lyſimachia*, a city built by *Lyſimachus*, near the *Iſthmus* of the *Thracian Cherſoneſus*, he ſpied an old altar ſtanding at a ſmall diſtance, on a very conſpicuous place; and being told that it was called *Argos*, he asked many queſtions about it, whether it was ſo named from the *Argonauts* who paſſed that way
c in going with *Jaſon* to *Colchos*; or from the *Argivi* who went to the ſiege of *Troy*; or from the ſhip *Argos*, which was caſt away in that neighbourhood; or finally, becauſe that was the country of the *Atridæ*, *Agamemnon* and *Menelaus?* What made him thus inquiſitive was, that he had been warned by an oracle to *beware of* Argos (L.), which he had ever underſtood of the city of *Argos* in *Peloponneſus*; but while he was thus inquiring about the origin of that name, *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, who ſtood behind him, ran him through with his ſword, and before thoſe, who ſtood round the king, recovered from the ſurprize and conſternation they were in, got, by the help of a ſwift horſe, into *Lyſimachia*, whence he ſoon returned to the army with a crown on his head, and a ſtrong guard about him. The troops, being deſtitute of a general,
d and in the utmoſt confuſion, not only received the traitor, but ſaluted him king of *Macedon*, the ſoldiers who had ſerved under *Lyſimachus*, looking upon him as the revenger of that prince's death [i]; but providence did not ſuffer this, and many other barbarous murders he ſoon after committed, to go long unpuniſhed, as we ſhall relate in the hiſtory of the *Ptolemies* of *Egypt*. Such was the end of *Seleucus*, the greateſt general, in the opinion of *Arrian*, and the moſt powerful prince, after *Alexander*, of the age he lived in [k]. He died in the forty-third year after the death of *Alexander*, in the thirty-ſecond of the *Grecian* or *Seleucian* æra, and ſeventy-third, or, as *Juſtin* will have it, ſeventy-eighth of his age [l]. *Philetærus*, the prince of *Pergamus*, having, with a great ſum of money, purchaſed his body of *Ceraunus*, ſent it
e to his ſon *Antiochus*, who, with extraordinary pomp, burnt it in *Seleucia* on the ſea-coaſt, erecting on the place a magnificent chapel, which, from his ſurname, he called *Nicatorium* [m]. *Polybius* obſerves, that *Ptolemy* the firſt, *Lyſimachus*, *Seleucus*, and *Ptolemy Ceranus* died all in CXXIVth olympiad; and that *Ptolemy* the firſt died in the firſt year of it, and *Lyſimachus* and *Seleucus* in the laſt; but *Ceraunus* did not die till the latter end of the firſt year of the following olympiad; whence *Polybius* being, it ſeems, well appriſed of his miſtake, in mentioning elſewhere the concurrence of their deaths, omits *Ceraunus* [n].

Seleucus *murdered by* Ptolemy Ceraunus. *Year after the flood* 2719. *Before Chriſt* 280.

Seleucus was, without all doubt, a prince endowed with extraordinary qualities; *His character.*
f for, without mentioning his military accompliſhments, it may be juſtly ſaid, that he diſtinguiſhed himſelf above all the kings of his age by a very remarkable love for juſtice, a great ſweetneſs of temper, and a peculiar regard for religion, which endeared

[h] Polyænus l. iv. c. 9. Justin. l. xvii. c. 1. Appian. in Syriac. p. 128, 131. Memn. Excerpt. c. 9. Pausan. in Attic. p. 9. Oros. l. iii. c. 23. Lucian. in Macrob. [i] Justin. l. xxiv. c. 2. Memn. Excerpt. c. 15. [k] Arrian. de reb Alex. [l] Justin. ubi ſupra. [m] Appian. in Syriac. p. 129. [n] Polyb. l. ii. p. 128. & ibid. p. 155.

(L.) We are told, that the oracle was uttered in the ambiguous words of the following diſtich:

Si fugias Argos, fatum ſuperabis iniquum;
Sin minus, ante diem tartara nigra petes.

him to his people. He had a taſte for polite literature, and was a great encourager of learning, taking great pleaſure in the converſation of *Eraſiſtratus*, and the famous *Megaſthenes*. The latter he employed in his negotiations with *Sandrocottus* king of *India*. On this occaſion it was that *Megaſthenes*, by reſiding ſome time in that country, and travelling over great part of it, gathered the materials for his hiſtory of *India* [o] (M). *Seleucus* having found in *Perſia* the famous library which *Xerxes* had taken from the *Athenians*, ſent them it back, together with the ſtatues of *Harmodius* and *Ariſtogiton*, whom they honoured as their deliverers. He is highly commended by *Polyænus*, *Seneca*, *Pliny*, *Valerius Maximus*, *Appian*, *Lucian* and *Plutarch*. This laſt writer tells us, that he uſed to ſay, If men knew what trouble attends only the reading and writing of letters, which in thoſe days was thought the indiſpenſible duty of a king, no one would accept of a crown, tho' thrown at his feet, or think it worth taking off the ground. a b

Antiochus Soter.

ON the death of *Seleucus*, *Antiochus* ſurnamed *Soter*, his ſon by *Apama* the daughter of *Artabazus* the *Perſian*, took poſſeſſion of the empire of *Aſia*, and held it for the ſpace of nineteen years. Having, upon the firſt news of his father's death, ſecured his dominions in the eaſt, where he then was, he ſent *Patrocles*, one of his generals, at the head of a powerful army, over mount *Taurus*, into *Aſia Minor*, to ſettle affairs there. *Patrocles*, on his firſt arrival, marched againſt *Heraclea* in *Pontus*, at that time a powerful ſtate, with a deſign to make himſelf maſter of its rich territory, the *Heracleans* having formerly entered into an alliance with *Mithridates* king of *Pontus*, and the cities of *Byzantium* and *Chalcedon* againſt *Seleucus*; but matters being made up between them by a treaty, *Patrocles* led his army againſt the *Bithynians*, and entering their territories, committed there, on what provocation we know not, great devaſtations; but the *Bithynians* having drawn him into an ambuſh, cut off him and his whole army, not one man eſcaping the general ſlaughter. *Zipætes*, who was then king of *Bithynia*, and in the ſeventy-ſixth year of his age, and forty-eighth of his reign, was ſo overjoyed at the news of this victory, that he died ſoon after, leaving behind him four ſons, of which the eldeſt, by name *Nicomedes*, ſucceeding his father in the kingdom, cauſed, out of jealouſy, two of his brothers to be put to death; but the youngeſt, called alſo *Zipætes*, having ſaved himſelf by a timely flight, ſeized on part of his father's dominions, and there maintained a long war with his brother, who hearing that *Antiochus* was making great preparations to attack him at the ſame time, and revenge the death of *Patrocles*, and the loſs of his army, called in the *Gauls* to his aſſiſtance; and on this occaſion it was that the *Gauls* firſt paſſed into *Aſia Minor* [p]. With their aſſiſtance *Nicomedes* having overcome his brother *Zipætes*, and acquired the poſſeſſion of all his father's dominions, beſtowed upon them that part of *Aſia Minor*, which, from their name, was called by ſome *Gallo-Græcia*, and by others *Galatia*. In proceſs of time the latter name prevailed, whence the c d e

His army cut off by the Bithynians.

[o] Vide Voss. de Hiſtoricis Græcis. [p] APPIAN. in Syriac. EUSEB. Chron. MEMNON. Excerpt. p. 16. & 21. LIV. l. XXXVIII.

(M) *Megaſthenes* compoſed a hiſtory of the *Indies*, from the third book of which *Clemens* of *Alexandria* quotes a paſſage in the firſt book of his *Stromata*, where that author tells us, that whatever the ancients have ſaid concerning nature, was taught them, not by the *Greeks*, but by *Indian Brachmans*, and the *Jews* of *Syria*. *Pliny* and *Solinus* inform us, that *Megaſthenes* lived in *India* to gather materials for his hiſtory. Some fragments of this hiſtory are preſerved by *Joſephus* (30), and *Euſebius* (31), wherein he makes mention of *Nebuchadnezzar*, and extols his great wealth and power. He is likewiſe quoted by *Strabo* (32), *Athenæus*, *Arrian*, *Cicero*, *Pliny* and *Solinus*; but the book itſelf has not reached our times. *Annius*, a monk of *Viterbo*, who flouriſhed about the end of the fifteenth century, counterfeited ſeveral books under old names, of which number were *Manetho*, *Beroſus*, and *Megaſthenes*, whom he, by miſtake, calls *Metaſthenes*, being led into this error by *Rufinus*'s *Latin* verſion of *Joſephus*, and this firſt gave occaſion to the diſcovery of the impoſture. Theſe books he publiſhed with a comment upon them; and they were for ſome time looked upon as the genuine works of the authors whoſe names they bore, but are now every-where exploded as fictitious and fabulous, being framed on purpoſe to impoſe upon the world. *Plutarch* ſeems to have entertained but a very indifferent opinion of thoſe authors in general who have wrote of *India* (33); and *Strabo* (34) tells us, that all thoſe who have wrote hiſtories of *India*, are great liars, but above all *Diamarchus*, and after him *Megaſthenes*, *Oneſicritus* and *Nearchus*. To the two former, continues *Strabo*, we ought to give no credit at all, for they would make us believe, that there are men in *India*, whoſe ears are ſo large as to cover their bodies, that ſome have no mouths, nor noſes, and but one eye; that their feet are of a monſtrous ſize, and their toes turned inwards; that there are whole nations of men only three ſpans high, ants that ſearch for gold, and birds with heads in the ſhape of a wedge, which ſwallow ſerpents, ſtags and oxen.

(30) *Joſeph. Antiquit. l.* x. *c.* 11. *& contra Appian. l.* i. (31) *Euſeb. Præp. Evang.* (32) *Strabo. l.* xv. *p.* 687. (33) *Plut. de flumin.* (34) *Strabo. l.* ii.

people

a people were no more called *Gauls*, but *Galatians*. To their deſcendants St. *Paul* wrote one of his cannonical epiſtles; and St. *Jerom* witneſſes, that, near ſeven hundred years after they had ſettled in *Aſia*, they continued to ſpeak the ſame language, which, in his time, was ſpoke at *Treves*.

BUT to return to *Antiochus*, *Soſthenes*, who had defeated the *Gauls*, as we have related in the hiſtory of *Macedon*, and reigned ſome years in that country, being dead, *Antiochus Soter*, and *Antigonus Gonatas* the ſon of *Demetrius*, laid claim to that kingdom, their fathers having held it, one after the other; but *Antigonus*, who had already reigned ten years in *Greece*, being neareſt, firſt took poſſeſſion of thoſe dominions. Hereupon *Antiochus* being reſolved to diſpoſſeſs his rival, if poſſible, of his new conqueſts, and the other to ſupport himſelf in them, each raiſed great armies,
b and contracted powerful alliances. On this occaſion *Nicomedes* king of *Bithynia* having eſpouſed the cauſe of *Antigonus*, *Antiochus* not thinking it adviſeable to leave ſuch an enemy behind him in *Aſia*, inſtead of croſſing the *Helleſpont* to attack *Antigonus*, unexpectedly poured his troops into *Bithynia*, which then became the theatre of the war; but both armies having there lain ſome time in ſight of each other, and neither daring to attack the other, the two kings came to an agreement, in conſequence of which *Antigonus* having married *Phila* the daughter of *Stratonice* by *Seleucus*, *Antiochus* renounced his pretenſions to the crown of *Macedon*. In virtue of this renunciation *Antigonus* not only quietly enjoyed himſelf the kingdom of *Macedon*, but tranſmitted it to his poſterity, who reigned there for ſeveral generations, till at length
c *Perſes*, the laſt of that race, was, by *Paulus Æmilius*, diveſted of his dominions, and *Macedon* reduced to a *Roman* province [q].

Antiochus *reſigns to* Antigonus *his pretenſions to* Macedon.

Antiochus, being thus freed from a threatening war, marched againſt the *Gauls*, who having, by the favour of *Nicomedes*, got ſettlements in *Aſia*, haraſſed, with frequent incurſions, the neighbouring princes. *Antiochus* defeated them with great ſlaughter, and delivered thoſe provinces from their oppreſſions; and hence he acquired the title of *Soter* or *Saviour* [r].

Defeats the Gauls.

Antiochus, not long after this ſucceſsful expedition againſt the *Gauls*, hearing of the death of *Philetærus* prince of *Pergamus*, laid hold of that opportunity to invade his territories, with a view to add them to his own dominions; but *Eumenes*, nephew
d and ſucceſſor to the deceaſed prince, having raiſed a conſiderable army, encountered him near *Sardis*, overthrew him in battle, and thereby not only ſecured himſelf in the poſſeſſion of what he already enjoyed, but inlarged his dominions with ſeveral new acquiſitions [s]. After this defeat, *Antiochus* returning to *Antioch*, there put to death one of his ſons for raiſing diſturbances in his abſence, and at the ſame proclaimed the other, called alſo *Antiochus*, king of *Syria*. He died ſoon after, leaving his ſon in the ſole poſſeſſion of all his dominions. This young prince was his ſon by *Stratonice* the daughter of *Demetrius*, who, from his mother-in-law, became his wife, as we have related above.

Defeated by Eumenes *king of* Pergamus.

Antiochus Soter *dies.* *Year after the flood* 2738. *Before Chriſt* 261.

Antiochus, on his coming to the throne, aſſumed the ſurname of *Theos*, that is,
e *God* [t]; and by this he is diſtinguiſhed from the other kings of *Syria* who bore the name of *Antiochus*. The *Mileſians* were the firſt who beſtowed it upon him, for delivering them from the tyranny of *Timarchus*; for *Timarchus* being governor of *Caria* for *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, rebelled againſt his ſovereign, and ſetting up for himſelf, choſe *Miletus* for the ſeat of his tyranny. The *Mileſians*, to deliver themſelves from his oppreſſions, had recourſe to *Antiochus*, who defeated, and ſlew him; in acknowledgment of which favour, they rendered him divine honours, and by an impious flattery, conferred upon him the title of *Theos* or *God*. The *Lemnians* had not long before placed his father and grandfather in the number of their gods, and built temples to them, as the *Smyrnians* did to *Stratonice* his mother [u].

Antiochus Theos.

f IN the beginning of this king's reign lived *Beroſus* the famous *Babylonian* hiſtorian, and dedicated his hiſtory to him (N). *Pliny* informs us, that it contained the aſtronomical

[q] MEMNON. c. 19. JUSTIN. l. xxv. c. 1. PLUT. in Demet. PORPHYR. in Græc. EUSEBIAN. p. 229.
[r] APPIAN. in Syriac. p. 130. [s] MEMNON. c. 21. STRABO. l. xiii. p. 624. LUCIAN. in Zeux. [t] TROG. in prologo. l. xxvi. POLYÆN. Stratagem. l. viii. c. 50. APPIAN. ubi ſupra. JUSTIN. l. xxvii. c. 1. THEOCRIT. Idyll. 17. ATHEN. l. vi. c. 6.

(N) The words of *Tatian* are as follow; Beroſus *the* Babylonian, *who was a prieſt of* Belus ad Babylon, *and lived in the time of* Alexander, *dedicated to* Antiochus, *who was the third after him, his hiſtory, which*

nomical obſervations of four hundred and eighty years. While the *Macedonians* were a maſters of *Babylon*, he learned of them the *Greek* language, and paſſing from *Babylon* into *Greece*, firſt ſettled at *Cos*, a place famous for the birth of *Hippocrates*, and there opened a ſchool, in which he taught aſtronomy and aſtrology. From *Cos* he went to *Athens*, where he acquired ſuch reputation by his aſtrological predictions, that the *Athenians* erected to him in their gymnaſium a ſtatue with a golden tongue [u]. *Joſephus* and *Euſebius* have tranſmitted to us many noble fragments of this hiſtory, which illuſtrate ſeveral paſſages of the old teſtament, and, without which, it would be impoſſible to trace out the ſeries of the *Babylonian* kings.

War between Antiochus Soter *and* Ptolemy Philadelphus *king of* Egypt.

IN the third year of the reign of *Antiochus Soter*, a bloody war, which was carried on for a long time with great vigor, broke out between him and *Ptolemy Philadelphus* king of *Egypt*, on the following occaſion; *Magas* king of *Cyrene* and *Libya*, b having waged war for many years with *Ptolemy Philadelphus* his half-brother, to ſupport himſelf in the uſurpation of thoſe dominions, and being now grown very old and infirm, cauſed overtures of an accommodation to be tendered to *Ptolemy*, with the propoſal of a marriage between *Berenice* his only daughter, and the eldeſt ſon of the king of *Egypt*, promiſing to reſign all his dominions to her for her dowry. The propoſal was approved of by *Ptolemy*, and a peace concluded on theſe terms; but *Magas* died the year following, before the execution of the treaty, after he had reigned fifty years over *Libya* and *Cyrene*, from the time that theſe provinces were firſt committed to his care. On his death his widow *Apame*, whom *Juſtin* calls *Arſi-* c *noe*, the ſiſter of *Antiochus Theus*, reſolved to put a ſtop to the marriage of her daughter with the ſon of *Ptolemy*, ſince it had been agreed on without her conſent. With this view ſhe ſent into *Macedon* for *Demetrius* half-brother to *Antigonus Gonatas*, promiſing him her daughter in marriage, and with her the kingdoms of *Libya* and *Cyrene*. This invitation ſoon brought *Demetrius* thither; but, as he was a beautiful young man, *Apame* no ſooner ſaw him but ſhe fell in love with him, and reſolved to marry him herſelf. *Demetrius* finding himſelf highly favoured by the mother, intirely neglected the young princeſs, and imagining that her favour raiſed him above all controul, he began to treat the princeſs, as well as the miniſters and officers of the army, in a moſt inſolent and imperious manner. Hereupon they all conſpired againſt d him, and *Berenice* herſelf led the conſpirators to the door of her mother's apartment, where they ſlew him in her bed, tho' *Apame* did all ſhe could to ſave him, and even covered him from the ſwords of the conſpirators with her own body. Upon his death *Berenice* went into *Egypt*, where ſhe was married according to the former agreement, to the ſon of *Ptolemy*, and *Apame* was ſent to her brother *Antiochus Theus* in *Syria* [w]. On her arrival at his court, ſhe ſo exaſperated him againſt *Ptolemy*, that he proclaimed war againſt him. This war was carried on for many years with great fury, and proved at laſt very fatal to *Antiochus*, as we ſhall ſee anon. *Ptolemy* did not head his army in perſon, his declining ſtate of health not permitting him to expoſe himſelf to the fatigues of a campaign, and the inconveniencies of a camp; for e which reaſon he left the whole conduct of the war to his generals; but *Antiochus*, who was then in the flower of his age, took the field, at the head of a numerous army, having under his ſtandards all the forces of *Babylon*, and the eaſt. Hiſtory has not tranſmitted to us the ſucceſſes of this war on either ſide, probably becauſe they were not very conſiderable; for if any ſignal events had happened, they would, in all likelihood, have been recorded in an age, when ſo many learned men and able hiſtorians lived, who would not have failed to commit them to writing.

The Parthians *and* Bactrians *revolt from* Antiochus. *Year of the flood* 2699. *Before Chriſt* 300.

WHILE *Antiochus* was thus engaged in a war with the king of *Egypt*, great commotions and revolts happened in the eaſtern provinces of his empire, which, as he

[u] PLIN. l. vii. c. 36 & 37. VITRUV. l. ix. c. 7. [w] JUSTIN. lib. xxvi. c. 3. ATHENÆUS ex Agatharcide l. xii. p. 550. PLUT. in Demet.

which he wrote in three books, of the affairs of the Chaldeans, *and the actions of their kings* (35). Now, the third after *Alexander* was, without all doubt, *Antiochus Theus*: for *Seleucus Nicator* was the firſt, *Antiochus Soter* the ſecond, and conſequently the prince we are ſpeaking of the third; but as *Beroſus*, according to *Tatian*, lived in the time of *Alexander*, who died ſixty-four years before the beginning of the reign of *Antiochus Theus*, we muſt place this dedication as early as poſſible, that is, in the very firſt year of his reign; for if *Beroſus* was but twenty at the death of *Alexander*, he muſt have been eighty-four in the firſt year of *Antiochus Theus*.

(35) *Tatian. in Orat. adverſ. Græcos.*

was

a was not at leiſure to ſuppreſs them immediately, grew to ſuch a head, that he could never afterwards maſter them. The lewdneſs of *Agathocles*, whom *Arrian* calls *Pherecles*, was the occaſion of this great event. *Antiochus* had committed to his care the adminiſtration of all the provinces beyond the *Euphrates*; ſo that *Parthia* and the adjacent countries were under his government. As *Agathocles* was moſt viciouſly given, he was charmed with the gracefulneſs and beauty of a youth called *Teridates* to ſuch a degree, that he made an attempt on his modeſty. Hereupon *Arſaces*, the brother of the youth, inraged at the affront offered to his family, ran to arms, and being ſupported by ſome friends who engaged in his quarrel, fell upon the governor, and ſlew him. After his death, *Arſaces* prevailed upon ſeveral of his country-
b men to ſtand by him, and by degrees his party grew ſo numerous, while neglected by *Antiochus*, that in the end he found himſelf ſtrong enough to drive out the *Macedonians*, and ſet up for himſelf, which he accordingly did, fixing his reſidence at *Hecatompolis*, and there giving riſe to the *Parthian* empire, which roſe in proceſs of time to ſo great a pitch of power, as to become formidable, not only to all the princes of the eaſt, but to the *Romans* themſelves. Much about the ſame time *Theodotus* revolted in *Bactria*, and, from governor, became king of that province, which, if we believe *Juſtin*, contained no fewer than a thouſand cities, and ſtrengthned himſelf ſo effectually in his new kingdom, while *Antiochus* was taken up with the *Egyptian* war, that he could never afterwards be diſpoſſeſſed of his acquiſitions. His ex-
c ample, and that of *Arſaces*, were followed by all the nations in thoſe parts, each of them ſhaking off at the ſame time the *Macedonian* yoke, and ſetting up princes of their own; by which means *Antiochus* loſt all the provinces of his empire lying beyond the *Euphrates* [w]. The revolt of the *Parthians* happened, according to *Juſtin*, while *L. Manlius Vulſo*, and *M. Attilius Regulus* were conſuls at *Rome*; which period, as *Polybius* obſerves, coincides with the fourteenth year of the firſt *Punic* war. This *Arſaces* is called by the modern *Perſian* writers *Aſki* and *Aſkam*. *Mircondus* gives him the name of *Chapur*, and ſays, that he began his reign ſeventy-two years after the death of *Alexander the Great*, which, according to the learned *Uſher*, is one year before the conſulſhip of *Manlius* and *Attilius*, and three years before the CXXXIIId
d olympiad, when, according to the calculation of *Euſebius*, *Arſaces* and his *Parthians* revolted from *Antiochus*; but as they annually ſolemnized the day on which *Arſaces* engaged and defeated *Seleucus Callinicus*, the ſon and ſucceſſor of *Antiochus*, and looked upon it as the day that gave birth to their liberty, both *Juſtin* and *Appian* thought, that the *Parthians* firſt revolted under *Seleucus*, and not under *Antiochus* his father [x].

THESE troubles and commotions in the eaſt made *Antiochus* weary of his war with *Ptolemy*; a treaty of peace was therefore concluded on the following terms; That *Antiochus* ſhould divorce his former wife *Laodice*, who was his own ſiſter by the father, marry *Berenice* the daughter of *Ptolemy*, and ſettle the crown upon the male
e iſſue of that marriage. *Antiochus*, purſuant to this treaty, put away *Laodice*, tho' ſhe had already brought him two ſons; and *Ptolemy* carrying his daughter to *Peluſium*, there put her on board his fleet, and ſailed with her to *Seleucia*, a maritime city near the mouth of the *Orontes* in *Syria*, where he met *Antiochus*, delivered his daughter to him, and ſolemnized the nuptials with extraordinary magnificence. *Ptolemy*, as he had a tender affection for his daughter, gave, of his own accord, an immenſe ſum with her by way of dowry; whence he was ſurnamed *Phernopheros*, or the *Dowry-giver* [y]. Beſides, he ordered regular ſupplies of water from the *Nile* to be tranſmitted to her, where-ever ſhe was, believing it to be more beneficial to her health than any other [z].

Antiochus *concludes a peace with* Ptolemy.

f Two years after this marriage *Ptolemy Philadelphus* died, which *Antiochus Theus* his ſon-in-law no ſooner heard, than he removed *Berenice* from his bed, and recalled *Laodice*, with her children *Seleucus Callinicus* and *Antiochus Hierax*; but *Laodice* being well acquainted with his fickle temper, and fearing leſt he might again alter his mind, and receive *Berenice*, reſolved to improve the preſent opportunity, and ſecure the ſucceſſion to her ſon; for by the late treaty with *Ptolemy*, her children were diſinherited, and the crown ſettled on the children which *Berenice* ſhould bear, and ſhe had then a ſon. For the effecting of this deſign, ſhe cauſed *Antiochus* to be poiſoned, and

Antiochus Theus *poiſoned by his wife* Laodice.

[w] ARRIAN. in Parthicis apud Phot. cod. 58. SYNCEL. p. 284. JUSTIN. l. xli. c. 4. STRABO. l. xi. p. 515. [x] JUSTIN. l. xli. c. 4. APPIAN. in Syriac. p. 130. [y] Vide HIERONYM. in Daniel. c. 11. [z] ATHENÆUS l. ii. c. 2.

when ſhe ſaw him expiring, ſhe ordered him to be privately conveyed away, and one *Artemon*, who greatly reſembled him, as well in features as in the tone of his voice, to be placed in his bed. *Artemon* acted his part with great dexterity, and perſonating *Antiochus*, tenderly recommended his dear *Laodice* and her children to the lords that viſited him. In the name of *Antiochus*, whom the people believed ſtill alive, orders were iſſued, enjoyning all his ſubjects to obey his beloved ſon *Seleucus Callinicus*, and acknowledge him for their lawful ſovereign. The crown being by this means ſecured to *Callinicus*, the death of the king was publicly declared, and *Callinicus*, without any oppoſition, aſcended the throne [a]. *Antiochus Hierax*, the other ſon of *Laodice*, had at this time the government of the provinces of *Aſia Minor*, where he commanded a conſiderable body of troops.

Seleucus Callinicus *aſcends the throne.*

Laodice not thinking herſelf ſafe ſo long as *Berenice* and her ſon were alive, concerted meaſures with *Seleucus* to deſtroy them likewiſe; but *Berenice* being informed of their deſign, eluded the danger for ſome time, by retiring with her ſon to *Daphne*, where ſhe ſhut herſelf up in the aſylum built by *Seleucus Nicator*. There ſhe was cloſely beſieged by the forces of *Seleucus*; which the cities of *Aſia* hearing, and pitying her condition, they formed a confederacy, and ſent a ſtrong body of troops to *Antioch* for her relief. *Ptolemy Euergetes*, her brother, haſtened thither likewiſe at the head of a formidable army; but both *Berenice* and her ſon, with all the *Egyptians* who attended them, were barbarouſly cut off before either of the armies came to their reſcue (O). When they ſaw all their endeavours for ſaving the queen and her

Berenice *with her ſon murdered by* Laodice.

[a] HIERONYM. ubi ſupra. PLIN. l. vii. c. 12. VAL. MAX. l. ix. c. 14. SOLINUS c. 1. APPIAN. in Syriac. p. 130. JUSTIN. l. xxvii. c. 1. POLYB. l. ii. p. 155.

(O) The particulars of the marriage of *Antiochus* with the daughter of *Ptolemy*, and the fatal conſequences that attended it, with the greateſt events in the hiſtory we are now writing, were evidently foretold by the prophet *Daniel*. The words of the prophecy are (36); *And now I will ſhew thee the truth; Behold, there ſhall ſtand up yet three kings in* Perſia, *viz.* Cyrus, who was then upon the throne; his ſon *Cambyſes*, and *Darius* the ſon of *Hyſtaſpes*; *and the fourth ſhall be far richer than they all: and by his ſtrength through his riches, he ſhall ſtir up all againſt the realm of* Greece. The monarch here mentioned was *Xerxes*, who invaded *Greece* with a formidable army. *And a mighty king ſhall ſtand up, that ſhall rule with great dominion, and do according to his will. And when he ſhall ſtand up, his kingdom ſhall be broken, and ſhall be divided towards the four winds of heaven, and not to his poſterity, nor according to his dominion which he ruled; for his kingdom ſhall be plucked up even for others beſides thoſe.* This part of the prophecy evidently alludes to *Alexander the Great*, whoſe vaſt kingdom we have already ſeen broken by his death, and parcelled out into four great kingdoms, and, beſides theſe, divided into a great many petty kingdoms, namely, *Cappadocia*, *Armenia*, *Bithynia*, &c. The prophet then proceeds to the treaty of peace, and the marriage, which we have mentioned. *And the king of the ſouth ſhall be ſtrong, and one of his princes, and he ſhall be ſtrong above him, and have dominion; his dominion ſhall be a great dominion. And in the end of years they ſhall join themſelves together; for the king's daughter of the ſouth ſhall come to the king of the north to make an agreement: but he ſhall not retain the power of the arm, neither ſhall he ſtand, nor his arm; but ſhe ſhall be given up, and they that brought her, and he that begat her, and he that ſtrengthened her in theſe times.* We muſt obſerve, that *Daniel*, in this paſſage, and through all the remaining part of the chapter before us, confines himſelf to the kings of *Egypt* and *Syria*, theſe being the only princes who engaged in wars againſt the people of God. *The king of the ſouth ſhall be ſtrong.* This *king of the ſouth* was *Ptolemy* the ſon of *Lagus*, the firſt who reigned in *Egypt* after *Alexander*; and that he was ſtrong all hiſtorians teſtify; for he was maſter of *Egypt*, *Libya*, *Cyrene*, *Arabia*, *Paleſtine*, *Cœle-Syria*, and moſt of the maritime provinces of *Aſia Minor*, together with the iſland of *Cyprus*, with ſeveral iſles in the *Ægean* ſea; and even poſſeſſed the cities of *Sicyon* and *Corinth* in *Greece*. The *king of the north* was *Seleucus Nicator*, of whom the prophet ſays, that he ſhall be more powerful than the king of the ſouth, and his dominion more extenſive; for ſuch is the import of the prophet's expreſſion, *and he ſhall be ſtrong above him, and have dominion*; and that he had a more extenſive dominion is plain from the large territories he poſſeſſed; for he had under him all the countries of the eaſt, from mount *Taurus* to the river *Indus*, ſeveral provinces of *Aſia Minor* between mount *Taurus* and the *Ægean* ſea, and a little before his death the kingdoms of *Thrace* and *Macedon*. The prophet, in the next place, tells us of the coming of the daughter of the king of the ſouth, and the agreement, or treaty of peace, which ſhould thereon be made between theſe two kings. This plainly points out the marriage of *Berenice* the daughter of *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*, with *Antiochus Theus* king of *Syria*, and the peace, which, in conſequence of that marriage, was made between them; every particular of which was exactly fulfilled, according to the holy prophet's prediction. *Daniel* afterwards informs us of the fatal conſequences attending this marriage; that is, that *neither he*, viz. *Antiochus* king of the north, *nor ſhe*, that is, *Berenice* daughter of *Ptolemy* king of the ſouth, *ſhould continue in their power, but that he*, viz. king *Antiochus*, *ſhould fall*, and *that ſhe*, viz. *Berenice*, being deprived of *him that ſtrengthened her*, that is, of her father, who died a little before, *ſhould be given up with thoſe that brought her*, that is, who came with her out of *Egypt*, to be cut off and deſtroyed; and ſo it happened to her and her attendants who came with her out of *Egypt*, as we have related. The king of *Egypt* is called by the prophet king of the ſouth, and the king of *Syria* ſtiled king of the north, which muſt be underſtood with reſpect to *Judæa*, that country having *Syria* to the north, and *Egypt* to the ſouth.

(36) *Dan. c.* xi. *ver.* 2, 3, 4, *&c.*

child

a child rendered ineffectual, they determined to revenge their death in a remarkable manner. The *Aſian* forces joined the *Egyptian*, and *Ptolemy*, at the head of both, carried all before him; for he not only ſlew *Laodice*, but made himſelf maſter of all *Syria* and *Cilicia*, and then paſſing the *Euphrates*, ſubdued all the country as far as *Babylon* and the river *Tigris*; and if the progreſs of his arms had not been interrupted by a ſedition, which obliged him to return to *Egypt*, he would have brought under ſubjection all the provinces of the *Syrian* empire. On his return, he appointed *Antiochus*, one of his generals, to govern the provinces he had reduced on this ſide mount *Taurus*, and *Xantippus* to command in thoſe he had poſſeſſed himſelf of beyond it [b]. He returned loaded with an immenſe booty; for he is ſaid to have
b brought from *Syria* forty thouſand talents of ſilver, with a prodigious number of gold and ſilver veſſels, and two thouſand five hundred ſtatues, among which were many of the *Egyptian* idols, which *Cambyſes*, on his conquering *Egypt*, had carried from thence into *Perſia*. Theſe *Ptolemy*, on his return from this expedition, replaced in their ancient temples, and thereby gained the hearts of his ſuperſtitious ſubjects, who, in acknowledgment of ſo great a favour, honoured him with the title of *Euergetes*, or *Beneſactor* (P).

Her death revenged by Ptolemy Euergetes *her brother.*

Seleucus Callinicus, who had ſucceeded his father *Antiochus Theus* after a reign of fifteen years, no ſooner heard that *Ptolemy* was returned to *Egypt*, but he ſet ſail with a mighty fleet, which he had fitted out at a vaſt charge, to reduce the revolted
c cities; but he had ſcarce advanced into the open ſea, when his whole navy was deſtroyed by a violent ſtorm, as if the gods, ſays *Juſtin* [c], had made the winds and waves the miniſters of their vengeance. *Seleucus* himſelf, with a ſmall number of his attendants, was, with the utmoſt difficulty, ſaved; but all the reſt periſhed in the wreck; but this dreadful ſtroke, which ſeemed intended to overwhelm him, by a ſtrange turn of fortune, contributed to the re-eſtabliſhment of his affairs; for the revolted cities of *Aſia*, which, out of the averſion and horror they had conceived againſt him on account of the murder of *Berenice* and her ſon, had declared for *Ptolemy*, no ſooner received intelligence of the great loſs he had ſuſtained, than they turned their hatred into compaſſion, and thinking that crime ſufficiently revenged,
d ſubmitted to him anew [d]. Being again reſtored, by this unexpected revolution, to the beſt part of his dominions, he raiſed a great army to recover the reſt; but this effort proved as unſucceſsful as the former; his army was defeated by *Ptolemy*, and he obliged to ſave himſelf by flight to *Antioch*, with as few of his followers as when he eſcaped from the ſhipwreck, as if he had recovered his former power, ſays *Juſtin*, only to loſe it a ſecond time by a fatal viciſſitude of fortune. In this condition he invited his brother *Antiochus* to join him with his forces, promiſing him all the provinces of the *Leſſer Aſia* that belonged to the *Syrian* empire, provided he found means to extricate him out of his preſent difficulties. *Antiochus* was then at the
e head of an army in thoſe provinces, and being of an aſpiring genius, and very ambitious, tho' then only fourteen years old, he readily accepted the propoſal, and accordingly reinforced his army with great numbers of mercenary *Gauls*, not with a deſign to aſſiſt his brother in the recovery of his dominions, but to ſeize them for himſelf; for he was of a very greedy and rapacious temper, wreſting from others whatever came in his way, without the leaſt regard to juſtice or equity, and thinking

[b] Justin. Appian. Hieronym. ubi ſupra. Polyb. l. v. Polyæn. l. viii. c. 50. [c] Justin. l. xxvii. c. 2. [d] Justin. l. xxvii. c. 2.

(P) All this was likewiſe accompliſhed exactly, as the prophet *Daniel* had foretold it (37); for in that prophecy he tells us, That after the daughter of the king of the ſouth ſhould, with her attendants, be cut off, and he that ſtrengthened her in thoſe times, (that is, her father, who was her chief ſupport) ſhould be dead, *there ſhould one ariſe out of a branch of her roots in his eſtate*, that is, *Ptolemy Euergetes*, who ſpringing from the ſame root with her, as being her brother, did ſtand up in the room or eſtate of *Ptolemy Philadelphus* his father, whom he ſucceeded in his kingdom. And *he ſhall come with an army*, continues the prophet, *and ſhall enter into the fortreſs of the king of the north*, (who was *Seleucus Callinicus*) *and ſhall deal againſt them, and ſhall prevail; and ſhall alſo carry captives into* Egypt *their gods, with their princes, and with their precious veſſels of ſilver and of gold; and he ſhall continue more years than the king of the north. So the king of the ſouth ſhall come into his kingdom, and ſhall return into his own land.* How exactly all this was fulfilled, what we have related above ſufficiently ſhews. As to the laſt part, *viz.* that the king of the ſouth, on his return into his kingdom, ſhould continue more years than the king of the north, this likewiſe happened as foretold by the prophet; for *Ptolemy Euergetes* outlived *Seleucus Callinicus* four years.

(37) *Dan. c.* xi. *ver.* 7—9.

every

every thing good prey which he could lay his hands on; whence he had the ſur- a
name of *Hierax*, that is, the *Hawk*. At the ſame time the cities of *Smyrna* and *Magneſia* in *Aſia Minor*, out of affection to *Seleucus*, formed a confederacy in his favour, by which they mutually ſtipulated to ſupport him to the utmoſt of their power. This treaty they cauſed to be engraved on a large column of marble, which is ſtill to be ſeen in *Oxford*, with the ſaid league in *Greek* capitals very legible (Q). When *Ptolemy* heard that *Antiochus* was preparing to join *Seleucus* againſt him, not caring to engage both theſe princes at the ſame time, he came to an agreement with *Seleucus*, and concluded a truce with him for ten years [e].

After having ſuſtained ſeveral great loſſes, makes a truce with Ptolemy.

But notwithſtanding this truce, *Antiochus* continued his military preparations, which *Seleucus* now plainly ſeeing to be made againſt himſelf, marched, without b
delay, over mount *Taurus* to ſuppreſs them. The pretence for the war on the ſide of *Antiochus*, was the promiſe which had been made him of the ſovereignty of the provinces in *Aſia Minor*, as a reward for aſſiſting his brother againſt *Ptolemy*; but *Seleucus* being delivered from the war without the aid of his brother, did not think himſelf obliged to any thing by that promiſe; but *Antiochus* perſiſting in his demand, and *Seleucus* refuſing to comply with it, the controverſy was brought to the deciſion of a battle, which was fought near *Ancyra* in *Aſia Minor*. In this battle *Seleucus* was intirely defeated, and moſt of his troops cut in pieces, he having very narrowly eſcaped falling into the enemies hands. *Antiochus* likewiſe was expoſed to great dangers, even after his victory; for as the troops, to whoſe valour the victory was c
chiefly owing, was a body of *Gauls*, which he had taken into his pay, theſe barbarians, on a falſe report that *Seleucus* was ſlain in the action, plotted the death of the other brother alſo, not doubting but in caſe both were cut off, they ſhould eaſily make themſelves maſters of all *Aſia*; *Antiochus* therefore was obliged to redeem his life with all the treaſures he poſſeſſed [f].

Defeated by his brother Antiochus.

Eumenes, king or prince of *Pergamus*, taking advantage of theſe diviſions, advanced with all his forces againſt *Antiochus*, and the *Gauls*, in hopes of cruſhing them both at once. The imminent danger which *Antiochus* ſaw himſelf expoſed to on this occaſion, obliged him to make a new treaty with the *Gauls*, in which it was ſtipulated, that he ſhould renounce the title of their ſovereign, and content himſelf with that of d
their ally, entering into an offenſive and defenſive league with them. This treaty however did not prevent *Eumenes* from falling upon them; and as he attacked them before they had time to reinforce themſelves with new levies after the loſs they had ſuſtained in the battle of *Ancyra*, he gained a complete victory over them, which coſt him but little, and laid all *Aſia Minor* open to him. *Attalus*, who ſucceeded *Eumenes* in the ſovereignty of *Pergamus*, improving the advantages gained by him over the *Gauls*, intirely ſubdued that people, and being by that means firmly eſtabliſhed in his dominions, took upon him the title of king, which his predeceſſors had declined, tho' veſted with ſovereign power [g].

Eumenes *and* Attalus *ſeize great part of* Aſia Minor.

While *Eumenes*, and after him *Attalus*, were thus curtailing the *Syrian* empire e
in the weſt, *Theodotus* and *Arſaces* were doing the ſame in the eaſt; for it being reported that *Seleucus* had been ſlain in the battle of *Ancyra*, *Arſaces* laying hold of this opportunity, poſſeſſed himſelf of *Hyrcania*, and annexed it to *Parthia*, which he had already diſmembered from that empire, cauſing himſelf to be acknowledged king of both countries. *Theodotus*, who had poſſeſſed himſelf of *Bactria*, dying ſoon after, *Arſaces* entered into an alliance with his ſon bearing the ſame name for their mutual defence; by which means they ſupported each other in the poſſeſſion of the dominions they had uſurped. In the mean time the two brothers, *Antiochus* and *Seleucus*, purſued the war againſt each other with implacable hatred, not conſidering, that, while they were thus contending for their father's empire, it would be wreſted from f
them both by their common enemy. This war was at length carried into *Meſopotamia* [h], at the time when, in all likelihood, happened the battle in *Babylonia*, or the province of *Babylon*, which was a part of *Meſopotamia*, mentioned by *Judas Macca-*

Antiochus *and* Seleucus *continue on the war.*

[e] Justin. ubi ſupra. [f] Trogus in prologo 27. Strabo. l. xvi. p. 750. Polyæn. l. viii. c. 61. [g] Justin. l. xxvii. c. 3. Liv. l. xxxiii. Strabo. l. xiii. p. 624. Valesii excerpt. ex Polyb. Polyæn. l. iv. c. 19. [h] Trogus in prologo 27. Polyæn. l. iv. Stratagem. c. 17.

(Q) This column was brought out of *Aſia* by *Thomas* earl of *Arundel*, at the beginning of the reign of *Charles* the firſt, and preſented, with other marbles, to the univerſity of *Oxford*, by his grandſon *Henry* duke of *Norfolk*, in the reign of *Charles* the ſecond.

haus

a *bæus* in his ſpeech to his army [i]. In this battle eight thouſand *Babyloniſh Jews* joined with four thouſand *Macedonians*, defeated the *Galatians*, and put to the ſword an hundred and twenty thouſand of their men. The *Galatians* indeed were joined in confederacy with *Antiochus Hierax*, as we have related above, and at this time came into *Aſia* in ſuch ſwarms as to fill the whole country, ſerving under ſuch princes as thought fit to hire them. However it is ſomewhat ſtrange, that ſuch a ſignal victory ſhould not be mentioned by any one of the eminent writers who flouriſhed under the kings of *Syria*, and tranſmitted their actions to poſterity; but be that as it will, *Seleucus* at length prevailed over his brother *Antiochus*, who, after ſeveral overthrows and loſſes, was obliged to ſhift from place to place with the ſhattered remains of his b army, till he was at laſt driven quite out of *Meſopotamia*. As he found no place within the *Syrian* empire where he thought himſelf ſafe, he retired to *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia*, whoſe daughter he had married; but that prince, notwithſtanding this alliance, growing ſoon weary of entertaining a gueſt who could bring him no advantage, and was very chargeable to him, ordered him to be cut off; but *Antiochus* being informed of his deſign, eſcaped the danger by a ſpeedy retreat into *Egypt*, chuſing rather to put himſelf into the hands of *Ptolemy*, a profeſſed enemy to his family, than to truſt a brother whom he had ſo highly offended. He had ſoon reaſon to repent of this reſolution; for, immediately after his arrival, *Ptolemy* cauſed him to be ſeized, and kept him cloſely confined for ſeveral years, till at laſt, by the aſſiſtc ance of a courteſan, he made his eſcape; but, as he was retiring out of that kingdom, he had the misfortune to fall in with a band of robbers, by whom he was murdered [k]. *Death of* Antiochus.

Seleucus being now extricated out of the troubles his brother had created him, applied himſelf firſt to the eſtabliſhing of good order and tranquility at home; and having repaired the diſorders occaſioned by the war, he turned his thoughts to the reduction of the eaſtern provinces which had revolted from him; but in this attempt he was attended with bad ſucceſs. *Arſaces*, having been allowed too much time to ſtrengthen himſelf in his uſurpations, obliged him to return with ſhame and diſhonour. He might perhaps have ſucceeded better, if he had made a longer ſtay in d thoſe parts; but new commotions ariſing at home in his abſence, he thought it adviſeable to make a ſpeedy return to ſuppreſs them. *Arſaces* did not fail to improve this farther reſpite to his advantage, eſtabliſhing his power ſo effectually, that all future efforts of the *Syrian* kings could never ſhake it [l].

HOWEVER *Seleucus*, as ſoon as he was at leiſure from his other affairs, undertook a ſecond expedition againſt the uſurper, which proved more unſucceſsful than the former; for he was not only overthrown by *Arſaces* in a great battle, but taken priſoner. The day on which *Arſaces* gained this victory, was, for many ſucceeding ages, obſerved annually by the *Parthians* with great ſolemnity, as being, in their opinion, the firſt day of their liberty; whereas it was in reality the firſt of their e ſlavery; for the world never produced greater tyrants than the *Parthian* kings, under whoſe deſpotical government they thenceforth continued. From this time *Arſaces* took upon him the title of king, having founded, and by this victory firmly eſtabliſhed an empire in the eaſt, which, in proceſs of time, counterbalanced the overgrown power of the *Romans* in the weſt [m]. *Seleucus* having, for the ſpace of four years, continued priſoner in *Parthia*, died in that country, by a fall from his horſe. *Athenæus* tells us, that *Arſaces* treated him during his confinement as a king [n]; but that he reſtored him to his liberty and kingdom, as ſome will have it, does not appear from ancient records. *Juſtin* ſays in expreſs words, that he died in the manner we have related, being then an exile, which cannot be otherwiſe underſtood than f that he died out of his own dominions, being held in captivity by the *Parthian* king. He died, according to ſome, in the twentieth, according to others, in the twenty-firſt year of his reign, leaving behind him by his wife *Laodice*, the ſiſter of *Andromachus* one of his chief generals, two ſons and a daughter. The ſons were *Seleucus* and *Antiochus*. The daughter he married to *Mithridates* king of *Pontus*, yielding *Phrygia* to him for her dowry [o]. He was ſurnamed *Pogon* from his long beard, and ironically *Callinicus*, or the *victorious*, being very unfortunate, and generally conquered in the battles he fought; however, ſome writers tell us, that the ſurname of *Callinicus* was given him after the victory which he gained over his brother *Antiochus*. Seleucus *defeated, and taken priſoner by* Arſaces. *Dies in captivity.* *Year after the flood* 2772. *Year before Chriſt* 227.

[h] MACCAB. xviii. 20. [i] JUSTIN. l. xxv. c. 2. [k] JUSTIN. POLYÆN. ibid. [l] JUSTIN. l. xli. c. 4.
[m] JUSTIN. l. xli. c. 5. ATHEN. l. iv. c. 13. [n] ATHEN. l. iv. c. 13. [o] JUSTIN. l. xxvii. c. 3.

a proper meaſures in ſo delicate a conjuncture; for he had great reaſon to apprehend a general revolt of the provinces. Every one being deſired to deliver his opinion freely, *Epigenes* ſpoke firſt, and declared, That they had no time to loſe; that it was abſolutely neceſſary the king ſhould, without delay, march in perſon againſt the rebels; that his authority on the ſpot would be of great weight; and that *Molo* and his followers would not have the aſſurance to perſiſt in their rebellion, ſeeing the king himſelf at the head of his army; or, ſhould they continue obſtinate, the ſoldiers themſelves would mutiny, return to their duty, and deliver up their leaders to the king. *Epigenes* had hardly delivered his opinion, when *Hermias*, in a violent paſſion, replied, That this was not the firſt treacherous advice he had given; that he had long harboured evil deſigns againſt the king; that however he was now
b pleaſed to hear him openly declaring his bad intentions in the pernicious counſel he had given, wherein he plainly ſhewed his deſign of betraying the king into the hands of the rebels. He ſaid no more then on that ſubject, being content to have thus ſown the ſeeds of ſuſpicion againſt him. The real motive of his oppoſing the opinion of *Epigenes*, was his being afraid to venture upon that expedition. As *Ptolemy Philopator*, who had ſucceeded his father *Ptolemy Euergetes* in the kingdom of *Egypt*, was a moſt vicious and effeminate prince, he thought him a much leſs formidable enemy, and therefore adviſed the king to march in perſon againſt him, and attempt the recovery of *Syria*. He thought there would be no danger in invading a prince, who was wholly immerſed in pleaſures of all kinds. The opinion of *Hermias*
c prevailing, *Antiochus* marched in perſon into *Cœle-Syria* with one part of his army, and ſent *Zeno* and *Theodotus*, two of his generals, with the other, to ſuppreſs the rebellion in the eaſt [q]. Being arrived, on his march towards *Cœle-Syria*, at *Seleucia* near *Zeugma*, he there found *Laodice* daughter to *Mithridates* king of *Pontus*, who had been ſome time betrothed to him. He made ſome ſtay there to ſolemnize the nuptials; but the joy of his marriage was ſoon interrupted with bad news from the eaſt; for his generals there being overpowered by the joint forces of *Molo* and *Alexander*, had been forced to retire, and leave them maſters of the field. *Antiochus* then ſaw the error he had committed in not following the advice of *Epigenes*, and was for laying aſide his expedition into *Cœle-Syria*, in order to march directly with
d all his forces into the eaſt, and there cruſh the rebellion before it gathered greater ſtrength; but *Hermias* perſiſting in his former opinion, and telling the king, that it became kings to march in perſon againſt kings, and to ſend their lieutenants againſt rebels, *Antiochus* was ſo weak as to acquieſce again in the opinion of *Hermias*, and ſending another army into the eaſt, to proceed in his intended expedition into *Cœle-Syria*. The general who commanded this army was one *Xenætas* an *Achæan*. His commiſſion was to join the forces which were there before under the two generals, and take upon him the command of the whole army. He had never before commanded in chief, and his only merit was his being the prime miniſter's friend and creature. Being thus raiſed to a poſt which he never expected, he behaved with
e great haughtineſs towards the other officers, and, by his inſolent behaviour, incurred the hatred of the ſoldiery. The ſucceſs was ſuch as might be expected from ſo bad a choice; in croſſing the *Tigris* he fell into an ambuſcade, and was cut off with his whole army. This victory opened to the rebels the province of *Babylonia*, and all *Meſopotamia*, of which they made themſelves maſters without the leaſt oppoſition [r].

The rebels defeat the troops ſent againſt them.

In the mean time *Antiochus* having advanced into *Cœle-Syria* as far as the valley which lies between the two ridges of mountains called *Libanus* and *Antilibanus*, found the paſſes there ſo well fortified and guarded by *Theodotus* the *Ætolian*, whom *Ptolemy* had intruſted with the government of this province, that he was obliged to
f march back, without attempting to make any farther progreſs that way. The bad news, which he had by this time received, of the defeat of his troops alſo haſtened his retreat; being therefore now reſolved to lay aſide the *Syrian* enterprize, he turned his thoughts wholly on the war with the rebels; wherefore aſſembling his council once more to deliberate about it, and requiring every one to deliver their real opinion, *Epigenes* again ſpoke the firſt, ſaying, That it had been well for the king's ſervice if they had followed his firſt advice without any delay or loſs of time; for, in that caſe, the enemy would not have had time to ſtrengthen himſelf in the

Antiochus *diſappointed in his attempt upon* Cœle-Syria.

[q] Polyb. l. v. p. 387, 388, 389. Justin. l. xxx. c. 1. [r] Polyb. ubi ſupra. p. 390, 391, 392, 393, &c.

pro-

Seleucus, the eldeſt of the two ſons, ſucceeded to his father's throne, and aſſumed a
the ſurname of *Ceraunus*, or the *Thunderer*, a name which noways ſuited his cha-
racter; for he was a very weak prince, both in body and mind, and never did
any thing worthy of that name. He reigned but three years, and, during that time,
had no great authority either in the army or the provinces; nay, he would have loſt
it intirely, had not *Achæus* the ſon of *Andromachus* his mother's brother, who was a
man of great courage and abilities, managed his affairs, as well as the bad ſtate
which his father's ill conduct had brought them into would admit. As for *Andro-
machus*, he was taken priſoner by *Ptolemy* in his wars with *Callinicus*, and kept
in *Alexandria* all this reign, and ſome part of the next, till the *Rhodians*, to ingra-
tiate themſelves with *Achæus*, obtained his liberty. *Attalus* king of *Pergamus* hav- b
ing made himſelf maſter of all *Aſia Minor*, from mount *Taurus* to the *Helleſpont*, *Se-
leucus* marched againſt him, leaving *Hermias* a *Carian* regent of *Syria* in his abſence.
Achæus attended him in this expedition, and ſerved him in it as well as the ſhattered
ſtate of his affairs would allow; but money being wanting to pay the army, and the
king, on account of his weakneſs, deſpiſed by the ſoldiery, *Nicator* and *Apaturius*,
Seleucus Ceraunus *poiſoned* two of the chief officers, formed a conſpiracy againſt him, and, by poiſon, put an
end to his life; but *Achæus*, who was then in the army, revenged his death, by cut-
ting off the two ringleaders, and all thoſe who were any ways concerned in the plot.
After this he managed the army with ſuch prudence, addreſs and reſolution, that he
not only kept all in order, but alſo prevented *Attalus* from reaping any advantage c
from this accident, which, had it not been for his prudent conduct, would have been
attended with the loſs of *Syria*. *Seleucus* dying without children, the army offered the
crown to *Achæus*; and ſeveral of the provinces did the ſame: But he then generouſly
refuſed it, tho' he afterwards judged it neceſſary, for his own ſafety, to act in a different
manner. In the preſent conjuncture, inſtead of accepting the crown, he preſerved
it with great integrity for the lawful heir, *Antiochus*, the brother of the deceaſed
king, who was but in the fifteenth year of his age. When *Seleucus* ſet out for *Aſia
Minor*, he ſent him to *Babylonia* to be educated there; and in that city he was when
Antiochus the Great *aſcends the throne of* Syria. *Year of the flood* 2775. *Before Chriſt* 224. his brother died. He now was ſent for to *Antioch*, where he aſcended the throne
after his brother, and reigned thirty-ſix years. This prince was afterwards, for his d
illuſtrious actions, ſurnamed *the Great*. *Achæus*, the better to ſecure him in the poſ-
ſeſſion of the empire, ſent a detachment of the army to him in *Syria*, under the com-
mand of *Epigenes*, one of the late king's moſt experienced generals. The reſt of the
army he kept with him in *Aſia Minor*, to ſupport the *Syrian* intereſt in thoſe
parts [P].

Antiochus, ſeeing himſelf ſeated on the throne, ſent *Molo* and *Alexander*, two bro-
thers, into the eaſt, appointing the former governor of *Media*, and the latter of *Perſia*.
All the provinces of *Aſia Minor* he committed to the charge of *Achæus*. *Epigenes* had
the command of the troops which the king kept about him; and *Hermias* the *Carian*
was declared prime miniſter, which ſtation he had held under the deceaſed king. e
Achæus ſoon recovered all the countries which *Attalus* had wreſted from the *Syrian*
empire, and confined him within the limits of his own kingdom of *Pergamus*; but
Alexander *and* Molo, *two of his generals, revolt.* *Alexander* and *Molo*, deſpiſing the young king, were no ſooner fixed in their govern-
ments, but they refuſed to acknowledge his authority, and ſet up for themſelves
in their reſpective diſtricts. They hoped that *Achæus* would join them; but,
above all things, apprehended the cruelty and malice of *Hermias*, who bore a great
ſway at court, and therefore choſe rather to withdraw their obedience to the king
than obey ſo wicked a miniſter, againſt whoſe malice no man was ſafe. This *Her-
mias* was of a moſt ſavage diſpoſition, puniſhed the leaſt faults with the utmoſt rigor,
and being himſelf a man of little genius, and no merit, could not endure either merit f
or abilities in others. He was haughty, envious, full of himſelf, and ſo tenacious of
his own opinion, that he thought it highly diſhonourable either to ask or follow the
advice of another. He ſuſpected all thoſe who had any truſt, or ſhare in the king's
eſteem; but the chief object of his jealouſy and ſuſpicion was *Epigenes*, who had the
reputation of being one of the ableſt generals of his time, and in whom the troops
repoſed an intire confidence. It was this reputation that gave the prime miniſter
umbrage, and he could not conceal the ill-will he bore him. News being brought
of the revolt of *Molo* and *Alexander*, *Antiochus* aſſembled his council to deliberate on

[P] POLYB. l. iv. p. 315. APPIAN. in Syriac. HIERON. in Daniel. c. 11. JUSTIN. l. xxix. c. 1.

proper

a proper meaſures in ſo delicate a conjuncture; for he had great reaſon to apprehend a general revolt of the provinces. Every one being deſired to deliver his opinion freely, *Epigenes* ſpoke firſt, and declared, That they had no time to loſe; that it was abſolutely neceſſary the king ſhould, without delay, march in perſon againſt the rebels; that his authority on the ſpot would be of great weight; and that *Molo* and his followers would not have the aſſurance to perſiſt in their rebellion, ſeeing the king himſelf at the head of his army; or, ſhould they continue obſtinate, the ſoldiers themſelves would mutiny, return to their duty, and deliver up their leaders to the king. *Epigenes* had hardly delivered his opinion, when *Hermias*, in a violent paſſion, replied, That this was not the firſt treacherous advice he had given; that he had long harboured evil deſigns againſt the king; that however he was now
b pleaſed to hear him openly declaring his bad intentions in the pernicious counſel he had given, wherein he plainly ſhewed his deſign of betraying the king into the hands of the rebels. He ſaid no more then on that ſubject, being content to have thus ſown the ſeeds of ſuſpicion againſt him. The real motive of his oppoſing the opinion of *Epigenes*, was his being afraid to venture upon that expedition. As *Ptolemy Philopator*, who had ſucceeded his father *Ptolemy Euergetes* in the kingdom of *Egypt*, was a moſt vicious and effeminate prince, he thought him a much leſs formidable enemy, and therefore adviſed the king to march in perſon againſt him, and attempt the recovery of *Syria*. He thought there would be no danger in invading a prince, who was wholly immerſed in pleaſures of all kinds. The opinion of *Hermias*
c prevailing, *Antiochus* marched in perſon into *Cœle-Syria* with one part of his army, and ſent *Zeno* and *Theodotus*, two of his generals, with the other, to ſuppreſs the rebellion in the eaſt [q]. Being arrived, on his march towards *Cœle-Syria*, at *Seleucia* near *Zeugma*, he there found *Laodice* daughter to *Mithridates* king of *Pontus*, who had been ſome time betrothed to him. He made ſome ſtay there to ſolemnize the nuptials; but the joy of his marriage was ſoon interrupted with bad news from the eaſt; for his generals there being overpowered by the joint forces of *Molo* and *Alexander*, had been forced to retire, and leave them maſters of the field. *Antiochus* then ſaw the error he had committed in not following the advice of *Epigenes*, and was for laying aſide his expedition into *Cœle-Syria*, in order to march directly with
d all his forces into the eaſt, and there cruſh the rebellion before it gathered greater ſtrength; but *Hermias* perſiſting in his former opinion, and telling the king, that it became kings to march in perſon againſt kings, and to ſend their lieutenants againſt rebels, *Antiochus* was ſo weak as to acquieſce again in the opinion of *Hermias*, and ſending another army into the eaſt, to proceed in his intended expedition into *Cœle-Syria*. The general who commanded this army was one *Xenætas* an *Achæan*. His commiſſion was to join the forces which were there before under the two generals, and take upon him the command of the whole army. He had never before commanded in chief, and his only merit was his being the prime miniſter's friend and creature. Being thus raiſed to a poſt which he never expected, he behaved with
e great haughtineſs towards the other officers, and, by his inſolent behaviour, incurred the hatred of the ſoldiery. The ſucceſs was ſuch as might be expected from ſo bad a choice; in croſſing the *Tigris* he fell into an ambuſcade, and was cut off with his whole army. This victory opened to the rebels the province of *Babylonia*, and all *Meſopotamia*, of which they made themſelves maſters without the leaſt oppoſition [r].

The rebels defeat the troops ſent againſt them.

In the mean time *Antiochus* having advanced into *Cœle-Syria* as far as the valley which lies between the two ridges of mountains called *Libanus* and *Antilibanus*, found the paſſes there ſo well fortified and guarded by *Theodotus* the *Ætolian*, whom *Ptolemy* had intruſted with the government of this province, that he was obliged to
f march back, without attempting to make any farther progreſs that way. The bad news, which he had by this time received, of the defeat of his troops alſo haſtened his retreat; being therefore now reſolved to lay aſide the *Syrian* enterprize, he turned his thoughts wholly on the war with the rebels; wherefore aſſembling his council once more to deliberate about it, and requiring every one to deliver their real opinion, *Epigenes* again ſpoke the firſt, ſaying, That it had been well for the king's ſervice if they had followed his firſt advice without any delay or loſs of time; for, in that caſe, the enemy would not have had time to ſtrengthen himſelf in the

Antiochus *diſappointed in his attempt upon* Cœle-Syria.

[q] Polyb. l. v. p. 387, 388, 389. Justin. l. xxx. c. 1. [r] Polyb. ubi ſupra, p. 390, 391, 392, 393, &c.

pro-

provinces which he had uſurped; that he was ſtill of the ſame opinion, *viz.* that the king ſhould deſiſt from any other enterprize, and march without delay in perſon againſt the rebels. *Hermias* fancying himſelf affronted by the ſpeech of *Epigenes*, began to exclaim againſt him, and renew the ancient charge, as if he deſigned to deliver up the king to the rebels. He conjured the prince not to quit the enterprize of *Cœle-Syria*, ſince the abandoning of it would be aſcribed to fickleneſs and inconſtancy, a character which noways ſuited a prince of his wiſdom and knowledge; but notwithſtanding all he could ſay, the advice of *Epigenes* prevailing in the council, the king reſolved to put off his march into *Syria*, and head his army in perſon againſt his rebellious ſubjects. *Hermias* finding that all oppoſition would be vain, became all on a ſudden quite another man, ſeeming the moſt ſanguine of them all in haſtening the execution of what he had hitherto oppoſed with incredible warmth. Accordingly the troops were, with the utmoſt expedition, aſſembled at *Apamea*; but, before they began their march, a ſedition broke out in the army about the ſoldiers arrears. This unlucky accident threw the king into the utmoſt conſternation, and filled him with the deepeſt melancholy; which *Hermias* perceiving, offered to ſatisfy the army out of his private fortune, provided he would not take *Epigenes* with him in this expedition, pretending, that the quarrel which had happened between them, would be the occaſion of new diſputes, and greatly hinder him in the management of his affairs. His view in this was to leſſen, by abſence, the eſteem and affection which *Antiochus* had ſhewn on all occaſions for *Epigenes*, men being apt to forget, and eſpecially princes, the ſervices of ſuch as are removed out of their ſight. This propoſal gave the king great uneaſineſs, he being very ſenſible how much he wanted the preſence of ſuch a general as *Epigenes*, who was not only an experienced commander, but an able counſellor; but as *Hermias* had a great aſcendant over him, and had likewiſe gained thoſe about him, he was not maſter of his own reſolutions: Wherefore yielding to the preſent neceſſity, he complied with the requeſt of *Hermias*, and ordered *Epigenes* to remain at *Apamea*. This incident alarmed the other officers, who were apprehenſive of meeting with the ſame fate; but the common ſoldiers having received all their arrears, expreſſed great obligations to *Hermias*, by whoſe means they had been ſatisfied [s].

Reſolves to march in perſon againſt the rebels.

Hermias having thus gained the good-will of the ſoldiery, ſet out with *Antiochus* and the army, after having charged *Alexis* governor of the citadel of *Apamea*, a man intirely at his devotion, to deſtroy, under ſome plauſible pretence, *Epigenes* during the king's abſence. *Alexis*, purſuant to his orders, having, by the promiſe of a great reward, bribed one of the domeſtics of *Epigenes*, gave him a letter, with orders to lay it among his maſter's papers. This was a forged letter from *Molo*, wherein he thanked *Epigenes* for forming a conſpiracy againſt the king, and pointed out to him by what methods he might ſafely put it in execution. Some days after *Alexis* went to *Epigenes*, and asked him, whether he had not received a letter from *Molo*. *Epigenes* replied with the greateſt indignation, that he had no intercourſe with rebels; but *Alexis* acquainting him that he had orders to look into his papers, entered his lodgings by force, and a ſearch being made, the forged letter was found; whereupon *Epigenes*, without being tried, or even heard, was immediately put to death. The king, at the bare ſight of the letter, approved of his death, and greatly commended the zeal of *Alexis*; but the great men of the court underſtood the whole matter, tho' none of them dared to undeceive their maſter, being awed into ſilence by the great power of the miniſter [t].

Epigenes *treacherouſly murdered.*

IN the mean time *Antiochus* arriving with his army at the *Euphrates*, joined the troops he found there, and purſuing his march, came to *Antioch* in *Mygdonia* (R), where

[s] POLYB. ubi ſupra.

[t] POLYB. l. v. 393, 394.

(R) *Antioch* of *Mygdonia* ſtood in the north part of *Meſopotamia*. St. *Jerom* carries the antiquity of it as high as *Nimrod*. It was as conſiderable for the number of its inhabitants as its great extent. The *Syro-Macedonians*, when they became maſters of *Meſopotamia*, gave this city the name of *Antioch* in *Mygdonia*, to diſtinguiſh it from the capital of *Syria*. Before that time it was called *Niſibis*, or, as we find it wrote on ſome ancient medals, *Neſebe*. It ſerved as a barrier againſt the incurſions of the *Parthians* and *Perſians* down to the time of the emperor *Julian*, who, by a ſhameful treaty, gave it up to the latter. Some modern writers, by miſtake, place it on the *Tigris*; but it is plain, both from *Polybius* and the emperor *Julian*'s firſt oration, that it ſtood on the river *Mygdonius*, which ſprings from mount *Maſius* between the *Tigris* and the *Euphrates*, and running from north to ſouth, diſcharges itſelf into the latter of theſe rivers. The *Mygdonius* divides *Mygdonia*, which is a ſmall province of *Meſopotamia*, into two unequal parts. *Pliny* is of opinion, that this country was originally peopled by a colony of

a where, as the year was now far ſpent, he put his troops into winter quarters, propoſing to open the campaign very early next ſpring. As ſoon as the ſeaſon allowed him to take the field, having aſſembled his troops, he advanced to *Liba* (S), and there ſummoned a council to deliberate with his officers what courſe was beſt to take to find out *Molo*, and by what means they might ſupply the army with proviſions in their march, *Molo* being maſter of all the country about *Babylonia*. *Hermias* propoſed to keep along the *Tigris*, by which means, ſaid he, we ſhall have the benefit of that and two other rivers, the *Lycus* and the *Capros* (T), to cover our camp. Such danger there was in following this advice, that *Zeuxes*, tho' he had the fate of *Epigenes* before his eyes, could not help oppoſing it, and ſhewing the great difficul-
b ties they ſhould meet with in holding their march along the river. He urged ſeveral reaſons, chiefly, that after a long and tedious march through a continued deſart, they ſhould come to a place called the *King's ditch*, which, if it ſhould happen to be poſſeſſed by the enemy, would put a ſtop to their further progreſs, and oblige them to return by the ſame deſert, where they ſhould be in great want of all things. On the other hand, he made it appear, that in caſe they paſſed the *Tigris*, they ſhould be well ſupplied with proviſions; and beſides, that it was more than probable, that thoſe of the country of *Apollonia* would return to their duty, ſince it was very plain, that out of neceſſity, and not by inclination, they had declared for *Molo*. He added, that when *Molo* ſhould ſee his paſſage back into *Media* cut off, and find himſelf
c ſtraitened for want of proviſions, he would be conſtrained, either to venture a battle, or to ſee himſelf abandoned by his troops [u]. The advice of *Zeuxes* was approved of, and accordingly the army being divided into three bodies, paſſed the *Tigris* in three different places, and purſued their march to *Dura* (U), which was at that time beſieged by one of *Molo*'s officers, who, on their approach, raiſed the ſiege, and retired. From *Dura* they advanced to *Oricum*, and from thence to *Apollonia*. *Molo* being informed of the king's arrival, marched with all poſſible expedition to the mountains of *Apollonia*; but, before he reached them, was overtaken by the king, who encamped over-againſt him. *Molo* apprehending it dangerous for rebels to march againſt their prince in broad day, and give him battle, reſolved to fall on
d *Antiochus* in the night, and accordingly putting himſelf at the head of a body of choſen troops, he marched, by private ways, towards the neighbouring mountains, with a deſign to fall on the enemy's camp from thoſe eminencies; but his ſoldiers deſerting in troops to the king, he thought it adviſeable to return by break of day to his camp. In the mean time the king being reſolved to venture an engagement, drew out his forces, and advanced in battalia to the enemy's trenches. *Molo* likewiſe, at the approach of the king, marched out in good order to meet him. Both armies engaged with the utmoſt fury; but a body of choſen men, which *Molo* had placed on his left to make head againſt the king, going over to him, that wing was
e ſoon put in diſorder, and obliged to retire. Hereupon *Molo*, after having attempted ſeveral times in vain to lead them back to the charge, was obliged to retire with them; but being cloſely purſued by the king, and fearing to fall alive into his hands, out of deſpair killed himſelf, as did many of his accomplices; ſo that the king gained a complete victory without any conſiderable loſs. *Neolaus* or *Nicolas*, the brother of *Molo*, eſcaping from the battle, fled to *Alexander*, another of their brothers, who was then in *Perſia*, and carried him the bad news of the death and defeat of their brother. Theſe two finding their affairs quite deſperate, firſt killed their mother, afterwards their wives and children, and laſtly diſpatched themſelves, to prevent their falling into the hands of the conqueror. After the king had pillaged the camp,

Molo *being overcome, lays violent hands on himſelf.*

[u] Idem ibid. p. 395.

of the *Mygdonians* in *Macedon*. *Antioch* of *Mygdonia* ſtill retains its moſt ancient name, being called by the people of the eaſt *Naſſibin*, which is plainly a corruption of *Naſibis*.

(S) *Liba* was a chief city of *Carmania*, a province lying beyond *Perſia*, and bounded by *Parthia* on the north, by *Gedroſia* on the eaſt, and by the *Perſian* and *Indian* ſeas on the ſouth. The city of *Liba* ſtood near the confines of *Gedroſia*.

(T) The *Lycus* and *Capros* were two rivers of *Aſſyria*, properly ſo called, running between the cities of *Ninus* and *Seleucia*, and diſcharging themſelves into the *Tigris*. They were ſo called by the *Greeks*, as *Strabo* (38) and *Pliny* (39) inform us, from two rivers of the ſame name in *Phrygia*.

(U) *Dura* was a city in the province of *Aſſyria*, called by *Ptolemy Apolloniatis*, no doubt from the city of *Apollonia* its metropolis. Some writers place *Dura* in *Meſopotamia*.

(38) *Strabo. l.* xii. *in fine.* (39) *Plin. l.* v. *c.* 29.

he ordered *Molo*'s body to be fixed on a croſs, and placed on one of the higheſt moun- a
tains of *Media*; which was done accordingly, the body being carried into the country of the *Chalonitidi* (W), and there placed on a croſs on the moſt conſpicuous part of mount *Zagra*. Such was the end of this rebellion, which proved the ruin of all who had engaged in it. After this victory, the remains of the conquered army ſubmitted to the king, who, after having ſeverely reproved them, granted them his pardon, ordering them into *Media*, under the command of thoſe he ſent to regulate the affairs of that province. He then returned to *Seleucia* on the *Tigris*, and having ſpent ſome time there in re-eſtabliſhing his authority in the provinces which had revolted, and ſettling all things on their former foot, he reſolved to attack the *Barbarians* bordering on his dominions, in order to deter them for the future from taking part b
with his rebellious ſubjects, or entering into alliance with them. He propoſed to begin with *Artabazanes* king of the *Atropatii* (X) and other neighbouring nations, and by far the moſt powerful of all thoſe princes. *Hermias* was at firſt very unwilling to engage in this war, in regard of the danger that attended it, and becauſe he was ſtill bent on the recovery of *Cœle-Syria*; but on the news of the queen's being brought to bed of a ſon, he changed his mind, and warmly promoted a war with the *Barbarians*, in hopes that the king might loſe his life in that dangerous expedition, in which caſe the regency and tuition of the infant prince would fall to his ſhare. All things therefore being got ready for this invaſion, the army marched over the mountain *Zagra*, and entered the country of the *Atropatii*. *Artabazanes* c
their king being then very old, and greatly terrified at the approach of the king at the head of a victorious army, made his ſubmiſſion, and concluded a peace on ſuch terms as *Antiochus* thought proper to impoſe [w].

BY this time *Hermias*, through his inſolent and haughty behaviour, growing intolerable to his maſter, as well as to his fellow ſubjects, *Apollophanes* the king's phyſician, in whom he repoſed great confidence, and who, by his employment, had free acceſs to him, took a proper time to repreſent to him the general diſcontent of his ſubjects, and the danger he himſelf was in from his ambitious and wicked miniſter; he therefore adviſed him to take care of himſelf, leſt the ſame fate ſhould attend him which his brother had met with in *Phrygia*, he having fallen a victim to the am- d
bition of thoſe on whom he moſt relied. He added, that it was plain to every one, that *Hermias* was hatching ſome wicked deſign, and that no time was to be loſt in the preventing of it. *Antiochus*, as we have already obſerved, had begun to entertain ſome ſuſpicions of his chief miniſter, but had ſuppreſſed them, not knowing whom to truſt, tho' ſurrounded with courtiers whom he had loaded with favours. He was therefore extremely well pleaſed that his phyſician had given him this advice, and after having commended him for the care he ſhewed for his ſafety, and his reſolution in opening ſo frankly his thoughts, immediately entered on meaſures with him for the ridding himſelf of a miniſter who was ſo univerſally deteſted, and
Hermias *put to death by the king's order.* whoſe attempts were ſo much to be dreaded. Accordingly, the very next morning, e
the king, under pretence of taking the air, walked out of the camp, and *Hermias* not failing to attend him, as he uſually did, when they came to a ſolitary place where none of the miniſter's creatures could lend him any aſſiſtance, the king ſtepping aſide as on ſome neceſſary occaſion, thoſe who attended him falling upon *Hermias*, as it had been agreed on before-hand, put him to death, to the great ſatisfaction of all the provinces of the *Syrian* empire. He had governed, not only the kingdom, but the king himſelf, with great haughtineſs, treating him on ſeveral occaſions in a

[w] Idem ibid. p. 398—400.

(W) *Chalontidis* was the moſt ſouthern province of *Aſſyria*, ſo called, according to *Iſidorus Characenus* (40), from the city of *Chala* its metropolis, and divided from *Media* by mount *Zagrus* or *Zagra*, the higheſt in the whole country.

(X) *Atropatia* was a part of *Media*; for *Strabo* (41) divides all *Media* into two parts; the one he calls *Media Magna*, and the other *Media Atropatia* and *Atropatane* (42). It borrowed this name from one *Atropatus*, who being governor of that province for the king of *Perſia* in *Alexander*'s time, defended it againſt that conqueror, and, upon the downfal of the *Perſian* empire, ſeized it for himſelf, and tranſmitted it to his poſterity. *Artabazanes* was one of his deſcendants, and another of the ſame race reigned in *Strabo*'s time, the kingdom being held even then by the ſame family. This country, according to *Polybius* (43), extended on one ſide as far as the *Pontus Euxinus*, and on the other to the *Caſpian* ſea, was plentifully ſtored with all ſorts of proviſion, and its inhabitants were deemed good ſoldiers.

(40) *Iſidor. Charac. p. 5.* (41) *Strabo. l.* xi. *p.* 360. (42) *Idem ibid. p.* 363. (43) *Polyb. l.* v. *p.* 402.

very

a very inſolent manner; and whoever of the ſubjects dared to oppoſe his ſentiments or deſigns, was ſure to fall a ſacrifice to his reſentment, which drew on him an univerſal hatred; but no where was there a more ſignal inſtance of it than at *Apamea* in *Syria*, for there they no ſooner heard of his death, than the whole city roſe with the utmoſt fury, and the women falling upon his wife and children, ſtoned them to death [x].

Antiochus having now happily re-eſtabliſhed his affairs in the eaſt, and raiſed to the government of thoſe provinces perſons of merit, in whom he could repoſe the greateſt confidence, marched back into *Syria*, and putting his army into winter-quarters, ſpent the remaining part of the year in conſulting with his miniſters and
b officers about the operations of the enſuing campaign; for he had two other very dangerous enterprizes to put in execution for the reſtoring of the *Syrian* empire to its former ſplendor; one was againſt *Ptolemy*, for the recovery of *Cœle-Syria*, and the other againſt *Achæus*, who had uſurped the ſovereignty of *Aſia Minor*; for *Ptolemy Euergetes* having ſeized on all *Syria* in the beginning of the reign of *Seleucus Callinicus*, as we have related above, a great part of it was ſtill held by his ſucceſſor *Ptolemy Philopator*. And as to *Achæus*, we have already obſerved how he refuſed the crown that was offered him on the death of *Seleucus Callinicus*, and with great fidelity put it on the head of *Antiochus* the lawful heir, who, to reward his zeal and ſervices, appointed him governor of all the provinces of *Aſia Minor*. In this ſtation he wreſted
c from *Attalus* king of *Pergamus* all the countries in *Aſia* which he had ſeized, and annexed them again to the crown of *Syria*. The ſucceſs that attended him on this occaſion drew on him the envy of the prime miniſter, and others, who had the king's ear at court; and therefore, reſolutions being taken to ruin him, forged letters were produced to prove, that he entertained treacherous deſigns againſt his prince, and held a correſpondence with *Ptolemy*. *Achæus* having notice of what was plotting againſt him at court, thought that he had no other way to ſecure himſelf againſt the evil deſigns of his enemies than by doing what he was charged with, and accordingly, in his own defence, taking the crown, which he had before refuſed, he cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed king of *Aſia*, and was crowned at *Laodicea* in *Phrygia*, aſſuming
d ever after the regal title in all his letters to the cities of *Aſia*, and obliging them to give it him in all their addreſſes [y]. Theſe were the two dangerous wars *Antiochus* had on his hands; and which of theſe he ſhould firſt undertake was the matter under debate in the king's council. Upon mature deliberation it was reſolved, firſt to reduce all the countries belonging to the *Syrian* empire on that ſide mount *Taurus*, before they marched over it againſt *Achæus*, to whom, for the preſent, they only ſent menacing meſſages. Purſuant to this ſcheme all the forces were ordered to aſſemble at *Apamea*, and hold themſelves in a readineſs to march into *Cœle-Syria*. Before they ſet out, a council of all the chief officers was aſſembled, to conſult about the firſt operations of the campaign, when *Apollophanes*, the king's phyſician, repreſented, that the deſign
e on *Cœle-Syria* was vain, and would prove an unprofitable expedition while they left *Ptolemy* in quiet poſſeſſion of *Seleucia*, a royal city, and in effect the metropolis of the kingdom; that, not to mention the diſhonour of leaving that city in the hands of an *Egyptian* king, the recovery thereof would redound greatly to the king's advantage; that, while it was held by the enemy, it would be a great hinderance to the progreſs of his arms in the enterprize he was upon; for which way ſoever he had a mind to carry his arms, he would find it neceſſary, over and above all other preparations, to ſtrengthen all his towns with numerous gariſons, merely on account of the danger which would threaten them from *Seleucia*: Whereas if *Antiochus* made the recovery of that place his firſt buſineſs, it would not only ſerve as a bulwark and frontier againſt
f the enemy, but enable him to proſecute the enterprize both by ſea and land. This city ſtood on the ſame river as *Antioch*, at the diſtance only of fifteen miles below it, near the mouth of the *Orontes*. When *Ptolemy Euergetes* invaded *Syria*, as we have related above, to ſupport the rights of his ſiſter *Berenice*, he ſeized upon that important place, and having put a ſtrong *Egyptian* gariſon into it, kept it full twenty-ſeven years. As it was the port of *Antioch*, it not only was a conſtant annoyance to the *Antiochians*, but intirely cut off their communication with the ſea, and quite ruined their trade. All which things being ſet forth by *Apollophanes*, the king and council reſolved to follow his plan, and open the campaign with the ſiege of *Seleucia* [z].

Achæus *cauſes himſelf to be proclaimed king of* Aſia.

Antiochus *reſolves on a war with* Ptolemy *king of* Egypt.

[x] Idem ibid. p. 400, 401. [y] Idem ibid. [z] Polyb. ubi ſupra. p. 405.

Accord-

Accordingly the whole army marched thither, inveſted the place, and carried it by a general aſſault, ſome of the officers, who commanded in the city, having been gained over by *Antiochus*. The king treated the inhabitants with the utmoſt humanity, and reſtored them to their ancient privileges [a]. a

Seleucia *taken.*

Antiochus being now maſter of this important place, marched with all poſſible expedition into *Cœle-Syria*, being invited thither by *Theodotus* the *Ætolian*, whom *Ptolemy* had appointed governor of that province. We have ſeen above how vigorouſly he repulſed *Antiochus* the year before; nevertheleſs the court of *Egypt* had not been ſatisfied with his conduct on that occaſion, and therefore called him to *Alexandria* to anſwer for it at the peril of his head. 'Tis true he was acquitted, and ſent back to his government; but nevertheleſs he was ſo exaſperated at the affront, that he reſolved to revenge it. b The luxury and effeminacy of the court, to which he had been an eye-witneſs while he attended his cauſe in *Alexandria*, heightened his reſentment and indignation, it being intolerable to him to depend on ſo baſe and contemptible a ſet of men: And indeed the moſt abominable debaucheries of every kind were practiſed by *Ptolemy Philopator* during his reign; and the whole court followed his example. *Theodotus* therefore could not but abhor ſo vile a conduct, and being a gallant man, reſolved to ſeek for a new maſter, who might better deſerve his ſervices. Accordingly he was no ſooner returned to his government, but he ſeized on the cities of *Tyre* and *Ptolemais*, and declaring for *Antiochus*, diſpatched a meſſenger to him, inviting him into thoſe parts. *Nicolaus*, one of *Ptolemy*'s generals, c tho' of the ſame country with *Theodotus*, would not join with him in this defection; but ſtill adhering to *Ptolemy*, according to his firſt engagement, marched againſt *Theodotus*, and cloſely beſieged him in the city of *Ptolemais*, which he had lately taken. *Antiochus* haſtened to his relief, but met with a vigorous reſiſtance from *Nicolaus*, who, on the news of his march, had ſeized the paſſes of mount *Libanus*. However the *Ætolian*, after a moſt gallant defence, being bore down by the ſuperior power of *Antiochus*, was at length obliged to retire; whereupon the cities of *Tyre* and *Ptolemais* were by *Theodotus* delivered into the king's hands, and with them the magazines which *Ptolemy* had prepared in thoſe two places for the ſupport of his army, and likewiſe a fleet of forty ſail which lay in the two harbours. d The ſhips he delivered to *Diognetus* his admiral, ordering him to ſail to *Peluſium*, whither he himſelf intended to march by land, with a view to invade *Egypt* on that ſide; but being informed, that at that time of the year the inhabitants uſed to cut down the banks of the *Nile*, and lay the whole country under water, and conſequently that the invading of *Egypt* was at that ſeaſon impracticable, he abandoned this project, and employed all his forces in reducing the reſt of *Cœle-Syria*. Some places ſurrendered of their own accord, others were taken by force, and *Damaſcus* itſelf, the capital of that province, fell into his hands by a ſtratagem with which he overreached *Dinon*, who was governor of it for *Ptolemy* [b]. The laſt action of this campaign was the ſiege of *Dura*, a maritime city in the neighbourhood of mount e *Carmel*, called *Dor* in ſcripture [c]; but the place being well fortified by *Nicolaus*, and defended by a numerous gariſon, the king could not maſter it, and was therefore glad to accept of a propoſal which was offered him, of making a truce for four months with *Ptolemy*. This ſerved him as an honourable pretence to march back to *Seleucia* on the *Orontes*, where he put his army into winter-quarters, after having appointed *Theodotus* the *Ætolian* governor of all the places he had taken in this campaign [d].

Ptolemais *and* Tyre *betrayed to* Antiochus.

During this truce a treaty was ſet on foot between the contending princes, but with no other view on either ſide than to gain time, which *Ptolemy* wanted to make the neceſſary preparations for the carrying on of the war, and *Antiochus* to put a ſtop f to the conqueſts of *Achæus*; for he, not ſatisfied with *Aſia Minor*, of which he was already maſter, was making great preparations to invade *Syria*, and diſpoſſeſs *Antiochus*, if poſſible, of all his dominions. To check theſe ambitious views, it was neceſſary for the king to give over all thoughts of diſtant conqueſts.

In this treaty the main point was, to whom *Cœle-Syria*, *Phœnice*, *Samaria* and *Judæa* did belong, in virtue of the partition of *Alexander*'s empire between *Ptolemy*, *Seleucus*, *Caſſander* and *Lyſimachus*, after the death of *Antigonus*, and defeat of *Demetrius* in the battle of *Ipſus*. *Ptolemy* claimed theſe provinces, as having been,

[a] Idem. p. 406. [b] Polyæn. l. iv. c. 15. [c] Joshua xi. 2, 17, 11. Jud. i. 27, &c. [d] Polyb. ibid. p. 408.

by

a by that diviſion, allotted to *Ptolemy Soter* his great-grandfather. On the other ſide, *Antiochus* pretended, that they had been given to *Seleucus Nicator*, and were therefore his right, he being heir and ſucceſſor to that prince in the kingdom of *Syria*. The affair of *Achæus* was likewiſe a great clog to the negotiation; for *Ptolemy* inſiſted upon his being compriſed in the treaty, while *Antiochus* could not brook ſo much as to hear him named, thinking it a ſcandalous thing that *Ptolemy* ſhould entertain the leaſt thought of giving protection to one in rebellion againſt his prince [e].

Both kings prepare for war.

WHILE theſe pretenſions and conteſts were carrying on by both parties, and neither would yield to the other, the time of the truce elapſed, and nothing being concluded by the treaty, they began again to provide for the war. *Nicolaus* the b *Ætolian* had given ſuch proofs of his valour and fidelity in the laſt campaign, that *Ptolemy* appointed him commander in chief of all his forces, and committed to his care the government of the conteſted provinces. The command of the fleet was given to *Perigenes*, who was ordered to carry on the war by ſea, and ſupply *Nicolaus* with proviſions and ſuch military ſtores as he ſhould ſtand in need of. *Nicolaus* having aſſembled his forces at *Gaza*, whither all the neceſſary proviſions had been ſent from *Egypt*, marched from thence to mount *Libanus*, and ſeized on all the paſſes between that chain of mountains and the ſea, through which it was neceſſary for *Antiochus* to paſs, firmly reſolved to wait for him there, and, by the advantage of the place, obſtruct his farther progreſs that way [f].

c IN the mean time *Antiochus* was not inactive; but having made the neceſſary preparations for a vigorous invaſion, both by ſea and land, he gave the command of his fleet to *Diogenetus* his admiral, and then marched himſelf with his army by land. On his arrival at *Marathum*, the *Aradians* met him with tenders of their friendſhip and alliance; and he not only received them with great kindneſs, but compoſed, by his mediation, ſome differences of a long ſtanding between them and the neighbouring cities. From *Marathum* he continued his march into *Syria*, by that paſs which is called by *Polybius Thoû-proſopon*, arrived at *Berytus*, and advancing to *Botris*, poſſeſſed himſelf of that city, after having burnt *Trieres* and *Calamus*. From *Botris* he diſpatched *Theodotus* and *Nicarchus*, with orders to ſeize on the ſtreights which d lead to the river *Lycus*, while he himſelf purſuing his march, reached the river *Damura*, where he encamped, his fleet keeping always near him. From thence, taking with him *Nicarchus* and *Theodotus*, he advanced at the head of the light-armed troops to view the ſtreights where *Nicolaus* was poſted, and returned the ſame day to his camp. Early next morning, leaving *Nicarchus* with the command of his heavy-armed troops, he marched with the reſt to the ſtreights poſſeſſed by *Nicolaus*, and having, in ſight of the enemy, divided his army into three bodies, he ordered *Theodotus*, at the head of one, to attack the enemy's forces which were poſted on the eminences; the other he gave to *Menedemus*, enjoining him to diſlodge *Nicolaus*, who had fortified himſelf in a narrow paſs between mount *Libanus* and the ſea; the third he kept for a reſerve under the command of *Diocles*, who was to carry ſuccours where-ever they ſhould be wanted. *Antiochus* himſelf, attended only by his guards, poſted himſelf on an eminence, whence he had a fair view of all that paſſed either by ſea or land; for the two admirals, *Diognetus* and *Perigenes*, had drawn their fleets up in a line as near the ſhore as they could, that they might be ready at hand to aſſiſt their land-forces. By this means the battle by land and ſea became, as it were, one ſingle engagement. The ſignal being given, they advanced to the attack on all ſides. At ſea it was a drawn battle, their fleets being pretty equal; but at land the forces of *Antiochus* having diſlodged *Nicolaus*, that brave commander was obliged, after a moſt gallant defence, to retire to *Sidon*, whither *Perigenes* followed him with the *Egyptian* fleet. About two thouſand *Egyptians* were ſlain in the engagement, and the like number taken priſoners. The reſt, under the conduct of *Nicolaus*, who retired in good order, got ſafe into *Sidon*. *Antiochus* purſued them, with a deſign to lay ſiege to that city; but finding it well ſtored with all ſorts of proviſions, and *Nicolaus* reſolved to hold out to the laſt extremity, he altered his mind, and ſending his fleet to *Tyre*, marched with his army into *Galilee*, where he reduced the cities of *Philoteria*, *Scythopolis* and *Attabyrium*, which ſtruck ſuch terror into the inhabitants, that the whole country ſubmitted to the conqueror. From *Galilee* he croſſed the *Jordan*, and entering *Gilead*, poſſeſſed himſelf of all that country, which had been

The Egyptians *defeated by* Antiochus.

[e] Polyb. p. 409, 410, 411. [f] Idem ibid. p. 413.

formerly the inheritance of the tribes of *Reuben* and *Gad*, and the half tribe of *Manaſſeh* on that ſide the river. He afterwards marched againſt *Rabbah* of the children of *Ammon*, which *Polybius* calls *Rabath-ben-Ammon* or *Rabatamana*, which, as it was a very ſtrong and populous place, made a vigorous defence againſt the victorious army, but was at length obliged to ſubmit for want of water. As the ſeaſon was now far advanced, *Antiochus* leaving the government of *Samaria* to *Hippolochus* and *Keræas*, who had lately come over to him from *Ptolemy*, and five thouſand men to keep the country in ſubjection, marched back to *Ptolomais*, where he put his troops into winter quarters [g]. a

EARLY in the ſpring both armies again took the field. *Ptolemy*, having drawn together an army of ſeventy thouſand foot, five thouſand horſe, and ſeventy-three elephants, advanced to *Peluſium*, whence he led them in perſon through the deſarts, which part *Egypt* from *Paleſtine*, and encamped at *Raphia*, a city lying between *Rhinocorura* and *Gaza*. Here *Antiochus* met him with an army ſomewhat ſuperior to his; for he had with him ſeventy-two thouſand foot, ſix thouſand horſe, and an hundred and two elephants; he encamped firſt within ten furlongs, and afterwards within five of the enemy. While they lay thus near each other, many skirmiſhes happened between parties as they went out to forage; but without any conſiderable advantage on either ſide. Here *Theodotus* the *Ætolian*, who had ſerved many years under *Ptolemy*, gave a ſignal inſtance of his intrepidity and reſolution; for being well acquainted with the cuſtoms of the *Egyptians*, he took the advantage of a dark evening, when he could not be well known, and entering the enemy's camp with two companions, advanced as far as *Ptolemy*'s tent with a deſign to kill him, and by this bold attempt put an end to the war; but the king lying that night elſewhere, he killed his firſt phyſician, miſtaking him for *Ptolemy*, wounded two other perſons, and then, amidſt the alarm and confuſion, which this attempt occaſioned, eſcaped to his own camp. At length both kings agreed to a deciſive battle, and drew up their armies accordingly; both rode before their reſpective lines, encouraging their ſoldiers to behave manfully. *Arſinoe*, the ſiſter and wife of *Ptolemy*, not only exerted herſelf in animating the *Egyptians* before the engagement, but did not abandon her husband even in the heat of the battle, attending him in the midſt of the greateſt dangers. *Antiochus* at the head of his right wing defeated the enemy's left; but while he purſued them too far, *Ptolemy*, who had been as ſucceſsful in the other wing, charged in flank the center of *Antiochus*, which was then uncovered, and broke that body before it was poſſible for the prince to ſuccour it. An old officer of *Antiochus*'s army obſerving which way the cloud of duſt flew, concluded from thence that the main body was routed, and ſhewed it to the king, who faced about that inſtant; but came too late to retrieve his error, the reſt of his army being broke and put to flight before his arrival. Hereupon he was obliged to retreat firſt to *Raphia*, and next to *Gaza*, after ten thouſand of his men had been cut to pieces, and four thouſand taken priſoners. After this defeat *Antiochus* being no longer in a condition to make head againſt *Ptolemy*, abandoned all his conqueſts, and withdrew with the remains of his ſhattered army to *Antioch*. This battle was fought at the ſame time, according to *Polybius*, that *Hannibal* defeated *Flaminius* the *Roman* conſul at the lake of *Thraſymenus* in *Hetruria* [h]. b c d e

The battle of Raphia. *Year of the flood* 2782. *Before Chriſt* 217.

Antiochus *defeated.*

UPON the retreat of *Antiochus* the cities of *Cœle-Syria* and *Paleſtine* ſtrove, as it were, which of them ſhould firſt ſubmit to *Ptolemy*, being more inclined to him, as they had been long ſubject to the *Egyptians*, than to *Antiochus*, whom they had received after the defeat of *Nicolaus*, only becauſe they were not in a condition to oppoſe him. *Ptolemy*'s court, as ſoon as the news of this victory was ſpread abroad, was crowded with embaſſadors from all the cities of *Cœle-Syria*, and *Judæa*, making their ſubmiſſion to him, and congratulating him on his late ſucceſs. The conqueror not only received them all with great kindneſs, but reſolved to make a progreſs through all the provinces, which had ſubmitted to him; and accordingly viſited all the ſtates and cities of note, and amongſt the reſt *Jeruſalem*, where he took a view of the temple, and even offered ſacrifices to the God of *Iſrael*, making at the ſame time oblations, and beſtowing rich donatives on that holy place. But not being ſatisfied with viewing it only from the outer court, beyond which no *Gentile* was allowed to paſs, he ſhewed a great inclination to enter the ſanctuary, and even the holy of holies itſelf, to f

[g] Idem, ibid. p. 414, 415. [h] Idem, p. 424, 425. & 1. MACCAB. c. 3. v. 5, 6.

which

a which no one was allowed acceſs but the high-prieſt, and he only once a year on the day of the great expiation. This occaſioned a great uproar all over the city: the high-prieſt informed him of the holineſs of the place, and the expreſs law of God, by which he was forbid to enter it. The prieſts and levites drew together in a body to oppoſe his raſh deſign, which the people alſo conjured him to lay aſide. But this oppoſition ſerving only to inflame his curioſity, he forced in as far as the ſecond court, where, while he was preparing to enter the temple itſelf, he was ſtruck by God with ſuch terror, that he was carried off half dead. On this he left the city, highly exaſperated againſt the whole *Jewiſh* nation, on account of the accident which had befallen him, and loudly threatning to revenge it at a more proper ſeaſon [i].

b *Antiochus* no ſooner returned to *Antioch*, but he ſent embaſſadors to *Ptolemy* to ſue for a peace. What prompted him to this was his ſuſpecting the fidelity of his own people, finding on his return his authority and intereſt much leſſened by his late defeat. Beſides, it was high time for him to turn his arms againſt *Acheus*, and put a ſtop to his conqueſts. For he being already maſter of all *Aſia*, *Antiochus* foreſaw that if he gave him time to ſettle his authority in thoſe provinces, it would not be long ere he muſt expect him in *Syria*, there to puſh for the whole empire. To prevent this he thought it adviſeable to ſtrike up a peace with *Ptolemy* upon any terms, leſt having two ſuch powerful enemies to contend with at the ſame time, he might be at laſt overpowered, and ſtript of all his dominions. He therefore inveſted his embaſſadors

Concludes a peace with Ptolemy.

c with full powers to give up to *Ptolemy* all thoſe provinces which were the ſubject of their conteſt, that is, all *Cœle-Syria* and *Paleſtine*. *Cœle-Syria*, as we have hinted before, comprehended that part of *Syria*, which lies between the mountains *Libanus* and *Antilibanus*; and *Paleſtine* all the country, which was anciently the inheritance of the children of *Iſrael*; and the coaſt of theſe two provinces was what the *Greeks* called *Phœnice*. All this country *Antiochus* was willing to part with to purchaſe a peace in his preſent circumſtances, chuſing rather to give up his claim to one part of his dominions, than run the risk of loſing the whole. Accordingly a truce was agreed on for a year, and before that expired a peace concluded on the ſame terms. *Ptolemy*, who might have taken advantage of this victory, and eaſily conquered all *Syria*, was

d no leſs deſirous than *Antiochus* of putting an end to the war, that he might be again at liberty to follow his pleaſures [k].

Antiochus having thus concluded a peace with *Ptolemy*, bent all his thoughts and attention on carrying the war into *Aſia Minor* againſt *Achæus*, and having made vaſt preparations for that expedition, he croſſed mount *Taurus*, and having concluded a league with *Attalus* king of *Pergamus*, by virtue of which they were both to act with all their forces againſt the common enemy, he ſo diſtreſſed *Achæus*, that he was obliged to quit the field, and ſhut himſelf up in *Sardis*, where he was cloſely beſieged by the confederate princes. However he held out above a year in ſpite of the utmoſt efforts of two victorious armies, during which time frequent battles were

Marches againſt Achæus.

e fought under the walls, and many brave men killed on both ſides. At length the city being taken by a ſtratagem of *Ligoras*, one of *Antiochus*'s commanders (Y), *Achæus* retired into the caſtle, where he defended himſelf with incredible bravery, till he was by the treachery of two crafty *Cretans* delivered up to *Antiochus* in the

Takes Sardis.

[i] Idem, p. 426, 427. & 3. Maccab. c. 1. & 2. [k] Idem, p. 428. Justin. l. xxx. c. 1.

(Y) The caſtle, and the adjoining wall of the city, were on the top of a rock deemed inacceſſible, both hanging over a deep valley, into which dead horſes and other beaſts were uſually thrown. *Lagoras*, who was ſtationed on that ſide, obſerved that the ravens, and other rapacious birds, which haunted that valley for the food they found there, uſed to fly from thence up to the tops of the rocks, and pitch upon the walls, reſting there undiſturbed. From thence he concluded, that thoſe parts of the wall were left unguarded, as being thought inacceſſible, and acquainted *Antiochus* with what he had obſerved. Hereupon in a council of the chief officers it was reſolved that a general aſſault ſhould be made, during which *Lagoras*, with ſuch men as he thought proper for the enterprize, ſhould attempt to ſcale the rocks on that ſide, and enter the town. The ſucceſs was agreeable to what *Lagoras* had imagined; for having with great difficulty ſcaled the rocks, he entered the city on that ſide without reſiſtance, and then advancing at the head of his men into the market-place, ſtruck the inhabitants with ſuch terror, that in many places they abandoned the walls, and gave an opportunity to the reſt of *Antiochus*'s army to enter the city, and join their companions, by which means the place was reduced. In the ſame manner had *Sardis* been taken many ages before by the *Perſians* under the conduct of *Cyrus*, when *Cræſus* thought himſelf ſecure on that ſide. But the citizens had forgot what had happened ſo many ages before (44).

(44) *Polyb. l.* xvii. *p.* 506, 507.

following

following manner. *Ptolomy Philopator*, who had entered into a ſtrict alliance with *Achæus*, was much concerned to hear he was ſo cloſely blocked up in the caſtle of *Sardis*, and therefore enjoined *Soſibius* his prime miniſter to deliver him at all events from the imminent danger he was in; he added, that if he could but reſcue his perſon he cared for no more, knowing that if he only appeared in the countries about mount *Taurus*, he would ſoon have an army ſtrong enough to keep *Antiochus* employed. There being at that time in *Ptolemy*'s court a crafty *Cretan* called *Bolis*, well acquainted with the roads of that country, and the by-paths among the rocks, on which the caſtle of *Sardis* ſtood, *Soſibius* conſulted him about this matter, and asked him whether he could not think of ſome method to procure *Achæus*'s eſcape. The *Cretan* deſired time to conſider of it, and at the next conference undertook the buſineſs, and communicated to *Soſibius* in what manner he deſigned to proceed in it. He told him, that he had an intimate friend, who was alſo a near relation of his, *Cambylus* by name, a captain of the *Cretan* mercenaries in *Antiochus*'s army, and at that time commanding a fort behind the caſtle of *Sardis*; and that he would prevail with him to let *Achæus* make his eſcape that way. *Soſibius* approving of the project, ſent *Bolis* with the utmoſt expedition to *Sardis* to put it in execution, and gave him ten talents to defray his expences. At the ſame time he wrote to *Achæus* by a truſty meſſenger called *Arianus*, whom *Bolis* found means to convey into the caſtle. As the letter was wrote in characters, or rather cyphers, which none were acquainted with, ſave he and *Soſibius*, he was very well aſſured that this was no feigned device of his enemies in the name of his friends. As for the meſſenger, he was a truſty man, and one, whom *Achæus* found upon examination, heartily affected to his cauſe. But the contents of the letter, which were, that he ſhould repoſe an intire confidence in *Bolis*, and one *Cambylus*, whom *Bolis* had won over from *Antiochus*, gave him no ſmall uneaſineſs. They were both quite ſtrangers to him, and the *Cretans*, he thought, were not blindly to be relied on. However, as he could not eſcape any other way, he reſolved to follow their directions; the meſſenger therefore having often paſſed to and fro, it was at length concluded that *Bolis* himſelf ſhould come and conduct *Achæus* out of the caſtle. This being agreed on, the two treacherous *Cretans* conſulting together how to make their moſt of it, reſolved in the firſt place to ſhare equally between them the ten talents, which they had already received in hand, and then to reveal the whole matter to *Antiochus*, and on his promiſing a ſuitable reward, to turn the plot, and put *Achæus* into his hands. *Antiochus* was over-joyed when they firſt made their propoſal, and promiſed them moſt ample rewards. At length when all things were ready on both ſides, *Bolis*, *Cambylus*, and *Arianus*, went privately up into the caſtle, in order to convey from thence *Achæus* that very night. As *Achæus* was not acquainted either with *Bolis* or *Cambylus*, he had a long conference with them about the buſineſs in hand, and after having examined them on ſeveral heads, concluded that he had no reaſon to diſtruſt their fidelity or judgment. However to proceed with all poſſible caution, he told them that he deſigned to ſtay in the caſtle a little longer, and ſend in the mean time with them three or four of his friends, from whom, when he ſhould receive an account of their being ſafely got out, he would then, and not till then, venture his own perſon. Accordingly he appointed three of his friends to go that night with *Bolis* and *Cambylus*, and diſguiſing himſelf ſo as not to be known by his guides, as he had agreed with his friends before-hand, joined them when they were ready to depart. The other three were likewiſe diſguiſed, and one of them only took upon him to underſtand the *Greek* tongue, the others feigning to be *Barbarians*, leſt *Achæus* ſhould be known by his ſpeech. At length they ſet out, *Bolis* and *Cambylus* being very greatly perplexed, as not knowing whether *Achæus* was there or no. If they betrayed thoſe they were conducting into the hands of *Antiochus*, they well knew that *Achæus*, if he was not among them, would never truſt himſelf with them; if they conveyed them away, they might, for ought they knew, by that means ſave *Achæus*, and loſe the reward promiſed them by *Antiochus*. While they were under this uncertainty, *Bolis* obſerved, that where the paths among the rocks were dangerous, three of them were very officious to the other, lending him their hands to help him up or down, and taking ſuch care of him as gave *Bolis* to underſtand that he was *Achæus*. Accordingly when they came to a certain place, where *Cambylus* had poſted ſome ſoldiers that ſerved under him, *Bolis* claſping *Achæus* about the middle, gave the ſignal agreed on, and the ſoldiers ſallying out of the ambuſcade, put him in irons, and carried him to *Antiochus*, who had

a

Achæus betrayed by two Cretans.

b

c

d

e

Achæus delivered up to Antiochus.

f

a had watched all night expecting the iſſue of this affair. The king, when he ſaw *Achæus* loaded with chains, burſt out into a flood of tears, and ſeemed to be touched with compaſſion at the misfortunes of a man to whom he was indebted for his crown. But motives of ſtate prevailing over his natural tenderneſs, he cauſed him to be beheaded that very morning, and thereby put an end to the war of *Aſia*. For as ſoon as thoſe who were in the caſtle, heard of his death, they ſurrendered to *Antiochus*, and all the places in the *Aſiatic* provinces, which had declared for *Achæus*, did the ſame. Thus the king recovered his dominions in *Aſia*, and having left perſons to govern them, whom he could confide in, returned with his army to *Antioch* [l]. *Achæus put to death by* Antiochus.

Antiochus being now diſengaged from this troubleſome war, began to make the neceſ- *The expedition of* Antiochus *into* Media, Parthia, Hyrcania, *&c.*
b ſary preparations for the reducing of thoſe provinces in the eaſt, which had ſhaken off the *Syrian* yoke. As the *Parthians* had lately ſeized on *Media*, his firſt attempt was upon that province. *Arſaces*, the ſon of that *Arſaces*, who firſt founded the *Parthian* empire, was at that time king of *Parthia*, and taking advantage of *Antiochus*'s being engaged in wars with *Ptolemy* and *Achæus*, had entered *Media*, and made himſelf maſter of that country. On the approach of the enemy he commanded all the fountains and wells in the deſart, through which they were to paſs, to be ſtopped and ſpoiled (Z); but *Antiochus* having ſent before ſeveral parties of horſe to ſecure them, marched ſafely through thoſe great deſarts with his whole army, and entering *Media*,
c drove *Arſaces* from thence, and ſpent the remainder of the year in ſettling all things there in their former order, and providing for the further operations of the war. Early next ſpring he marched into *Parthia*, where he was as ſucceſsful as he had been the year before in *Media*. *Arſaces* was forced to retire into *Hyrcania*, where he thought to ſecure himſelf behind the mountains, which parted that country from *Parthia*, and accordingly poſted parties in all the paſſes, through which the *Syrian* army was to march, not doubting but by that means he ſhould obſtruct their further progreſs that way. But *Antiochus*, as ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit, taking the field, advanced to the narrow paſſes, and dividing his army into as many bodies as there were attacks, he ſoon forced them all. He then aſſembled his army again in the plains, and with all his forces inveſted *Syringis* the capital of *Hyrcania*, which he ſoon obliged
d to ſurrender at diſcretion. In the mean time *Arſaces* was not idle, but all the way as he retreated having gathered what forces he could, made up at length an army of an hundred thouſand foot, and twenty thouſand horſe. With theſe thinking himſelf ſtrong enough to make head againſt the enemy, he took the field, and with great bravery put a ſtop to their further progreſs. His reſiſtance drew out the war into a great length, inſomuch that no further advantage being gained by *Antiochus*, after many conflicts, he began to think it would be impoſſible for him to over-power ſo valiant an enemy, and drive him quite out of the provinces, in which he had by length of time ſo well eſtabliſhed himſelf. He therefore gave ear to the overtures which were made him for the putting an end to ſo troubleſome a war, and a treaty
e being ſet on foot, it was agreed, that *Arſaces* ſhould hold *Parthia* and *Hyrcania* on condition of his aſſiſting *Antiochus* to recover the other provinces which had revolted [m].

Antiochus having thus concluded a peace with *Arſaces*, turned his arms againſt *Euthydemus* king of *Bactria*. We have already ſhewn in what manner *Theodotus* firſt uſurped the province of *Bactria*, cauſed himſelf to be acknowledged king of that country, and left it to a ſon of the ſame name. This ſon had been vanquiſhed and driven out by *Euthydemus*, who, as he was a man of great courage and prudence, maintained a long war againſt *Antiochus*, who carried it on with great vigor, and on ſeveral occaſions gave proofs of an extraordinary courage. In one of the battles fought with this prince his horſe was killed under him, and in another he was dangerouſly wounded
f in the mouth, while he was encouraging his men in the firſt line. At length finding that he waſted his army without gaining any advantage by it, he grew weary of

[l] Polyb. ibid. p. 445, 446. & l. vii. p. 506, 507. & l. viii. p. 522, 523. [m] Justin. l. xli. c. 5.

(Z) We are told by *Polybius* (45), that the *Perſians*, when they firſt conquered *Aſia*, finding many parts of it quite deſtitute of water, engaged to allow thoſe, who ſhould either diſcover water in places where none was then known to be, or find means to convey it thither, the profits ariſing from thence to the fifth generation. Our author adds, that the inhabitants animated by this promiſe ſpared neither labour nor expence to convey water under-ground from mount *Taurus* as far as the deſart here mentioned, there being no ſprings in that vaſt tract of country.

(44) *Polyb. l. x. p. 597.*

the war, and therefore admitted embaſſadors from *Euthydemus* to treat of an accommodation. Theſe repreſented to him that the war he was carrying on againſt their ſovereign was not juſt, ſince he had never been ſubject to the kings of *Syria*; that *Bactria* had thrown off the yoke under other monarchs long before him; that he poſſeſſed the kingdom by right of conqueſt, having vanquiſhed and driven out the deſcendants of thoſe who firſt revolted, and held it as the reward of a juſt victory, *&c.* They likewiſe inſinuated that the *Scythians*, taking advantage of the war, by which they were now weakening each other, were preparing to invade *Bactria* with a powerful army, and that therefore, if they perſiſted obſtinately in conteſting for it, a fair opportunity would be offered thoſe *Barbarians* to take it from both. This conſideration added to the deſire which *Antiochus* had to get rid, under ſome honourable pretence, of this tedious and unprofitable war, induced him to agree to ſuch terms as ended in a peace; for the confirming and ratifying of which, *Euthydemus* ſent his ſon to *Antiochus*, who being taken with his majeſtic mein, and agreeable converſation, gave him one of his daughters in marriage, and granted his father the title of king. The other conditions were agreed on to the great ſatisfaction of both princes, and confirmed by the uſual oaths. After this, *Antiochus* having received all the elephants of *Euthydemus*, which was one of the articles of the peace, he croſſed mount *Caucaſus*, and entered *India*, where having renewed his alliance with *Sophagaſenus* king of that country, and received likewiſe his elephants, which, with thoſe he had from *Euthydemus*, amounted to an hundred and fifty, he marched from thence into *Arachoſia* (A), afterwards into *Drangiana*, and laſtly into *Carmania*, ſettling in all thoſe countries due order and diſcipline. He paſſed the winter in *Carmania*, and thence returned by *Perſia*, *Babylonia*, and *Meſopotamia* to *Antioch*, after having ſpent ſeven years in this expedition. The boldneſs of his attempts, and the wiſdom of his conduct, during the whole courſe of this long war, gained him the reputation of a wiſe and valiant prince; ſo that his name became formidable to all *Europe*, as well as *Aſia*. And thus far by his whole conduct he well deſerved the ſurname of *Great*, which was given him, and he might have carried with great glory to his grave, had he not unfortunately engaged in a war with the *Romans*.

Antiochus *enters into an alliance with* Philip *of* Macedon *againſt* Ptolemy Epiphanes. *Year of the flood* 2797. *Before Chriſt* 202.

NOT long after the return of *Antiochus* died *Ptolemy Philopator* king of *Egypt*, and was ſucceeded by *Ptolemy Epiphanes* his ſon, a child but five years old. Hereupon *Antiochus*, taking advantage of his minority, and the domeſtic troubles which rent the kingdom into ſeveral factions, entered into an alliance with *Philip* king of *Macedon*, in virtue of which they were to ſtrip the infant king of his dominions, and divide them between them: *Philip* was to have *Caria*, *Libya*, *Cyrene*, and *Egypt*, and *Antiochus* all the reſt. Purſuant to this agreement, *Antiochus* marched forthwith into *Cœle-Syria*, and *Paleſtine*, and in leſs than two campaigns made an intire conqueſt of theſe provinces with all their cities and dependencies. In the mean time *Scipio* having put an end to the ſecond *Punic* war in *Africa*, the name of the *Romans* began to be every-where known, and their victories ſpoke of not only in *Europe* and *Africa*, but all over *Aſia*. The guardians therefore of the young king, finding themſelves reduced to great ſtraits by the confederate princes, ſent an embaſſy to *Rome*, imploring the protection of that republic, and offering them the guardianſhip of their king, and the regency of the kingdom during his minority; and leſt the ſenate ſhould refuſe the offer, they added that the deceaſed king had recommended both to them at his death. The *Romans*, thinking this would redound greatly to their glory, complied with the requeſt of the embaſſadors, and taking on them the tuition of the young king, immediately acquainted *Antiochus* and *Philip* therewith, requiring them to deſiſt from invading the dominions of their pupil, otherwiſe they ſhould be obliged to make war upon them for his protection. *Marcus Æmilius Lepidus*, who was one of the embaſſadors ſent to both kings, after having delivered his embaſſy, repaired, agreeable to the inſtructions he had received from the ſenate at his firſt ſetting out, to the court of *Egypt*, there to take upon him the office of guardian to the young king, and regent of the kingdom (B). After he had regulated affairs there in the beſt manner

(A) We ſhall have occaſion to deſcribe *Arachoſia*, *Drangiana*, *Paropamiſus*, *Aria*, *Gedroſia*, and other countries on this ſide the river *Indus*, when we come to the hiſtory of *Bactria*, *Hyrcania*, *Colchos*, &c.

(B) *Livy* takes no notice of the guardianſhip of *Lepidus*, whence the authors of the *Roman* hiſtory which is now publiſhing in *France*, call in queſtion the truth of the fact, thinking *Livy*'s ſilence a ſtrong proof againſt *the ſingle teſtimony*, ſay they, of *Juſtin*. But herein they are greatly miſtaken; for *Valerius*

a ner he could, he appointed *Ariſtomenes* an *Acarnanian* to be chief miniſter to the king; and then returned to *Rome*. *Ariſtomenes* was an old experienced miniſter of that court, and being well acquainted with the affairs of *Egypt*, acquitted himſelf in this charge with great prudence and fidelity °.

THE firſt thing he did was to provide againſt the invaſion of the two confederate kings; and for this purpoſe he took care to recruit the army with the beſt ſoldiers he could raiſe; he ſent *Scopas* an *Ætolian* with vaſt ſums of money into *Ætolia* to levy there all the troops he could, the *Ætolians* being reputed the beſt ſoldiers of that age. *Scopas* had been formerly prætor of *Ætolia*, and was famous all over *Greece* for his skill in military affairs; when the time of his prætorſhip was expired, being diſguſted with his countrymen for not confirming him as he expected, in that office,
b he left *Ætolia* and went into the ſervice of the king of *Egypt*, and being employed on this occaſion, he had ſuch ſucceſs in his levies, that he brought in a very ſhort time ſix thouſand choſen men from *Ætolia*, which was a conſiderable reinforcement, to the *Egyptian* army P (C).

IN the mean time *Antiochus* having paſſed into *Aſia Minor*, and there engaged in a war with *Attalus* king of *Pergamus*, *Ariſtomenes*, taking advantage of the king's abſence, ſent *Scopas* with an army into *Paleſtine* and *Cœle-Syria* to recover thoſe provinces. In this expedition the *Ætolian* was attended with ſuch ſucceſs, that he recovered ſeveral cities, reduced all *Judæa*, put a gariſon into the caſtle of *Jeruſalem*, and on the approach of winter returned to *Alexandria* loaded with the ſpoils of the
c conquered provinces. But it ſoon appeared, that the ſucceſs of this campaign was chiefly owing to the abſence of *Antiochus*, and the ſmall reſiſtance the *Egyptian* army met with. For *Antiochus* no ſooner marched in perſon into *Cœle-Syria*, but the face of affairs was changed, and victory declared in his favour. *Scopas*, who returned with a powerful army, was defeated at *Paneas* near the ſource of the *Jordan*, and great part of his army cut in pieces. The general himſelf with much ado eſcaped to *Sidon*, where he ſhut himſelf up with ten thouſand of his men, all the reſt having been killed or taken priſoners. *Antiochus* laid ſiege to the city, and reduced the numerous gariſon to ſuch ſtraits, that they were forced by famine to ſurrender on terms of having only their lives ſpared. Accordingly they delivered the city up to *Antiochus*, who diſmiſſed
d them ſtript of their effects, and quite naked. However the regency of *Alexandria* was not wanting in uſing their utmoſt efforts for the relief of the place. They no ſooner heard that *Scopas* was beſieged, but three of their beſt generals at the head of the choiceſt troops of the ſtate were ſent to raiſe the ſiege. But *Antiochus* had diſpoſed things ſo that all their attempts proved unſucceſsful, and *Scopas* was obliged to ſubmit to the diſhonourable terms abovementioned q. From *Sidon Antiochus* marched to *Gaza*, and being provoked at the reſiſtance he met with there, he gave up the city, after he had taken it, to be plundered by his ſoldiers. From *Gaza* he ſent ſeveral detachments to ſecure the paſſes through which troops might be ſent out of *Egypt* to diſturb him in the poſſeſſion of his conqueſts, and then marching back reduced *Betanea*, *Sa-*
e *maria*, *Abila*, *Gadera*, and the remaining parts of *Paleſtine* and *Cœle-Syria* r.

° POLYB. l. iii. p. 159. & l. 15. p. 707. LIV. l. xxxi. JUSTIN. l. xxx. c. 3. VAL. MAX. l. vi. c. 6. HIERONYM. in cap. 11. Daniel. P LIV. l. xxxi. HIERONYM. ibid. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xii. c. 3. LIV. l. xxxii. q VALESII Excerpt. in Polyb. p. 77, 78, &c. HIERON. in cap. 11. Daniel. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xi. c. 3. r JUSTIN. l. xxxi. c. 1. LIV. l. xxxiii. POLYB. Legat. 72. p. 893.

Valerius Maximus (46) tells us in expreſs words, that *Lepidus* was appointed by the ſenate guardian of the young king of *Egypt*, and ſent into that kingdom to take upon him the regency. *King* Ptolemy, ſays he, *having left the people of* Rome *guardian to his ſon during his minority, the ſenate ſent M.* Æmilius Lepidus *high-pontiff, and one who had been twice conſul to* Alexandria *to take care of their pupil's kingdom, depriving themſelves of a moſt upright man who had been long converſant with their own affairs*, &c. Beſides, there are ſtill extant ſeveral medals repreſenting *Lepidus* putting a crown on a young man's head with this inſcription, S. C. M. *Lepidus Pont. Max. Tutor Reg.* On the reverſe of theſe medals is the city of *Alexandria*, where the kings of *Egypt* reſided in thoſe days. Our author here ſuppoſes, that M. *Lepidus* executed the office of guardian to the young king while he was high pontiff, and after he had been twice conſul; whereas *Ptolemy Epiphanes* was dead before that time; perhaps he had ſeen ſome of the coins we have mentioned, and was by them led into this miſtake (47).

(C) *Livy* tells us, that *Scopas* would not have left one man in the country able to bear arms, had not one *Damocritus* put his countrymen in mind of the war which *Ætolia* itſelf was ready to engage in, and repreſented to them the danger to which their own country would be expoſed, if left naked and deſtitute of ſo many brave men. Hereupon great numbers, who had determined to follow *Scopas* into *Egypt*, remained at home. *Scopas* had not bribed and courted *Damocritus* as he had done the other heads of the *Ætolian* ſtate.

(46) *Valer. Max. l.* vi. *c.* 6. (47) *Vide Uſher. Annal. ad Ann. Mundi.* 3803.

THE

The Jews *ſubmit to* Antiochus, *who treats them kindly.* *Year of the flood* 2801. *Before Chriſt* 198.

THE *Jews*, who were at this time much alienated from the *Egyptians*, probably on account of the ravages committed the year before by *Scopas*, when he took *Jeruſalem*, no ſooner heard that *Antiochus* was advancing towards their country, but they went in crowds to meet him, delivering to him the keys of their cities; and when he approached *Jeruſalem* the prieſts and elders received him with great demonſtrations of joy, paid him all kinds of honours, and entertained both him and his whole army in their city, ſupplying them plentifully with all ſorts of proviſions; nor was this all, they even took up arms and joined his forces in reducing the caſtle, which had been ſtrongly gariſoned by *Scopas*. In return for theſe ſervices, *Antiochus* in a decree directed to *Ptolemy* one of his lieutenants, granted them many privileges and favours; and in another he particularly ordained that no ſtranger ſhould be allowed acceſs to the inner part of the temple; a prohibition which ſeems to have been made on account of *Philopator*'s attempt which we have mentioned above. *Antiochus* had in his eaſtern expedition granted moſt ample privileges to the *Jews*, who were ſettled in *Babylonia* and *Meſopotamia*, and by that means gained the affection of the whole nation; no wonder therefore that, contrary to their former inclination, they were more deſirous of having him to rule over them, than the *Egyptian* king who had uſed them ill. *Antiochus* depended ſo much on their fidelity that when a ſedition broke out in *Phrygia* and *Lydia*, he ſent two thouſand *Jewiſh* families out of the provinces of *Babylonia* and *Meſopotamia* to quell it, and keep the country in peace. They were tranſported thither at the king's charges, and by his order placed in the ſtrongeſt fortreſſes of the country, had lands and poſſeſſions divided among them for their ſubſiſtence, and maintained at the king's expence till they received the fruits of the lands allotted them [t]. From theſe *Jews* were deſcended thoſe whom we find ſcattered in great numbers all over *Aſia*, when the goſpel was firſt preached in thoſe parts.

Antiochus *invades* Aſia Minor.

Antiochus having thus reduced all *Cœle-Syria* and *Paleſtine*, conceived hopes of doing the ſame in *Aſia-Minor*, his great aim being to reſtore the *Syrian* empire to the full extent, in which it had been held by any of his anceſtors, eſpecially by *Seleucus Nicator* its founder. But as he could not ſucceed in this deſign unleſs he found ſome means to prevent the *Egyptians* from moleſting him in his new conqueſts while he was at a diſtance from them, he ſent *Eucles* the *Rhodian* to *Alexandria* with propoſals of a marriage between *Cleopatra* his daughter, and king *Ptolemy*, to be conſummated as ſoon as they were both of age, promiſing to give up thoſe provinces on the day of the nuptials by way of dowry with the young princeſs. This propoſal being approved of at *Alexandria*, the treaty was concluded and ratified; and the *Egyptians*, relying on the promiſes of *Antiochus*, ſuffered him to carry on his conqueſts without moleſtation [u].

Antiochus, having thus ſettled all in peace behind him, early next ſpring ſent his two ſons, *Arduas* and *Mithridates* before him to *Sardis* with his land-forces, ordering them to wait for him there; while he himſelf ſet out with a fleet large enough to ſtrike terror into all the coaſts of the *Mediterranean*; for it conſiſted of an hundred large ſhips of war, and two hundred other veſſels of all ſizes. His deſign was firſt to conquer the cities of *Cilicia* and *Caria*, and then advance in perſon to the aſſiſtance of his old ally *Philip*, who was engaged in a war with the *Romans*. As he ſailed along the coaſts of *Cilicia*, *Pamphylia*, *Lycia*, and *Caria*, many of the maritime cities of thoſe provinces voluntarily ſubmitted to him. Among theſe were *Zephyrium*, *Soli*, *Aphrodiſias*, and *Corica*. From the latter he doubled the promontory *Anemurium*, and made himſelf maſter of the city of *Selinus*. Upon the bare report of his approach the cities ſent deputies to him from all parts, acknowledging his authority, and declaring themſelves ready to receive his troops within their walls. *Coraceſium* (D) was the only city in thoſe parts, which ſuſtained a ſiege, though inveſted with all the forces of that mighty monarch. While he was employed before this place, the *Rhodians*, not in the leaſt terrified at his formidable power, ſent an embaſſy to him, requiring him not to extend his conqueſts farther, and to withdraw his troops out of *Cilicia*, elſe they ſhould be obliged to take up arms againſt him, and put a ſtop to his further progreſs. The proud monarch, who was uſed to give law to others, was highly provoked at this bold meſſage from ſo ſmall a ſtate; but

[t] JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xii. c. 3.

[u] HIERON. in cap. 11. Dan. l.

(D) *Coroceſium* was a ſtrong place ſituated near the ſea on the top of a ſteep rock, which, according to *Strabo*, parted *Cilicia* from *Pamphylia*. This fort is now called *Scandelors*.

however

a however had command enough over his paſſions not to expreſs any great reſentment; he only anſwered, that he deſired not to quarrel with the *Rhodians*, but to keep up always a good intelligence with them, and would therefore take care to order his embaſſadors to renew the ancient treaties his anceſtors had made with *Rhodes*. He then ſent embaſſadors to *Rhodes*, but in the mean time continued the ſiege of *Coraceſium*, which was at length taken by aſſault; ſeveral other cities of *Ionia* and *Æolis* underwent the ſame fate; but *Caunus*, *Myndus*, *Halicarnaſſus*, and the iſland of *Samos* were preſerved by the good offices of the *Rhodians*, and the large ſupplies of men and proviſions, which they ſent them. *Antiochus* having thus reduced moſt of the maritime cities of *Aſia-Minor*, at length ſailed to *Epheſus*, and having like-
b wiſe made himſelf maſter of that city, took up his winter quarters there, ſpending the remainder of the year in concerting with his officers ſuch meaſures as might be moſt proper for the purſuing and accompliſhing of his vaſt deſigns; for nothing leſs than the intire conqueſt of all thoſe kingdoms, which had formerly belonged to the *Syrian* empire, would ſatisfy his ambition [w].

The free cities of Aſia *implore the protection of the* Romans.

Smyrna, *Lampſacus*, and other *Greek* cities of *Aſia*, which at that time enjoyed their liberty, finding that *Antiochus* deſigned to reduce them all to the condition they were in under his anceſtors, reſolved to ſtand out againſt him; but not being able to reſiſt ſo powerful an enemy with their own ſtrength, they implored the protection of the *Romans*, who willingly granted them it; for they plainly ſaw that it was their
c intereſt to check the progreſs of *Antiochus* towards the weſt, and that if they ſuffered him to ſettle on the coaſt of *Aſia*, according to the plan he had laid down, he would have an eaſy paſſage from thence into *Europe*, and diſturb them in the poſſeſſion of the provinces they had already conquered, or might for the future conquer in *Thrace*, and the adjacent countries. They therefore gladly laid hold of this opportunity, which the free cities offered them of oppoſing his further progreſs; and immediately diſpatched embaſſadors to him; but before their arrival, *Antiochus*, having ſent two detachments from his army to beſiege *Smyrna* and *Lampſacus*, had with the reſt left *Epheſus*, and croſſing the *Helleſpont*, ſeized all the *Thracian Cherſoneſus*. His pretence for it was to take poſſeſſion of the old inheritance of his anceſ-
d tors. We have already obſerved, that *Seleucus Nicator* had vanquiſhed in *Phrygia* *Lyſimachus* king of *Thrace*; and this *Antiochus* thought a ſufficient title to juſtify his claim upon *Thrace* as being his great-grandfather's conqueſt. The city of *Lyſimachia*, which ſtood on the iſthmus leading into the *Thracian Cherſoneſus*, had been founded by this *Lyſimachus*, but then lay in ruins, having been taken and reduced to this condition a few years before by the *Thracians*. *Antiochus* therefore had a deſign to rebuild *Lyſimachia*, and make it the capital of a great kingdom, which he intended as a portion for his ſecond ſon *Seleucus*. He was bent upon theſe projects when he left *Epheſus*, and brought his troops by land into the *Cherſoneſus*, his fleet arriving before him at *Lyſimachia*. Here he made it his firſt buſineſs to rebuild and repeople that great
e city. It was by its ſituation the moſt advantagious place he could have pitched upon in *Europe*; he therefore undertook to make it a convenient port for ſhips of all ſizes, and a magazine of arms and proviſions for the armies he intended to employ in the recovery of *Thrace*. With this view he aſſembled together its old inhabitants, who were diſperſed and ſcattered in ſeveral places, reſcued from ſlavery ſuch as had been made captives, brought thither new citizens from the neighbouring countries, gave them moſt ample privileges, and furniſhed them with cattle, with inſtruments of huſbandry, and whatever elſe was neceſſary for their encouragement [x].

Embaſſadors ſent from Rome *to* Antiochus. *Year of the flood* 2803. *Year before Chriſt* 196.

WHILE *Antiochus* was thus buſied in the reſtoring of *Lyſimachia*, the *Roman* embaſſadors with ſome deputies from the *Greek* cities in *Aſia*, arrived in *Thrace*, and
f finding *Antiochus* then at *Selymbria*, a city of that country, did all that lay in their power to diſſuade him from ſettling in *Europe*. *Antiochus* received them very graciouſly, and entertained them in an hoſpitable and polite manner; but in the very firſt conference their minds were ſowered againſt each other, the *Romans* giving themſelves thoſe imperious airs, which they aſſumed where-ever they came. They told him, that their republic was diſſatisfied with his conduct ever ſince he came into *Europe*, demanded the reſtitution of all the cities and provinces, which he had taken from *Ptolemy*, during his minority, and above all inſiſted upon his giving up thoſe places, which he had uſurped from *Philip*; ſince the *Romans*, who had conquered

[w] Liv. l. xxxiii. Hieron. in cap. xi. Daniel. Appian, in Syriac. [x] Liv. & Appian. ubi ſupra.

the *Macedonian*, had a right to diſpoſe of them. What! ſaid *L. Cornelius*, who a
ſpoke on this occaſion, ſhall *Rome* have been at all the expence of the war with *Philip*, and *Antiochus* reap the advantages of it? We ſhould perhaps have connived at your conqueſts in *Aſia*. But thoſe you are come to make in *Europe* we will not ſuffer. Is not this ſtep a declaration of war with the *Roman* ſenate and people? To this *Antiochus*, putting on an haughty air in his turn, replied, I have long obſerved that *Rome* is very watchful of my ſteps, but quite regardleſs of her own. Know then, proud *Romans*, that it no more concerns you to examine what I do in *Aſia*, than it concerns me to controul you in any of your undertakings in *Italy*. You complain of my proceeding with regard to the king of *Egypt*; he is my friend, and will ſoon become my ſon-in-law; and then we ſhall ſettle our differences between b
ourſelves. As to the *Thracian* cities, which I have lately taken from king *Philip*, I muſt let you know, that the *Cherſoneſus* was never a part of his dominions: *Nicator*, my great-grandfather, formerly conquered it, and took it from *Lyſimachus*, whom he overcame in *Phrygia*. *Ptolemy* indeed, and *Philip* divided *Thrace* between them, while my predeceſſor was buſy elſewhere. But that does not alter the nature of their uſurpation; and I am come now juſtly to recover what they unjuſtly invaded. The *Thracians* have demoliſhed *Lyſimachia*, a city belonging to me; and I am come to rebuild it. I will make it the capital of a kingdom, which is my right, and which I deſign for my younger ſon. The *Romans* deſired that the embaſſadors from *Smyrna* and *Lampſacus* might be called in; and they being admitted accordingly, c
ſpoke with ſo much freedom, that *Antiochus*, not able to bear it, cried out in a violent paſſion, that the *Romans* were not to be his judges; upon which the aſſembly broke up in great diſorder, no ſatisfaction being given on either ſide, but all things tending to an open rupture [y]. It muſt be owned, that according to the laws ſettled among the captains of *Alexander*, who ſurvived that prince, and divided his conqueſts, the claim of *Antiochus* to *Thrace* was not ill grounded. The ſtrongeſt took from the weakeſt the ſhare he had uſurped upon the diviſion of *Alexander*'s dominions; and by this rule *Thrace*, which *Lyſimachus* had ſeized, belonged to *Nicator* who had conquered him, and conſequently to *Antiochus* his great-grandſon. Nevertheleſs this diſpute would have laſted a great while, if *Antiochus* had not been obli- d
ged to leave *Lyſimachia* for another enterprize, which was of more conſequence to him than even this [z]. A report was ſpread, that the king of *Egypt* was dead; whereupon *Antiochus* looking upon *Egypt* as his own, haſtened on board his fleet to take poſſeſſion of it, and having left his ſon *Seleucus* with the army at *Lyſimachia* to carry on the work begun there, he firſt ſailed to *Epheſus*, where he joined to his fleet all the ſhips he found in that harbour, and made all the ſail he could for *Egypt*; but on his arrival at *Pateræ* in *Lycia* certain advice being brought him, that the report which was ſpread of *Ptolemy*'s death, was falſe, he changed his courſe, and made for the iſland of *Cyprus*, with a deſign to ſeize it; but meeting in his way thither with a violent ſtorm, his fleet ſuffered ſhipwreck near the mouth of the river e
Sarus, which diſcharges itſelf into the *Cilician* ſea. After a conſiderable loſs of ſhips and men, he was glad to put in at *Seleucia* (E), to repair his ſhattered veſſels, and from thence return to *Antioch*, without attempting any thing elſe that year [a].

What occaſioned the report of *Ptolemy*'s death, was a conſpiracy, which had been formed againſt the life of that prince, and was firſt ſuppoſed, and afterwards reported to have taken effect. *Scopas* the *Ætolian* was the author of this conſpiracy, who being commander in chief of all the foreign forces in the ſervice of the *Egyptian* king, moſt of which were *Ætolians*, imagined that with ſo formidable a body of well-diſciplined troops, it would be eaſy for him to uſurp the crown, and make himſelf maſter of the whole kingdom during the king's minority. He had already f
formed his ſcheme for the attempt, and no doubt would have ſucceeded in it, had he executed his treaſon with the ſame boldneſs and reſolution with which he contrived it. But though he was a very bold and daring man, yet when he came to the execution, his heart failed him, and inſtead of going reſolutely through with it, as ſuch

[y] Polyb. Legat. 10. p. 800. & l. xvii. p. 769. Liv. & Appian. ibid. [z] Liv. & Appian. ubi ſupra. [a] Polyb. l. xvii. p. 771, 772. & Valesii Excerpt. p. 61.

(E) Several cities, as we have obſerved elſewhere, bore this name, being all built by *Seleucus Nicator*. The city here ſpoke of ſtood in *Cilicia*, about twelve miles from the ſea, on the banks of the *Calicadnus*. The ancient geographers, to diſtinguiſh it from the other cities of the ſame name, call it *Seleucia Trachiotis*; an appellation which well agrees with the mountainous and rocky country in which it ſtood.

a de-

a a deſperate attempt required, he began to conſult at home, and debate with his friends and accomplices, how he might beſt manage it, and by that means let ſlip the opportunity. For *Ariſtomenes*, the prime miniſter, having in the mean time got information of the plot, cauſed *Scopas* to be ſeized, and having examined him before the council, and found him guilty, ordered him and all his accomplices to be executed. As for the reſt of the *Ætolians*, they having forfeited the good opinion which the *Egyptians* had entertained of them on account of their fidelity till that time, moſt of them were disbanded, and ſent back into their own country. *Scopas* was found at his death poſſeſſed of vaſt riches, which he had amaſſed by plundering the countries where he commanded as general. As he had, during the courſe of his victories,
b reduced *Judæa* and *Jeruſalem*, the greateſt part of his treaſures aroſe, no doubt, from thence. One of his chief accomplices in this plot was *Dicæarchus*, who had formerly been admiral in the ſervice of *Philip* king of *Macedon*. We are told by *Polybius*, that *Philip* having commanded him to make war on the *Cyclades* contrary to the moſt ſacred and ſolemn treaties, to ſhew how little he regarded either piety or juſtice, before he ſailed out of the port on that expedition, he erected two altars, one to iniquity, and the other to impiety, and ſacrificed on them both, to inſult, we may ſay, at the ſame time both gods and men. As this wretch had ſo ſignally diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his crimes, *Ariſtomenes* very juſtly diſtinguiſhed him from the reſt of the conſpirators in his puniſhment. For the others were diſpatched by poiſon; but *Dicæar-*
c *chus* tormented to death [b].

Hannibal *puts himſelf under the protection of* Antiochus. *Year of the flood* 2804. *Year before Chriſt* 195.

EARLY next ſpring *Antiochus* ſet out from *Antioch* on his return to *Epheſus*, and was ſcarce gone, when *Hannibal* arrived there, claiming his protection. This great general had lived ſix years unmoleſted at *Carthage*, ever ſince the laſt peace with the *Romans*. But being now ſuſpected to hold a ſecret correſpondence with *Antiochus*, and in concert with him to form projects againſt *Rome*, his enemies ſent privately advice of this to the ſenate. Hereupon embaſſadors were immediately diſpatched to *Carthage* under pretence of ſettling ſome ſmall differences between *Maſiniſſa* and the *Carthaginians*, but in reality to watch *Hannibal*'s conduct. If they found that he had entered into any engagements with *Antiochus*, the embaſſadors were ordered to demand
d him to be delivered up to them. But *Hannibal* no ſooner heard of their arrival than he ſuſpected their buſineſs, and knowing that he was guilty of the practices which had been laid to his charge, reſolved to withdraw before the embaſſadors could make any inquiries. As he was *Suffes*, that is, the chief magiſtrate of the republic, he was obliged to appear continually in public; and this made his eſcape the more difficult. He therefore managed it with a great deal of addreſs; he ordered his gold and ſilver to be carried to *Thapſus*, a city near a country-ſeat, which he had on the ſea-ſhore at a ſmall diſtance from *Carthage*. There he equipped two ſmall veſſels, manned them with good rowers, and concealed them in a little gulf within reach of his houſe. When the day came on which he deſigned to ſet out, he appeared before the ſenate
e and people as uſual, and even had a conference with the *Roman* embaſſadors. In the evening he went out on horſeback, as it were, to take a turn to *Thapſus*, from whence he was to return immediately, and therefore he ordered his attendants as *Suffes* to wait for him at the gate of the city. Being arrived at his country-houſe he immediately imbarqued with a few choſen ſervants, and ſet ſail for the iſland of *Cercina*; from *Cercina* he ſteered his courſe to *Tyre*, where he was received with all the reſpect due to ſo great a warrior, the *Tyrians*, who were originally the founders of *Carthage*, looking upon him as one of their own citizens. However he did not ſtay long there, but purſued his journey to *Antioch*, hoping to find *Antiochus* there. But he being already gone for *Epheſus*, one of the king's ſons kept him ſome days at *Antioch*, being
f deſirous that this great man ſhould be preſent at the feſtival celebrated near *Daphne* in honour of *Apollo* and *Diana*. Aſſoon as the ceremony was over, *Hannibal* ſet ſail for *Epheſus*, where he found *Antiochus* yet wavering between peace and war. But *Hannibal*'s preſence, and the reaſons that great adverſary of the *Romans* offered him, with the high opinion *Antiochus* had of his conduct and valour, ſoon determined the king's reſolution for war. He did not doubt but with the counſel and aſſiſtance of a man, who had ſo often defeated the *Romans*, and thereby juſtly gained the reputation of being the greateſt general of the age, he ſhould be able to accompliſh all his deſigns. He now thought of nothing but victories and conqueſts; accordingly war

[b] Idem, ibid.

being

being reſolved on, all that year and the following were employed in making the neceſſary preparations [c] (F). a

Embaſſadors ſent by Antiochus *firſt to* Flaminius *and afterwards to* Rome.

IN the mean time *Antiochus* being informed at *Epheſus* that *Flaminius*, who was then at the head of the *Roman* troops in *Greece*, was making great preparations for a new war, and apprehending that he might fall upon his ſon *Seleucus*, who was buſy in rebuilding *Lyſimachia* in *Thrace*, ſent deputies to *Flaminius* to propoſe an alliance with *Rome*. By this embaſſy *Antiochus* deſigned only to gain time, and diſcover what the *Romans* were doing. *Flaminius* anſwered the envoys, that his power was expired ſince the departure of the ten commiſſioners, who had been ſent to ſettle the affairs of *Greece* and *Macedon*; wherefore if their maſter deſired to treat with the republic, he might ſend an embaſſy to *Rome*, where the ſenate would examine his propoſals [d]. b When the embaſſadors returned to *Epheſus* with this anſwer, *Antiochus*, not having yet made the neceſſary preparations for the war he deſigned, in order to gain more time, reſolved to ſend a new embaſſy to *Rome*, and accordingly ordered *Menippus*, *Hegeſinax*, and *Lyſias* to depart immediately, and deſire of the *Roman* ſenate in his name the friendſhip and alliance of the republic. On their arrival at *Rome* they were not received with that civility and regard, which the dignity and reputation of their maſter deſerved; the propoſal they made was not at all reliſhed by the major part of the ſenators; the ſenate pretended to compound with them, and ſet bounds to their maſter's pretenſions; nay, before they gave their anſwer, they took indirect means to affront the embaſſadors, they would not admit them into the ſenate, but referred c them to the ten commiſſioners, who had been formerly ſent into *Macedonia* to conclude a peace with *Philip*, and ſettle the affairs of *Greece*. *Flaminius*, who was then at *Rome*, was at the head of the commiſſion, which did not a little diſpleaſe the embaſſadors; for they remembered how he had received the embaſſy ſent him by their maſter, while he commanded the *Roman* forces in *Greece*. However the embaſſadors appeared before this new court, when *Menippus* expreſſed himſelf in the following manner: Why are all theſe delays made, and indirect methods taken to give us a plain anſwer? Our propoſal is very plain, and contains no manner of difficulty; we deſire the friendſhip and alliance of the *Roman* people. We do not come to treat with you as a conquered people with their conqueror, or as nations at war with one another d to ſettle their differences in an amicable manner. *Antiochus* and the *Romans* are neither upon the foot of enemies, or of conquerors. Why then do you pretend to give law to us? What right have you to diſpoſe of the cities of *Aſia* and *Europe*? What authority have you to direct us to withdraw our gariſons from ſome places, and not to ſeize others? You may indeed treat *Philip* in this manner; but do the laws of nations give you a right to aſſume ſuch an authority over *Antiochus*? *Flaminius* anſwered this diſcourſe of *Menippus* with an imperious air, in the following terms: Since you inſiſt upon a direct anſwer, I will give you one: *Antiochus* ſhall not be our friend and ally, but upon two conditions. The firſt is, that he keep within the bounds of *Aſia*. The ſecond, that if he comes into *Europe*, he ſhall not take it amiſs, that the e *Romans* protect the *Greek* cities in *Aſia*, and enter into an alliance with them. At theſe words *Hegeſianax* could not help crying out, What injuſtice! your deſign plainly is to diſpoſſeſs *Antiochus* of the dominions of his anceſtors. The *Cherſoneſus* and all *Thrace* belonged to his great-grandfather, whoſe right has deſcended intire to him. The poſſeſſion which he has lately taken of his inheritance, was no more than reſcuing it out of the hands of uſurpers. Has *Rome* ſo good a right as this to the *Greek* cities in *Europe* and *Aſia*? By what title do you pretend to juſtify your conquering them, or your depriving the king of *Syria* of them? He deſires indeed your friendſhip, but in an honourable way; he is not fond of purchaſing it at ſo dear a rate. To theſe ſolid reaſons *Flaminius* could give no other anſwer, but that *Rome* was determined

[c] LIV. l. xxxiii. in fine. JUSTIN. l. xxxi. c. 1. & 2. ÆMIL. PROB. in Hannib. [d] LIV. l. xxxiv. c. 24.

(F) *Cicero* tells us (48), that while *Hannibal* was at *Epheſus* a peripatetic philoſopher by name *Phormio*, having made an elegant, and, as he thought, wiſe ſpeech in his ſchool concerning the duty and office of a commander, how he ſhould draw up his men in battalia, advance againſt the enemy, retire, rally, &c. *Hannibal*, who was preſent, after having heard him ſome time with a great deal of patience, could not help crying out at laſt, I have heard in my days many an old fool, but never ſuch a fool as *Phormio*. Whence *Tully* concludes, that the military art is not to be learnt from books in the cloſet, but by action in the field.

(48) *Cic. de Oratore, l.* ii.

to

a to purſue the reſolution ſhe had taken of procuring all the *Greeks* their liberty. *Æolis* and *Ionia*, ſaid he, are inhabited by colonies from *Greece*; and we have formed a deſign of ſetting all the *Greeks* at liberty. Thoſe of *Europe* are already ſecured againſt the tyranny of *Philip*, and it is now our buſineſs to protect thoſe of *Aſia* againſt the power of *Antiochus*: what can be more humane or commendable? This ſpeech of *Flaminius* confounded, if *Livy* is to be credited, *Hegeſianax*, who, by his ſilence, ſays he, ſhewed his confuſion. But, with that great hiſtorian's leave, nothing can be weaker than the principle on which *Flaminius* argued; for if *Thrace*, *Æolis* and *Ionia* belonged to *Antiochus* by an ancient conqueſt, could the pretence of reſtoring them to their liberty be a juſt reaſon for withdrawing them from their obedience to their b lawful ſovereign? The deſign of ſetting a prince's ſubjects at liberty, is not ſurely a ſufficient reaſon for others to make war upon him: it muſt therefore be owned, that the war which *Rome* waged with *Antiochus*, was founded on ambition, and not on juſtice. The final anſwer of the ten commiſſioners was this: Take your choice, either let *Antiochus* forbear ever ſetting foot in *Europe*, or not be ſurprized if we ſend our troops over into *Aſia*. The embaſſadors declared, That their maſter would not enter into an alliance with *Rome* upon ſuch diſhonourable terms, but would prefer a war to the loſs of his ancient right to vaſt countries in *Europe* and *Aſia* [e]. It is not improbable, that *Antiochus* made theſe firſt advances in asking the friendſhip of the *Romans*, purely to throw all the blame of a rupture upon them; for in effect he c was already determined upon a war, and making great preparations for the carrying it on both by ſea and land.

Hannibal, who kept conſtantly with *Antiochus*, encouraging him to declare war with *Rome*, and inſpiring him with the hatred he himſelf bore to that imperious republic, made an attempt to engage his own nation in the party he had lately embraced. He had ſtill many friends at *Carthage*; however he did not think it ſafe to treat with them by letters, but pitched upon a foreign merchant, who was come to trade at *Epheſus*, where *Hannibal* was then reſiding with *Antiochus*. His name was *Ariſto*, and he ſeemed to be mighty well qualified for any difficult negotiation. As he was by birth a *Tyrian*, he underſtood the *Carthaginian* language, the *Tyrians* and d *Carthaginians* being, as it were, but one people. Beſides, he was a man of great addreſs, intrepidity and reſolution, and *Hannibal* had more than once experienced his skill in buſineſs, having employed him in the execution of ſeveral important commiſſions; he therefore gave him proper inſtructions, told him the names of thoſe he might confide in, and of ſuch as he ought to ſuſpect, and, without committing any thing to writing, taught him ſeveral ſigns, by which he might ſatisfy his friends that he acted in his name. *Ariſto*, with theſe inſtructions, ſet out for *Carthage*, and arriving there, was taken for a *Carthaginian*. He did not therefore make himſelf known to any but *Hannibal*'s friends, ſoliciting them, in his name, to take up arms once more againſt their old enemy, and join many other nations that were ready to fall upon *Rome*, and in all likelihood to overpower her. He diſcovered to them the deſign *Antiochus* had formed of ſending *Hannibal* to revive the war in *Italy*, &c. But tho' the *Tyrian* carried on his negotiations with all the ſecrecy and circumſpection he could, yet his frequent viſits to the leading men of *Hannibal*'s faction betrayed him, and at length one of the oppoſite party declared in the public ſenate, that he had certain intelligence of dangerous intrigues, which were carrying on by one *Ariſto* in favour of *Antiochus*, and that a ſtorm was ready to break out, which would utterly deſtroy the *Carthaginian* republic. Hereupon the ſenators all with one voice cried out, that *Ariſto* ought to be ſeized, and embaſſadors ſent to *Rome* to deliver him up to the ſenate. *Ariſto* was therefore cited to appear, which he did without betraying the leaſt fear; nay, he defied them all to produce any proof of his being ſent by *Hannibal*, or carrying on intrigues of any ſort whatſoever; but as he could not give a good account of his buſineſs at *Carthage*, and had been obſerved to make frequent and private viſits to thoſe of *Hannibal*'s faction, ſome were for ſeizing, and puniſhing him as an emiſſary ſent by *Hannibal* to draw their republic into new troubles; but others pleaded in his behalf, remonſtrating, that, if they arreſted him upon bare ſuſpicions, no foreign merchants would, for the future, venture to come into their ports, by which means they ſhould be deprived of the moſt valuable branch of their revenues; beſides, as the ſubjects of their republic were continually trading to all the

Hannibal endeavours to draw Carthage into a confederacy with Antiochus.

[e] Liv. ibid. c. 59.

ports of the *Mediterranean*, other nations, eſpecially the *Tyrians*, would not fail to a
make repriza's, which would put a ſtop to their trade, without which their republic
could not ſubſiſt. Theſe conſiderations ſuſpended, for ſome days, the arreſt of the
Tyrian, who took this opportunity to make his eſcape, having kept, the whole time
he was at *Carthage*, his ſhip in a readineſs to ſet ſail; but, before he went off, he
made uſe of a ſtratagem, which ſeemed calculated to make the *Romans* ſuſpect the whole
ſenate. In the duſk of the evening he went privately into the hall where public
audiences were given, and, over the preſident's ſeat, affixed the following words in
capitals; Ariſto *had no orders to treat with private perſons, but with the ſenate of* Car-
thage. His deſign in this was to prevent *Hannibal*'s friends from being ſuſpected,
or brought into troubles, and to raiſe diſturbances in the city. Accordingly the b
ſight of this writing put the whole city in a ferment; ſome were for taking part
with *Antiochus* in his wars with *Rome*, others for keeping to their late engagements
with a republic, whoſe ſuperiority they had already experienced, and whoſe ven-
geance they dreaded. The latter party prevailed, and an embaſſy was ſent to
Rome, to inform the ſenate of what had paſſed. As for *Ariſto*, he ſet ſail that very
night, and got ſafe to *Epheſus*, where he was amply rewarded by *Hannibal*, tho' his
negotiations had failed of the deſired effect [f].

Antiochus in the mean time, withont declaring his intentions, continued his pre-
parations for the war he was reſolved to make upon the *Romans*; and, in order to
ſtrengthen himſelf by new alliances, went to *Raphia* (G), and there married his c
daughter *Cleopatra* to *Ptolemy Epiphanes* king of *Egypt*, to whom ſhe had been ſome
years before betrothed. The princeſs's portion was *Cæle-Syria*, *Phœnice*, *Judæa*
and *Samaria*, but upon this condition, that the revenues of theſe four provinces ſhould
be equally divided between the father and ſon-in-law. Some writers tell us, that
Antiochus had no other view at firſt in marrying his daughter to *Ptolemy*, but to
have a fair opportunity, by her means, of diſpatching him, and ſeizing the kingdom
for himſelf; but that the virtuous queen preferred the regard ſhe owed to her husband
to the ambitious deſigns of her father. On his return from *Raphia* to *Antioch*, he
married *Antiochis* his ſecond daughter to *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia*. The third
was deſigned for *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus*, in order to draw off that brave prince d
from his ancient alliance with *Rome*. With this view he cauſed the match to be pro-
poſed to the king of *Pergamus*, and his two brothers, *Attalus* and *Philetærus*. His
two brothers highly approved of it, thinking it a very honourable and an advan-
tagious match; but the young king himſelf judged otherwiſe of it, thinking it
adviſeable to prefer the alliance of the *Romans* to that of *Antiochus*. He told his
brothers, that, if he married the daughter of *Antiochus*, he could not help engaging
with him in his wars againſt the *Romans*, who, if they ſhould get the better of
Antiochus, as he had reaſon to believe they might, would certainly drive him out
of his kingdom. On the other hand, if *Antiochus* ſhould conquer, no advantage
would accrue from thence to him, it being manifeſt, that *Antiochus* aimed at the e
ſovereignty of all *Aſia*; and if he accompliſhed his deſigns, he might perhaps leave
him, as being his ſon-in-law, on the throne, but would, at the ſame time, require
ſuch ſubjection and dependence from him, as would ſowr all the pleaſure of reigning.
Theſe reflections made *Eumenes* reject the offer made him by the king of *Syria*, and
continue attached to the *Romans*. The event ſufficiently proved the wiſdom of his
choice [g].

Antiochus had no ſooner ſolemnized theſe marriages, but he haſtened back into
Aſia Minor, and arrived at *Epheſus* in the depth of the winter. From thence, in
the beginning of the ſpring, he marched againſt the *Piſidians*, who ſtill held out
againſt him, and made himſelf maſter of all the country round *Selga*, a city on the f
banks of the river *Ceſtrius* (H). The *Romans*, hearing of the progreſs he made in

[f] Liv. l. xxxiv. Justin. l. xxxi. c. 3, 4. Appian. in Syriac. p. 89, 90. Appian in Syriac. p. 88. Hieron. in Daniel. c. 11. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 3.

[g] Liv. l. xxxv. & xxxvii. Polyb. legat. 25.

(G) *Strabo* and *Livy* place *Raphia* in *Phœnice*; *Ptolemy* makes it a city of *Samaria*, and *Pliny* of *Idumea*; but, as it ſtood near *Gaza*, it is counted by other geographers among the cities of *Paleſtine*.

(H) The name of *Selga* is corrupted in moſt copies of *Livy*. *Gelenius* is of opinion, that *Livy* means the city of *Selga*, which ſtood on a mountain near the borders of *Pamphylia*; and for this reaſon ſome modern geographers place it among the cities of that province. *Niger* calls it *Philadelphia*. *Glarean*, inſtead of *Sica* and *Sita*, which we find in the text, reads *Sida*, whidh was a city of *Pamphylia* near *Piſidia*, at a ſmall diſtance from the mouth of the river *Eurymedon*.

Piſidia,

a *Piſidia*, and being informed by their friends in *Aſia*, that moſt of the eaſtern princes were ready to declare for *Antiochus*, in order to avert the evil conſequences of an alliance, into which all *Aſia* ſeemed to have entered, and at the ſame time to have a certain knowledge of the ſtate of affairs in thoſe diſtant regions, thought it neceſſary to ſend embaſſadors to the king of *Syria*, with orders to viſit the coaſts of *Aſia* and *Greece*, and there ſee what ſtates or republics ſeemed to waver between *Antiochus* and *Rome*. Three perſons of diſtinction, who had been already employed in negotiations with the princes of the eaſt, were pitched upon for this embaſſy, *viz. P. Sulpicius*, *P. Villius*, and *P. Ælius*, three of the ten commiſſioners who had ſettled affairs in *Greece* and *Macedon*. *Livy*, on the authority of ſome hiſtorians, tells us, b that *Scipio* was in this embaſſy, and that, on this occaſion, *Hannibal* gave him that celebrated anſwer, when, ſpeaking of great commanders, he named *Alexander* in the firſt place, *Pyrrhus* in the ſecond, and himſelf in the third. Some authors are of opinion that *Scipio* was not in this commiſſion, and conſequently look upon the conference between him and *Hannibal* as a mere fiction; but this point we ſhall examine in a more proper place. The embaſſadors ſet out from *Rome*, and, purſuant to their directions, landed at *Elæa* (1) in the kingdom of *Pergamus*, where they found king *Eumenes* ready to take up arms againſt *Antiochus*. As this prince was ſtill in *Piſidia*, and *Hannibal* waited for him at *Epheſus*, the *Roman* embaſſadors went thither to viſit *Hannibal*, being ordered by the ſenate to gain him over, if poſſible, c or at leaſt, by their civilities, to make *Antiochus* ſuſpect him as keeping a ſecret intelligence with his enemies. The laſt of theſe deſigns had the deſired effect, as we ſhall ſoon ſee, *Villius*, and, if *Claudius Quadrigarius* is to be credited, *Scipio* paying him frequent viſits, and ſhewing a particular regard for him. In one of theſe viſits they reproached him, in a friendly manner, with his flight from *Carthage*, aſſuring him, that *Rome* would have protected him againſt his domeſtic enemies; they adviſed him to return to his own country, where he ſhould, under the protection of *Rome*, be reinſtated in all his former honours; they told him, that *Rome* never ſpoke of him but with admiration, the terror which he had formerly ſtruck into her, being changed into eſteem, *&c.* *Hannibal* was greatly pleaſed with theſe fine ſpeeches; d but nevertheleſs could not be prevailed upon either to return to *Carthage*, or abandon the cauſe of *Antiochus*, which he had eſpouſed. He often appeared in public with the *Roman* embaſſadors, frequently converſed with them in private, and laſtly, even ſuffered them to lodge with him in the ſame houſe, not being well appriſed, as ſagacious as he was, of the bad conſequences that might attend his converſing thus familiarly with the *Roman* envoys. In effect, *Antiochus* was informed of it in *Piſidia*, and, from that time, began to ſuſpect him, fancying that he had reconciled himſelf to *Rome*; he was therefore no more employed in making the neceſſary preparations for the war, *Antiochus* not thinking it ſafe to depend upon him in matters of ſuch importance [h].

A new embaſſy ſent by the Romans *to* Antiochus.

Hannibal *overreached by the* Roman *envoys.*

e FROM *Epheſus* the embaſſadors advanced to *Apamea* in *Phrygia*, with a deſign to wait there for *Antiochus*, who being informed of their arrival, went thither to hear their propoſals. As the *Romans* were too proud to abate any thing of their pretenſions, they ſtill inſiſted on *Antiochus*'s confining himſelf to *Aſia*; on his giving up ſome cities which he actually poſſeſſed, and his renouncing all his rights in *Europe*, particularly to *Thrace* and the *Cherſoneſus*; ſo that the conference between the king and the embaſſadors was warm, but not long, a melancholy piece of news which the king received having ſoon put an end to it. He received advice, that his ſon *Antiochus*, a prince of great merit, and one who had ſignalized himſelf by a conduct worthy of an hero, was dead in *Syria*, whither he had been ſent to keep thoſe provinces in f their duty. What heightened the king's grief on this occaſion, was a report ſpread abroad, that he, growing jealous of his riſing merit, had cauſed him to be poiſoned by the eunuchs of his court. Tho' this report had no good foundation, it was neceſſary for the king to deſtroy it, by the appearance of an extraordinary grief. The embaſſadors were therefore diſmiſſed without concluding any thing, and *Antiochus* purſued

[h] LIV. l. xxxiv, xxxv. JUSTIN l. xxxi. c. 4. FRONT. Stratag. l. i. c. 8. APPIAN. in Syriac. p. 90, 91.

(1) *Elæa* bordered upon *Great Myſia*, about twenty miles from *Pergamus*, and ſtood on the *Ægean* ſea, near the mouth of the *Caicus*, over-againſt *Metelina*, and had a convenient harbour. It is at preſent a ſmall village, known by the name of *Alea*. The ancient city of *Elæa* was divided from *Lesbos* by an arm of the ſea, called the *gulph of* Elœa.

his

his rout to *Epheſus*, where *Hannibal*, who was ſtill in that city, ſoon found, that he a
was not the ſame favourite as formerly; for *Antiochus*, under pretence of ſolitude,
ſhut himſelf up in his palace, and refuſed the *Carthaginian* admittance. The king
ſpent his whole time there in private conferences with one *Minio* his ſole confident.
Minio was a courtier, who had no knowledge of foreign affairs, and judged of his
maſter's war with the *Romans* only by the victories he had gained in the eaſt. He
did not doubt in the leaſt, but *Antiochus*, who had defeated *Achæus*, *Molo*, *Alexander*,
and often the king of *Egypt*, would, in like manner, humble the haughty *Romans*;
being therefore big with this expectation, he deſired the king to ſend for the *Roman*
embaſſadors, who were then at *Pergamus*, and undertook to anſwer them in his
name. *Antiochus* being tired with ſo many uſeleſs conferences, and his mourning b
ſerving him for a juſt pretence to treat with the *Romans* for the future only by his
favourites, complied with his requeſt, and the embaſſadors were accordingly ſent
for. When they arrived, the proud *Minio* received them with more haughtineſs than
Antiochus himſelf would have done. What he chiefly urged in behalf of his maſter's
pretenſions, was, That he had as good a right to the countries poſſeſſed by the eaſtern
Greeks, whom he or his anceſtors had conquered, as the *Romans* had to thoſe of the
weſtern *Greeks* in *Italy* and *Sicily*. All the *Greek* colonies, ſaid *Minio*, have, accord-
ing to you, a right to the general liberty of *Greece*; but does not *Rome* herſelf act in
a direct oppoſition to this pretty ſpeculation? Are there not cities in *Italy* which are
as much *Grecian* as thoſe in *Aſia*? Were not *Rhegium*, *Naples* and *Tarentum* built c
by *Greeks*? and yet you exclude them from this general infranchiſement, and keep
them in ſubjection to your republic. What! can you keep the eaſtern part of *Italy*,
and *Sicily*, the fineſt iſland in the ſea, in ſlavery, and, at the ſame time, make
war upon *Antiochus*, becauſe he keeps *Ionia*, *Æolis* and *Thrace* under his juriſdiction?
What is the difference between the ſlavery of *Smyrna* and *Lampſacus* on one ſide,
and that of *Tarentum* and *Syracuſe* on the other? The right *Antiochus* has to *Ionia*,
Æolis and *Thrace* was derived to him from his anceſtors; whereas *Rome* owes her
poſſeſſing of *Great Greece* in *Italy*, and all the whole iſland of *Sicily*, to conqueſt.
He concluded his ſpeech by deſiring them not to uſe querks or impertinent words,
but to give a direct anſwer to this queſtion, Why does not *Rome* maintain the liberty d
of the weſtern *Greeks*, ſince ſhe is ſo zealous for that of the eaſtern? *Sulpitius* endea-
voured to anſwer this demand, by ſaying, That *Rome*, ever ſince ſhe conquered
thoſe cities, had held them without any interruption, they never having paſſed into
any other hands from the time they were firſt ſubdued by the republic; whereas the
Greek countries poſſeſſed or claimed by *Antiochus*, tho' formerly conquered by his
anceſtors, had undergone, ſince that time, many changes. Some, ſaid he, have
been ſubject to *Philip* or *Ptolemy*; others have recovered their liberty; can therefore
any thing be more juſt and humane than to reſtore it to them [i]? The reaſoning of
the *Roman* was, as every one ſees, more ſpecious than ſolid; ſo that all things
conſidered, the war which the *Romans* made upon the king of *Syria* was unjuſt, and
the effect only of their unbounded ambition. However *Minio*, by his maſter's order,
offered to give up his claim to ſome *Greek* cities in *Aſia*, and to maintain the liberty
of *Rhodes*, *Bizantium* and *Cyzicus*; nay, he even conſented, that theſe free ſtates
ſhould enter into an alliance with *Rome*; but the embaſſadors were not ſatisfied, and
ſtill inſiſted, that *Ionia* and *Æolis* ſhould partake of the common liberty of *Greece*.
This *Antiochus* oppoſed, and the embaſſadors returned to *Italy*, leaving matters in
the ſame ſituation they had found them on their firſt arrival [k].

THEY were no ſooner gone but *Antiochus* called a council of war, compoſed of all
the chief officers of his army, as well foreigners as *Syrians*. *Hannibal* alone was exclud-
ed from it, his too familiar conferences with the *Roman* envoys having made *Antiochus*
jealous of him. The queſtion which the king put to the council, was, Whether it
was proper to make war with the *Romans*? The council knew the king's inclinations,
and were therefore all zealous for a war, that being the ſureſt way to make their court,
and gain his confidence. *Alexander* of *Acarnania*, who had formerly ſerved *Philip*,
and was now in great favour with *Antiochus*, aſſured the king, that the *Macedonians*
would join him as ſoon as he landed in *Greece*; and that as the *Ætolians*, and *Nabis*
tyrant of *Sparta*, had taken up arms, and were ready to declare for him, he could not
fail of ſucceſs; but at the ſame time he adviſed him to diſmiſs *Hannibal*, and ſend

Antiochus reſolves upon a war with the Romens.

[i] LIV. ibid. APPIAN. in Syriac. p. 92. [k] Idem ibid.

him

him back to his own country. His preſence there, ſaid he, will alone be ſufficient to keep the *Romans* in awe, and increaſe their diffidence. The hopes, in all likelihood, of commanding the army himſelf, was what induced the *Acarnanian* to give this advice; but however that be, *Antiochus* from that time reſolved to declare war with the *Romans*.

In the mean time *Hannibal* plainly ſeeing, by the king's behaviour to him, that he had taken umbrage at his conduct, thought it neceſſary to undeceive him; having therefore demanded, and, with much-ado, obtained a private audience, he told the king, that when he was ſcarce nine years old, he began to be an irreconcileable enemy to the *Romans*, his father *Hamilcar* having made him ſwear upon the altars, that he would never lay aſide his hatred to *Rome* but with his life; that he had ever acted ſuitable to that oath, having made war with thoſe republicans for thirty years together; that he had now left his native country for no other reaſon but to keep more ſtrictly to theſe engagements; that this animoſity brought him into *Aſia*, and the eager deſire he had of doing what miſchief he could to that proud and imperious republic, had led him into his dominions. If you, ſaid the *Carthaginian*, diſdain my aſſiſtance, guided by the ſame hatred, I will fly to every part of the world where there are ſoldiers and arms, to raiſe up new enemies againſt *Rome*. I hate them, and am hated by them. So long as you are reſolved to make war upon them, you may conſider *Hannibal* as the firſt of your friends; but if there be any motives which incline you to peace, take counſel of others, not of me. I ſeek for nothing but war, and if I cannot find it here, I will be gone, and leave the place I ought to hold near you, to courtiers, who ſeek my ruin only to aggrandize themſelves. *Antiochus*, ſtruck with theſe words, ſeemed to be reconciled to him. He then told the king, That he did not, by any means, approve of the advice which *Alexander* the *Acarnanian* had given him. No, ſaid he, it is not in *Greece*, but in *Italy* that you can make yourſelf formidable. The *Romans* are invincible every-where but on their own continent. You muſt employ the forces of the *Italians* againſt the maſters of *Italy*. Indeed any other nation would find it difficult to tranſport troops into the eaſt; but the *Romans* will tire you out even here by their conſtancy. Their troops will overrun theſe countries like a torrent in a few months. This I take the liberty to tell you now in private, and ſhall not be afraid to repeat the ſame things in public in the face of your court. Have I not ſome right to teach your generals how to make war with the *Romans*? They were never able to conquer me ſo long as I kept footing in *Italy*; but *Carthage* recalled me, and I met with a conqueror in *Africa*, who could not hurt me in *Italy*. Take therefore my advice, carry your troops over into *Italy*, and ſtop the inundation which threatens you at the ſpring head [1]. This diſcourſe would have made a laſting impreſſion in the mind of *Antiochus*, had not the many flatterers about him, who were jealous of *Hannibal*, effaced it; and lucky it was for *Rome* that *Hannibal*'s ſcheme was thus oppoſed; for the *Brutii*, *Salentini*, *Lucani*, *Samnites*, and the greateſt part of the eaſt of *Italy* were ready to follow his ſtandards, while the *Gauls* in the weſt would have obliged the *Romans* to divide their forces; ſo that *Rome* would have relapſed into the ſame dangers from which *Scipio* had delivered her.

Hannibal's ſpeech to Antiochus, who diſtruſted him.

His opinion with relation to the war.

The *Romans*, not knowing yet for certain whether *Antiochus* would accept or not the conditions offered him, made no preparations for war till the return of their embaſſadors; but then they began to take proper meaſures to prevent the evils that threatened them, both in *Greece*, where the *Ætolians* were ready to revolt, and in *Aſia*, where *Antiochus* was making vaſt preparations. Nothing now kept this prince in *Aſia*, but an expedition which he had undertaken againſt the cities of *Smyrna*, *Lampſacus* and *Alexandria* in *Troas*, which *Antiochus* thought dangerous to leave behind him unreduced. The *Ætolians* being, from confederates of the *Romans*, now become their enemies, had ſent embaſſadors to him, inviting him over into *Greece*. *Thoas*, the brother of *Dicæarchus*, then prætor of *Ætolia*, who was at the head of this embaſſy, aſſured *Antiochus*, that the *Ætolians* would join him as ſoon as he landed in *Greece*, with all their forces, and act in concert with him; that *Philip* king of *Macedon*, *Nabis* king of *Lacedæmon*, and ſeveral other *Greek* powers, who hated the *Romans* in their hearts, would declare againſt them. He obſerved in his ſpeech to the king, that the *Romans*, by drawing their forces out of *Greece*, had left

[1] Liv. ibid.

it in a defenceleſs condition; that this was the beſt opportunity he could wiſh for to poſſeſs himſelf of that country; that the *Greeks* would all receive him with open arms the inſtant he came among them, *&c.* This ſoothing deſcription of the ſtate of *Greece* prevailed ſo far with *Antiochus*, that he reſolved to drop the deſign of reducing the three above-mentioned cities, and haſten into *Europe*, without even waiting for the forces that were on full march from *Syria* to join him. Accordingly, having firſt gone to *Ilium*, and there offered a ſacrifice to *Minerva*, he embarked for *Greece*, with no more than ten thouſand foot, five hundred horſe, and ſix elephants, which were ſcarce enough to take poſſeſſion of the country, had it been wholly unguarded. With theſe forces he arrived in the iſland of *Eubœa*, about the end of the ſummer, and from thence paſſed to *Demetrias* in *Theſſaly*, where he ſummoned all the chief officers of his army, to conſult with them about the future operations of the war. On this occaſion *Hannibal*, who was admitted to the council, and asked his opinion in the firſt place, inſiſted on what he had often declared, *viz.* That the *Romans* were not to be conquered but in *Italy*, and therefore it had been his conſtant advice to begin the war there; however, ſince other meaſures had been taken, and the king was then in *Greece*, it was his opinion, in the preſent ſtate of affairs, that the king ſhould ſend immediately for all his forces out of *Aſia*, without depending upon the *Ætolians* or other *Greek* allies, who, he foreſaw, would deceive him; and that the inſtant theſe forces arrived, he ſhould march with them to thoſe coaſts of *Greece* which lie over-againſt *Italy*, and there likewiſe keep his fleet, one half of which ſhould be employed to ravage and alarm the coaſts of *Italy*, and the other kept in ſome harbour near him, to make a ſhew of paſſing over, and to be, in effect, ready to croſs over, in caſe a favourable opportunity ſhould offer. By this means, ſaid he, the *Romans* will be kept at home to guard their own coaſts; and this, at the ſame time, will be the beſt method of carrying the war into *Italy*, the only place where they can be conquered. This advice was undoubtedly the beſt that could then be given to *Antiochus*; but he complied with it only in that particular which related to the troops of *Aſia*, ſending immediately orders to *Polyxenides* his admiral to tranſport them into *Greece*. With regard to all the reſt of *Hannibal*'s plan, the flatterers about the court diverted the king from putting it in execution, aſſuring him, that he could not fail of ſucceſs; that, ſhould he follow *Hannibal*'s plan, all the glory would be aſcribed to the *Carthaginian* who had formed it; that it was proper the king ſhould have all the honour of this expedition, and therefore they adviſed him to follow his own counſels, without hearkening any more to *Hannibal*. After this the king went to *Lamia*, and there being inveſted with the chief command of the *Ætolians*, and declared their generaliſſimo, he returned to *Eubœa*, where he made himſelf maſter of *Chalcis*, and took up his winter-quarters in that city [m]. There he fell in love with the daughter of a *Chalcidian* called *Cleoptolemus*, in whoſe houſe he lodged; and notwithſtanding the diſproportion of her age, ſhe being under twenty, and he upwards of fifty, married her, and paſſed the remainder of the winter in nuptial rejoicings and revellings, with as much ſecurity as in the moſt peaceable times. The example of the king infected the whole army, both officers and ſoldiers abandoning themſelves to idleneſs and debauchery. He was not rouzed out of this lethargy, till news was brought him, that *Acilius* the *Roman* conſul was advancing full march againſt him at the head of twenty thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe. All he could do on this alarm, was to ſeize the famous ſtreights of *Thermopylæ*, and ſend to the *Ætolians* for more forces; for the inclemency of the weather, and contrary winds having prevented the arrival of the *Aſiatic* troops, which *Polyxenidas* was bringing over, the king had only thoſe forces with him which he had brought the year before; but before the *Ætolians* could come to his aſſiſtance, the *Romans* having forced, with incredible bravery, the paſſes of *Thermopylæ*, cut the king's army in pieces, *Antiochus* himſelf having narrowly eſcaped with only five hundred men to *Chalcis* [n]. But of this battle, and the ſurrender of the cities and ſtrong-holds that followed it, we have already given a particular and diſtinct account in our hiſtory of *Greece* [o]. *Antiochus* did not ſtay long at *Chalcis*, but from thence made all the haſte he could to his fleet, and going on board with the poor remains of his ſhattered army, paſſed over to *Epheſus*, carrying with him his young wife; and thinking himſelf ſafe there from the *Romans*, he intirely neglected

Antiochus croſſes over into Greece. *Year after the flood* 2807. *Before Chriſt* 192.

Antiochus defeated at Thermopylæ. *Year of the flood* 2808. *Before Chriſt* 191.

Antiochus returns into Aſia.

[m] LIV. l. xxxvi. JUSTIN. l. xxxi. c. 5 & 6. APPIAN. in Syriac. p. 93, 94. [n] LIV. ibid. PLUT. in Catone. APPIAN. ibid. FRONT. l. 2. ſtratag. [o] HIST. UNIVERS. Vol. II. p. 847.

every

a every thing that could ſecure him againſt ſo formidable an enemy. His flatterers had made him believe, that they would never venture over into *Aſia*; but *Hannibal*, who had regained his confidence, rouzed him out of the idle and indolent life, into which he was relapſed, telling him, that as the *Roman* fleet was no leſs formidable than their land-forces, he was ſurprized that they had not yet croſſed over into *Aſia*; that they would without all doubt ſoon appear on the coaſts, and oblige him to fight both by ſea and land for the dominion of *Aſia*; and that he muſt reſolve either to renounce his pretenſions to ſo wealthy a country, or to defend it ſword in hand. The king was ſtruck with this ſpeech, and therefore ſent to haſten the march of his troops from the eaſtern provinces, which were not yet arrived. He likewiſe cauſed his fleet
b to be equipped with all poſſible expedition, and going on board of it himſelf ſet ſail for the *Thracian Cherſoneſus*, where he fortified *Lyſimachia*, as alſo *Seſtus* and *Abydus*, and the other cities in that neighbourhood, to prevent the *Romans* from croſſing the *Helleſpont* into *Aſia*. In the mean time *Polyxenidas*, who was then at *Epheſus*, having received advice, that the *Roman* fleet had appeared off *Delos*, diſpatched a meſſenger to acquaint *Antiochus* therewith. Upon this intelligence the king haſtened back to *Epheſus*, and having there ſummoned a council of war, it was unanimouſly reſolved, that *Polyxenidas*, the *Syrian* admiral, ſhould ſail out in ſearch of the *Roman* fleet, and venture an engagement. Accordingly the fleet, to the number of an hundred, or, as others will have it, two hundred ſail, weighed anchor, ſteering their courſe
c towards *Phocæa* in *Æolis*. The *Roman* fleet, commanded by *C. Livius*, and conſiſting of fourſcore ſhips, upon intelligence that the *Syrians* were in ſearch of them, left the road of *Delos*, and having doubled the cape of *Corycus* in *Ionia*, met the enemy's fleet near *Cyſſus*. Both fleets advanced in line of battle, and engaged with the utmoſt fury; victory was long doubtful, *Livius* having the advantage in the right wing, and *Polyxenidas* in the left. At length *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus*, who had been placed in the rear with fifteen ſhips, falling upon *Polyxenidas*, put the enemy's right wing in diſorder, and thereby determined the fate of the day. The *Syrians* on all ſides betook themſelves to flight, and *Livius* purſuing them, took thirty of their ſhips after having ſunk ten in the engagement. The *Romans* loſt but one
d ſhip, which was taken in the very beginning of the fight; but the whole crew leaped over-board, and eſcaped ſlavery by ſwimming to the other *Roman* veſſels. *Polyxenidas* put in no-where till he got to *Epheſus*, whither *Livius* purſued him; but finding that he would not venture out, he ſent *Eumenes* and the *Rhodians* home, and retired himſelf to *Canæ*, a port in *Myſia*, where he drew his ſhips aſhore for the enſuing winter, after having fortified the place with a ditch and rampart [p].

The fleet of Antiochus *defeated by that of the* Romans.

In the mean time *Antiochus* was at *Magneſia* aſſembling there his land-forces. When news was brought him that his fleet had been defeated at *Corycus*, he haſtened to the ſea-coaſt, and applied himſelf with great care to the fitting out of a new fleet, being unwilling to part with the maſtery of thoſe ſeas. He refitted the ſhips which had
e eſcaped the late defeat, built new ones, and diſpatched *Hannibal* into *Syria* to bring from thence the *Syrian* and *Phœnician* fleets for their reinforcement. He likewiſe ordered his ſon *Seleucus* with one part of the army into *Æolis* to watch the *Roman* fleet, and keep that country in awe; the reſt of the troops he kept ſome time with himſelf, and then put them into winter-quarters in the neighbouring towns of *Phrygia* [q].

The next year the *Romans* appointed *L. Cornelius Scipio* conſul to command the land-forces in room of *Acilius*, and *L. Æmilius Rhegillus* to carry on the war by ſea in the place of *C. Livius*. The great *Scipio Africanus* ſerved under *Cornelius* his brother in quality of his lieutenant, to the unſpeakable joy of the *Romans*, who were
f highly delighted with the expectation of ſeeing *Scipio* and *Hannibal* once more enter the liſts. They were now both ſubalterns, one under a conſul, the other under a king; and this new ſcene drew the attention of all nations.

The two brothers imbarqued at *Brunduſium* with thirteen thouſand men, including auxiliaries and voluntiers, and landed at *Apollonia*. From thence they marched through *Epirus* and *Theſſaly* to *Amphiſſa*, where *Acilius*, who was beſieging that place, reſigned the command of his two legions to the conſul. The two *Scipio*'s, who were in haſte to paſs over into *Aſia*, which was the chief object of their ambition, granted the *Ætolians* a ſix months truce, that they might have full time to ſend a new

[p] Liv. l. xxxvi. Appian. in Syriac. p. 99. [q] Liv. l. xxxvi. & xxxvii. Appian. ibid. & p. 100.

embaſſy

embaſſy to *Rome*, and purſued their march through *Macedon* and *Thrace* to the *Helleſpont*. *Philip* had prepared every thing that could render their paſſage through his dominions agreeable to them. He came in perſon to meet them on his frontiers, and ſeemed to make it his duty, as well as pleaſure, to attend them, diſcovering in the entertainments, which he gave the chief officers of the army, ſuch a politeneſs as was very pleaſing to *Scipio Africanus*. In return for the extraordinary kindneſs he had ſhewn them, the two brothers remitted him in the name of the republic the ſums which yet remained to be annually paid by him, according to the agreement between him and *Flaminius*. In the mean time *Livius*, the *Roman* admiral, being joined by the *Rhodian* fleet, and that of *Eumenes*, ſailed with the latter from *Canæ* in *Myſia*, where he had wintered, to ſecure the ſtraits of the *Helleſpont*. With this view he made himſelf maſter of *Seſtos* on the ſide of *Europe*, and inveſted *Abydos* on the oppoſite ſhore; for theſe two cities ſtood oppoſite to one another in that part of the ſtraits where the paſſage into *Aſia* was the ſafeſt. While *Livius* was thus employed on the *Helleſpont*, *Polyxenidas*, having repaired the *Syrian* fleet, and being in a condition to put to ſea again, deſtroyed by a piece of treachery the greateſt part of the *Rhodian* fleet with *Pauſiſtratus*, who commanded it, as we have related at length in the hiſtory of *Rhodes*[r]. This diſaſter obliged *Livius* to raiſe the ſiege of *Abydos*, and haſten to the defence of the ſhips he had left in the harbour of *Canæ* in *Myſia*. Beſides *Seleucus* was making ſome progreſs on the coaſt of *Aſia*, and had already taken *Phocæa*, *Cyme*, and ſome other maritime places. It was therefore neceſſary to put a ſtop to the progreſs of the young prince, and retake *Phocæa*. But *Livius* finding upon his arrival the gariſon of *Phocæa* very numerous, he only made a deſcent, and ravaged the neighbouring territory. From thence he ſailed to *Samos*, being attended thither by the fleet of the king of *Pergamus*. As for the *Rhodians*, the defeat of their fleet, and the loſs of their admiral, ſunk them almoſt into deſpair. However they did not renounce their alliance with *Rome*, but fitting out twenty new gallies, they gave the command of them to *Eudamus*, who immediately joined the *Roman* fleet at *Samos*. *Livius* with this reinforcement left *Samos*, and ſailing to *Epheſus*, inſulted the *Syrian* fleet in that harbour. Some of the *Romans* landed, and laid waſte the neighbouring country; but the gariſon of *Epheſus* marching out againſt them, obliged them to quit their booty, and retire with precipitation on board their ſhips. The next day *Livius* challenged the *Syrians* to an engagement aſhore, but they declining it, he returned to *Samos*, and there reſigned the command of the fleet to *Æmilius* his ſucceſſor (K), who immediately detached him with ſome ſhips to attempt the reduction of *Patara* in *Lycia*, a place, which was a great check upon the *Rhodians*, while in the enemy's hands. But *Livius* failed in his attempt, and ſoon after returned to *Rome*. As for *Æmilius*, he firſt appeared before *Epheſus* with the reſt of the *Roman* fleet, but was forced by a ſtorm to put out to ſea. Then calling to mind the affront the *Romans* had received before *Patara*, he flew thither with a deſign to beſiege the place; but the officers remonſtrating againſt the enterprize as dangerous

[r] Hiſt. Univerſ. Vol. III. p. 149.

(K) *Livy* tells us (49), that *Æmilius* no ſooner took upon him the command of the fleet, but he ſummoned a council of war to adviſe with the chief officers about the firſt enterpriſe he ſhould undertake. On this occaſion *Livius*, whoſe command was juſt expired, being asked his opinion the firſt, gave it, ſays our hiſtorian, like an artful man, who was jealous before-hand of the ſucceſs *Æmilius* might have. His pretence was very ſpecious, but his real deſign was to make *Æmilius* loſe the whole campaign by engaging him in a trifling project; and it was therefore rejected. Had I continued in the command, ſaid *Livius*, my deſign was to ſhut up the mouth of the port of *Epheſus*, and there keep the *Syrian* fleet confined. To this end I would have ſunk ſome old barks filled with ſtones at the entrance into the harbour. Being by this means become ſole maſter of the ſeas, I would have ravaged the coaſts, and forced the maritime cities to ſurrender. *Eumenes*, who ſaw into *Livius*'s deſign, replied thus: After we have ſtopped up the mouth of the port, ſhall the *Roman* fleet continue before it, or not? If it continues there, the enemy's fleet will be in better condition than ours. They will be covered and ſheltered by a great city, which will be ſupplied by land from all parts of *Aſia*. Whereas we ſhall be expoſed to winds and tempeſts, and loſe time in a road without gaining any advantage but that of continuing inactive, and giving the enemy leiſure to make the neceſſary preparations againſt the enſuing campaign. If we do not continue before *Epheſus*, the *Syrian* fleet will, without all doubt, clear the mouth of the port, and ſail out; ſo that we ſhall have loſt our time, labour and expence to no purpoſe. *Eudamus*, the *Rhodian* admiral, diſapproved the project of *Livius*, without propoſing any other. But *Epicrates*, an inferior officer in the *Rhodian* fleet, was for ſending part of the fleet againſt *Patara*, and reducing that city. This propoſal was approved of, and *Livius* ordered to put it in execution.

(49) *Liv. l.* xxxvii. *c.* 14.

to

a to the allies, who in the abſence of the *Roman* fleet would be left to the mercy of the enemy, he returned to *Samos*, where he was near enough to watch the motions of the *Syrians* [s].

Antiochus *invades the kingdom of* Pergamus.

WHILE theſe things were doing, *Antiochus* on one ſide, and his ſon *Seleucus* on the other, thinking that the *Roman* fleet was engaged in the ſiege of *Patara*, invaded the kingdom of *Pergamus*. *Seleucus* paſſing the *Caicus* from *Æolis*, where he had wintered, entered the dominions of *Eumenes* by the way of *Elæa*, while *Antiochus* advancing to *Sardis*, and from thence to the banks of the *Caicus*, incamped at a ſmall diſtance from his ſon. The king had in his army about four thouſand *Gauls*, whom he employed in plundering and laying waſte the country, while *Seleucus* at the head of his body appeared before *Pergamus* the capital of the kingdom, threatening to
b beſiege it. But *Eumenes* upon the firſt notice of the danger from his brother *Attalus*, whom he had left to take care of his dominions during his abſence, ſailed back to the port of *Elæa*, landed there, and reached his capital before the enemy had notice of his march. The *Roman* and *Rhodian* fleets followed him without delay; all the troops they had on board made a deſcent without oppoſition, and at the ſame time news came from all parts, that the *Scipio*'s were advancing by great marches through *Macedon*, would ſoon reach the *Helleſpont*, and be ready to enter *Aſia*. Upon this *Antiochus*, being ſtruck with as much terror as he had given *Eumenes*, retired to an eminence near *Elæa*, and having intrenched himſelf there, ſent an embaſſy to *Æmilius*, deſiring to enter into a treaty with him. *Æmilius* thinking it would greatly redound
c to his glory to conclude a peace before the *Scipio*'s arrived, readily hearkened to the propoſal, and deſired *Eumenes* and the *Rhodians* to come to his camp and aſſiſt at a council on the ſubject of *Antiochus*'s propoſal. The *Rhodians* were not diſinclined to a peace; but *Eumenes* oppoſed it, and by his arguments prevailed upon the council to return this anſwer to the meſſengers of *Antiochus*, that they could not determine any thing before the arrival of the *Scipio*'s. Hereupon *Antiochus*, leaving his ſon to ravage the kingdom of *Pergamus*, marched into the country of *Troas*, which adhered to the *Romans*, and encamped near *Adramyttium* at the foot of mount *Ida*. *Æmilius* therefore accompanied by *Eumenes* haſtened to the aſſiſtance of thoſe faithful allies. But *Attalus* continued at *Pergamus* to make head againſt *Seleucus*, and was there rein-
d forced by a thouſand foot and an hundred horſe ſent him from *Achæa*, under the command of one *Diophanes*, an officer of great courage and skill in military affairs; for with this ſmall body he ſallied out of the city, gained a conſiderable advantage over *Seleucus*, and obliged him to raiſe the ſiege of *Pergamus*, and quit the dominions of *Eumenes* [t] (L).

[s] Liv. l. xxxvii.

[t] Liv. ubi ſupra.

(L) The defence of *Pergamus* was chiefly owing to a reinforcement of the *Achæans*, who came thither very ſeaſonably, to the aſſiſtance of the young prince. Their commander, by name *Diophanes*, was an officer of diſtinction in his own country, had made his firſt campaigns under the famous *Philopœmen*, and ſeemed to have imbibed all the excellencies of his great maſter. With his body of a thouſand foot, and a hundred horſe, he haraſſed *Seleucus* to ſuch a degree, that he at length forced him to abandon the country, which he infeſted. *Diophanes* ſpent the two firſt days after his arrival in obſerving the *Syrian* intrenchments, and the ſteps they took to make themſelves maſters of the city, which they kept inveſted. He obſerved from the ramparts, that they poſted an advanced guard at the foot of a hill to keep the city in awe, and then diſperſing themſelves in the plains, pillaged the country. As nobody durſt venture out againſt the advanced guard, the *Syrians* pillaged the country without oppoſition. This inaction of the beſieged lulled the beſiegers into a ſecurity; inſomuch that they ſpent great part of their time in diverſions, and were often obſerved to fall aſleep even upon guard. *Diophanes* therefore concluded that it would be no difficult matter to ſurprize them. He acquainted *Attalus* with his reſolution of attacking the advanced guard. That prince looking upon ſuch an expedition as a raſh attempt, was with much ado prevailed upon to conſent to it. However ſubmitting his judgment to that of an old experienced officer, he at length gave him leave to march out at the head of his *Achæans*. All the citizens crowded to the ramparts to be ſpectators of the action, and there ſaw that the approach of ſo ſmall a body did not even draw the *Syrians* off from their ſports. At firſt *Diophanes* ſtood ſtill, as if he had marched out only to watch the enemy's motions. But when he obſerved that the enemy took no notice of him, he marched at the head of his hundred horſe directly up to a body of three hundred of the enemy, ordering his thouſand foot to attack four thouſand *Syrians*, who were poſted near their three hundred horſe. The onſet was ſo ſudden, and the ſhout of the *Achæans* ſo formidable, that the enemy's horſe was immediately put in diſorder. Their infantry having ſcarce had time to draw up after a faint reſiſtance betook themſelves to flight, and were purſued with great ſlaughter by *Diophanes*. The next day the enemy poſted themſelves at a greater diſtance, and obſerved better diſcipline. However *Diophanes* invited the citizens of *Pergamus* to march out with him, promiſing them a ſecond advantage. But the garriſon refuſing to follow him, he took with him his *Achæans* alone, who were glad to venture a ſecond action under his conduct. All the day

was

The Rhodians *defeat the* Phœnician *fleet commanded by* Hannibal.

Antiochus had no better ſucceſs in *Troas*; for *Æmilius*, ſupported by the confederate fleets, forced him to abandon *Adramyttium*; ſo that after he had taken by aſſault ſeveral defenceleſs cities in his way, he returned to *Sardis*. Hereupon the confederate fleets ſailed back to *Samos*, where they ſeparated; *Æmilius* continued there to watch the motions of *Polyxenidas*, *Eumenes* ſailed towards the *Helleſpont*, to get every thing ready for the paſſage of the *Roman* troops into *Aſia*, and *Eudamus* returned to *Rhodes*, there to receive freſh reinforcements. The latter receiving intelligence that a fleet was coming from *Syria* under the command of *Hannibal*, haſtened the equipment of his ſhips, ſailed out to meet the *Carthaginian*, who was now indeed out of his proper element, and with fewer ſhips intirely defeated him off *Sida*, a maritime city of *Pamphylia*, as we have related elſewhere [t]. a b

Antiochus *endeavours to gain over* Pruſias *king of* Bithynia.

UPON the news of this defeat, *Antiochus*, who was then at *Sardis*, being ſenſible of the imminent danger he was in, uſed all poſſible means to engage in the ſame war all the powers of *Aſia*. He began with *Pruſias* king of *Bithynia*, a potent prince, and then in a condition to bring into the field and maintain a numerous army. In order to draw him into his meaſures, *Antiochus* uſed the ſtrongeſt argument that can be made uſe of with ſovereign princes. He repreſented to him the ambitious views of the *Romans*, telling him that their main aim was to overturn monarchy in all places, and under the ſpecious pretence of liberty, to ſolicit all nations to ſhake off the yoke of their kings; that after having ſubdued *Philip* and *Nabis*, they were now coming againſt him; and that if he ſhould be unfortunately overcome, the haughty conquerors c would ſoon penetrate into the heart of *Bithynia*. The two *Scipio*'s, who were then on their march into *Aſia*, being informed of the endeavours *Antiochus* was uſing to engage *Pruſias* in the war, thought proper to put a ſtop to the intrigues of the king of *Syria*; and with that view diſpatched a meſſenger with a letter to *Pruſias*, wherein they obſerved, that it was the conſtant practice of the *Romans* to beſtow the greateſt honours on ſuch kings as ſought their alliance; *Africanus* mentioned ſeveral inſtances, which he himſelf had been concerned in; he ſaid, that in *Spain* ſeveral princes, who before they were favoured with the protection of the *Romans*, had made a very inconſiderable figure, were ſince become mighty kings; that *Maſiniſſa* had not only been reſtored to his kingdom, but that of *Syphax* had been given him, whereby he was become d one of the moſt powerful potentates of the univerſe; that *Philip* and *Nabis*, though vanquiſhed, had nevertheleſs been ſuffered to ſit peaceably on their thrones; that the tribute, which he had agreed to pay, had been lately remitted, and his ſon, who was an hoſtage at *Rome*, ſent back to him; that as for *Nabis*, they had left him in poſſeſſion of his crown, which he would have ſtill enjoyed, had he not loſt his life by the treachery of the *Ætolians*. This letter made a ſtrong impreſſion on the mind of *Pruſias*; but he was ſtill wavering between *Antiochus* and the *Romans*, till a new embaſſy quite fixed him. *C. Livius*, who had the laſt year commanded the fleet on the coaſts of *Aſia*, came from *Rome* to *Bithynia*, and made ſuch propoſals to the king in the name of his republic, as prevented him from entering into any engage- e ments with the king of *Syria* [u].

Antiochus being thus diſappointed in the hopes he had entertained of winning over *Pruſias* to his intereſt, his whole dependence was on his fleet. He thought he could more effectually keep the *Romans* out of *Aſia* by recovering the maſtery of the ſea, than by guarding the ſhores of the *Helleſpont* with his land-forces. With this view he left *Sardis* and came to *Epheſus*, where *Polyxenidas* was waiting for him with a good number of ſhips all well equipped, and ſtored with arms and proviſions. *Hannibal* had not yet joined him with the *Phœnician* fleet, being ſtill blocked up in the ports of *Pamphylia*. But on the other hand, the *Romans* had not yet been reinforced by the gallies they expected from *Rhodes*, and the fleet of *Eumenes* was waiting for the f

[t] Hiſt. Univerſ. Vol. III. p. 150, 151.

[u] POLYB. Legat. 22. LIV. l. XXXVII. APPIAN. in Syriac.

was ſpent in watching one another, without any attack on either ſide. At ſun-ſet the *Syrians* withdrew to their camp; and this was the opportunity which *Dioſthanes* waited for. As the *Syrian* troops fled off in a line, the *Achæans* fell on their rear, and there made a moſt dreadful havock, the foremoſt haſtening their pace to reach the camp without daring to face about, and relieve their companions. Theſe repeated advantages gained by *Dioſthanes* and his brave *Achæans* obliged *Seleucus* at laſt to raiſe the ſiege of *Pergamus*, and quit the dominions of *Eumenes* (50).

(50) *Appian. in Syriac. & Liv. l.* XXXVII. *c.* 20.

Scipio's

a *Scipio*'s on the coaſts of the *Helleſpont*. *Antiochus* therefore ordered *Polyxenidas* to engage the *Romans* once more at ſea. As for himſelf, he marched with his land-forces to *Notium* between *Smyrna* and *Epheſus*, and from thence to *Colophon*, which he inveſted. This was one of the moſt conſiderable cities of *Ionia*, and had been long troubleſome to *Antiochus*'s fleet; for as it was ſituate on an eminence, the *Colophonians* diſcovered all that paſſed in the port of *Epheſus*, and gave the *Romans* notice of it. *Antiochus* expected that the *Roman* fleet would fly to the aſſiſtance of their allies, and his aim was to draw it out of the port of *Samos*, that his admiral might have an opportunity of attacking it. And indeed the *Colophonians* immediately diſpatched ſome of their citizens to *Æmilius*, deſiring his aſſiſtance againſt an enemy, which they had drawn
b upon themſelves only by their fidelity to *Rome*. This meſſage broke the admiral's meaſures, for he had determined to ſail to the *Helleſpont* with the firſt favourable wind, and aſſiſt the *Scipio*'s in their paſſage. However he was prevailed upon by *Eudamus*, the *Rhodian* admiral, who had joined him with ſome gallies, to alter his ſcheme; and accordingly he ordered the fleet to be in a readineſs to ſet ſail. But before he attacked *Antiochus*, he reſolved to touch at *Chios*, and take in there ſome proviſions, the general magazine of the *Romans* both for their ſea and land-forces being there. From *Chios* he ſailed to the iſland of *Teos*, being informed that thoſe iſlanders had promiſed the king of *Syria* about five thouſand hogſheads of their beſt wine. He was reſolved either to force them to deliver up the wine to him, or take and
c demoliſh their city, the veſſels which were bringing wine to the *Roman* fleet being kept back by contrary winds. In the mean time *Polyxenidas* being informed that the *Roman* fleet was at *Teos*, left *Epheſus*, and ſailed to that iſland in hopes of being able to ſhut up the enemy's fleet in the harbour. For the city of *Teos* had two ports, whereof the ſafeſt and moſt capacious was formed by two promontories, which came ſo near each other, that two gallies could ſcarce ſail out of it abreaſt; and in this *Æmilius* firſt anchored, but before the arrival of *Polyxenidas* he had by the advice of *Eudamus* changed his poſt. Wherefore the *Syrian* admiral inſtead of blocking up the harbour was obliged to keep his fleet ſheltered under the iſland of *Macris* over-againſt *Myonneſias*, till the *Roman* fleet ſailed out. There he continued two days in hopes of ſur-
d prizing the *Romans* as they ſailed by from *Teos* to *Colophon*. But in the mean time *Æmilius* being informed that the *Syrian* fleet waited for him at *Macris*, left *Teos*, and ſteered his courſe towards that iſland with his ſhips drawn up in line of battle. As *Polyxenidas* had poſitive orders to engage the *Romans*, he laid hold of this opportunity, and attacked them with great reſolution. The *Roman* fleet conſiſted of eighty ſhips, and the *Syrian* of eighty-nine, ſome of which were of an enormous ſize, two of them being heptaremes, and three hexaremes. The *Rhodians* had then invented a kind of fire-ſhips, which ſtruck great terror into the *Syrian* fleet; cauldrons full of combuſtible and burning materials were hung out at their prows, ſo that none of the enemy's ſhips durſt approach them. Theſe fell on the enemy's gallies, ſtruck their beaks into
e them, and at the ſame time ſet them on fire. The *Syrian* gallies left their ranks, and crowded round them, not with an intent to board them, but to diſcharge their arrows, darts, and javelins againſt their crews; in the mean time the *Roman* ſhips ſailing into the ſpaces, which the *Syrians* had left, put their whole fleet in confuſion, *Polyxenidas* did all that lay in his power to encourage his men, but in ſpight of all his efforts the left wing being in great diſorder, clapped on all the ſails they could, and quitted the fight. Then *Polyxenidas* endeavoured to retire in good order, but the *Rhodian* fire-ſhips advancing againſt him, and ſetting ſome of his gallies on fire, the reſt betook themſelves to a precipitous flight. The hiſtorians, who moſt leſſen the advantage gained by *Æmilius* on this occaſion, agree that he ſunk thirty-nine of
f the enemy's ſhips, and took thirteen; but others ſay, that the *Syrians* loſt forty-two ſhips, and thirteen gallies, whereas the *Romans* loſt but two ſhips, which were ſunk in the very beginning of the engagement [w].

The Syrian *fleet defeated by the* Roman.

Antiochus was ſo ſtruck with the news of this defeat, that, as if he had been quite deprived of his ſenſes, he took ſuch meaſures as were quite oppoſite to his intereſt. For in this conſternation he ſent orders for drawing his forces out of *Lyſimachia*, and the other cities of the *Helleſpont*, to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands, tho' *Lyſimachia* alone might have ſtopped the whole conſular army for a great while. Then he complained of his hard fate in theſe words: I know not what god has infatuated

w Liv. & Appian. ibid.

me!

me! every thing happens contrary to my expectations. Heaven perſecutes me, and what can I infer from all this, but that my ruin approaches? Being greatly dejected by theſe reflections, he raiſed the ſiege of *Colophon*, and retired firſt to *Sardis*, and then to his ſon-in-law *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia*, where he made it his whole buſineſs to aſſemble all the land-forces he could with a deſign to make head againſt the *Scipio*'s, who were already arrived at the *Cherſoneſus* near the *Helleſpont*. Here *Scipio Africanus* received advice of his ſon's being taken priſoner by the *Syrians*, an accident which gave him great uneaſineſs. He had brought him with him into *Greece* to form him from his tender years to the military profeſſion, and had ſent him in a *Chalcidian* ſhip to *Demetrias*, being unwilling to expoſe him to any hazards in *Aſia*. But in his paſſage, the ſhip, which carried him, being attacked and taken by a *Syrian* galley, the young *Roman* was brought to *Antiochus*, who treated him with all the marks of honour that were due to his birth, and the reputation of his father. But after all the detention of a ſon, ſo tenderly beloved, ſenſibly affected the father. This accident however did not abate the ardor of *Scipio*, and the deſire he had of fighting *Antiochus*. The *Roman* troops purſued their march, not doubting but they ſhould meet with a vigorous reſiſtance at *Lyſimachia*. They approached the city in battle-array, but were never more ſurprized than when they found that the ſea was unguarded, and that *Lyſimachia* opened her gates to them. *Antiochus* had drawn the gariſon out of that important place, as we have related above, and the *Syrians* had evacuated it with ſuch precipitation, as to leave all the proviſions behind them; ſo that the *Roman* army, which was fatigued with a long march, found there all ſorts of refreſhments, and waited in that neighbourhood for the coming up of their ſtragglers and ſick. During their ſtay they received another piece of news no leſs ſurprizing than the abandoning of *Lyſimachia*. On the oppoſite ſhore ſtood the city of *Abydus*, the key of *Aſia*, which was to be taken before they could enter the *Syrian* dominions. This city likewiſe *Antiochus* had deſerted, and ordered the gariſon to evacuate the place and join him; ſo that the inhabitants ſent to acquaint the *Roman* generals, that they were ready to receive them as ſoon as they arrived. Hence the *Scipio*'s concluded, that *Antiochus* without *Hannibal* was no formidable enemy; for the reſolution of evacuating theſe cities, and waiting for the *Romans* in the heart of *Aſia*, had been taken in his abſence. As the *Romans* found no enemies at the *Helleſpont* to diſpute their paſſage, they croſſed over in good order by the care of *Eumenes* and the *Rhodians*, who had waited for them there [x] (M). The *Romans* being now in *Aſia*, went up to *Troy*, and ſtopt ſome time there, looking upon that city as their primitive country, and the place they originally ſprung from. The conſul offered up ſacrifices to *Minerva*, who preſided over the citadel. Both parties were overjoyed much after the ſame manner as parents and children when they meet after a long ſeparation. The inhabitants ſeeing thoſe who were deſcended from the ſame anceſtors with themſelves conquerors of the weſt, and of *Africa*, laying claim to *Aſia*, imagined they ſaw *Troy* riſe from its aſhes in greater ſplendor than ever. On the other ſide, the *Romans* were highly pleaſed to ſee themſelves in the ancient abode of their forefathers, who had given birth to *Rome*; and to view and contemplate the temples and deities which they had in common with that city [y] (N).

The Romans *enter* Aſia. *Year of the flood* 2809. *Before Chriſt* 190.

a b c d e

Antiochus *ſends an embaſſy to the* Scipio's.

WHEN advice was brought to *Antiochus* that the *Romans* had croſſed the *Helleſpont*, and were encamped at *Abydus*, he was ſeized with freſh terror; and being fully convinced that ſome deity was contriving his ruin, he turned all his thoughts

[x] LIV. ibid. & APPIAN. p. 105. [y] JUSTIN. l. xxxi. c. 8. & LIV. ubi ſupra.

(M) We are told by *Livy*, that *Scipio Africanus* did not croſs the *Helleſpont* with his brother, but remained ſome days on the *European* ſhore, being detained there by religious duties. He was one of the *Salii*, that is, one of the prieſts of *Mars*, who every year after a ſolemn ſacrifice carried through the city of *Rome* thoſe ſacred ſhields, which *Numa* was ſuppoſed to have received from heaven. During this ſolemnity the *Salii*, though generals of armies, did not undertake any enterprize, or even ſtir from the place they were in. This was a troubleſome ſuperſtition, but *Scipio* complied with it, and continued ſome days in *Europe*, while his brother and the *Roman* troops were in *Aſia* (51). We ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of this and other *Roman* feſtivals in the hiſtory of *Rome*.

(N) *Demetrius Scepſius*, as quoted by *Strabo* (52), tells us, that he, being then very young, happened to come to *Ilium* or *Troy* to viſit the curioſities of the place, while *Scipio* was there; and adds, that the inhabitants were at that time ſo wretchedly poor, that they had not even tiles wherewithal to cover their houſes, which were filled with filth and naſtineſs.

(51) *Liv. l.* xxxvii. *c.* 33. (52) *Strabo, l.* iii. *p.* 594.

on

a on peace. He ſeldom employed any but foreigners in the moſt important negotiations, and the perſon he now pitched upon was one *Heraclides*, by birth a *Bizantine*, and of *Thracian* extraction. His inſtructions were to addreſs himſelf in the firſt place to *Scipio Africanus*, to make his court to him with great aſſiduity, and when he found him diſpoſed to hearken to his propoſals, to aſſure him, but in private, that *Antiochus* was ready to reſtore him his ſon, whom he ſo tenderly loved, without ranſom; that all the king of *Syria*'s treaſures were at his ſervice, and that he was willing to ſhare his dominions with him, and whatever elſe he had. The propoſals which he was to make to the *Roman* council were, that *Antiochus* was ready to deliver up to them the cities of *Lampſacus*, *Smyrna* and *Alexandria*, and was not averſe from eva-
b cuating ſuch places in *Ionia* and *Æolis* as the *Romans* had demanded; and, laſtly, that he would conſent to pay half the expence which *Rome* had been at in bringing the war into *Aſia*. With theſe inſtructions *Heraclides* ſet out for the *Roman* camp on the banks of the *Helleſpont*; but was ſurprized not to find the eldeſt *Scipio* there, he having ſtaid on the *European* ſhore to perform ſome religious ceremonies. *Heraclides* therefore prolonged his ſtay at *Abydus* under various pretences, till the arrival of *Publius*, and then he demanded audience, and being admitted into the council of war, ſpoke agreeable to his inſtructions [1].

THE embaſſador thought his propoſals ſo advantagious, that they could not be *His propoſals rejected.* rejected; but the *Romans* judged otherwiſe, and gave him this final anſwer; that
c a peace would not be granted to *Antiochus* upon any but the following conditions: 1. That ſince he had drawn the war upon himſelf, he ſhould defray the whole expence of it: 2. That he ſhould reſtore liberty in general to all the *Greek* cities in *Aſia*: 3. That to prevent all future hoſtilities he ſhould relinquiſh all *Aſia* on this ſide mount *Taurus*.

Heraclides finding that the council would not comply with any of his demands, endeavoured, purſuant to his private inſtructions, to win over *Scipio Africanus* ſingly. He was very aſſiduous at his tent, and being always well received by him in regard of the kindneſs his maſter had ſhewn to his ſon, he at laſt diſcloſed his inſtructions to him, telling him that *Antiochus* was not only ready to reſtore him his ſon without
d ranſom, but to ſhare all his treaſures with him, and even place him on the ſame throne. To theſe overtures *Scipio* returned the following anſwer: If the king of *Syria* reſtores me my ſon, it will be a perſonal obligation, which, as a father, I ſhall ever acknowledge with the deepeſt ſenſe of gratitude; but he is not to expect any gratification from me as a ſervant of the public. As a good citizen I can neither receive any thing from an enemy, nor promiſe any thing to him. But let me give him a piece of advice, ſince that is all I can do in the condition to which he has reduced himſelf. He ought to have kept poſſeſſion of *Lyſimachia*, which would have ſtopt us, or appeared on the banks of the *Helleſpont*, to diſpute our paſſage into *Aſia*; in that caſe he would have perhaps obtained more favourable terms. But
e now that we have entered *Aſia*, and are, as it were, maſters both of the horſe and his rider, all he has to do is to ſubmit to whatever conditions we ſhall think fit to preſcribe to him. As for the kindneſs he ſhews my ſon, all I can do is to pray the gods that he may never be in his ſituation, nor want that protection which he ſo generouſly gives the child. And if he would preſerve himſelf from ſo great a miſfortune, let him avoid coming to a pitched battle with the *Romans*. This advice is the ſtrongeſt teſtimony I can give him, both of my eſteem and gratitude [2].

THE ill ſucceſs of this embaſſy ſunk *Antiochus* into a deep melancholy. He thought that the *Romans* could not have preſcribed him worſe terms had they conquered him, and ſuch a peace appeared to him as diſadvantagious as the moſt calamitous war. He
f therefore turned all his thoughts from projects of peace to the neceſſary preparations for oppoſing the enemy, and preventing his further progreſs. He encamped near *Thyatira* in *Lydia*, and there aſſembled all his forces. On the other hand the *Roman* army leaving *Troy*, advanced in ſix days to *Elæa* near the mouth of the *Caicus*. As this city was ſubject to the kings of *Pergamus*, *Eumenes* went immediately to wait on the *Scipio*'s, and then returning to *Pergamus*, ſent from thence all manner of proviſions for the army, which he ſoon joined with all his forces. While they were encamped in the neighbourhood of *Elæa*, *Scipio Africanus* falling ſick, was ſent to that city, which *Antiochus* no ſooner heard than he ſent his ſon to him without ranſom. A

[1] Liv. ibid. APPIAN. in Syriac. p. 106. POLYB. legat. 23. [2] Liv. l. xxxvi, xxxvii.

moſt noble inſtance of generoſity in an enemy ſo lately provoked. *Scipio* received him with inexpreſſible joy, and after having embraced him a thouſand times, he ſtrictly charged the *Syrian*, who brought him, to return his moſt hearty thanks to *Antiochus*, and to tell him that he could no otherwiſe ſhew his gratitude at preſent, than by giving him one piece of advice, which was, that the king ſhould by no means hazard a battle, till he was recovered, and returned to the camp [b]. Perhaps *Scipio* thought that a delay for ſome days would give the king an opportunity of reflecting more ſeriouſly than he had hitherto done; and incline him to conclude a ſolid peace. But however that be, the tranſports of joy which *Scipio* felt on this occaſion, gave a turn to his diſtemper, and quite cured him. But before he was in a condition to return to the camp, the conſul appointed *Cn. Domitius* to be his lieutenant in the room of his brother, and marched againſt *Antiochus*, who was encamped at *Thyatira*, without him, not doubting but he ſhould be able to conquer without ſharing the glory of the victory with his brother. Although the ſuperiority of *Antiochus*'s forces, which were much more numerous than thoſe of the *Romans*, might naturally induce him to venture a battle, yet the wiſdom and authority of *Scipio*, whom he conſidered as his laſt refuge, in caſe any calamitous accident ſhould befal him, prevailed over all other conſiderations. He therefore would not wait for the conſul in the plains of *Thyatira*, but moved from thence, and leaving the river *Hermus* between him and the *Romans*, encamped near *Magneſia*, within reach of mount *Sipylus*. In order to prevent his being attacked in this new poſt, he dug a ditch round his camp ſix cubits deep, and twelve broad, which was guarded on the outſide by a double row of palliſades, the ſecond row being defended at proper diſtances by ſtrong walls and towers to keep off the enemy. In the mean time the conſul leaving the banks of the *Caicus* advanced by great marches towards *Thyatira*, where he ſuppoſed the king was ſtill encamped. But being informed of the new ſituation of the *Syrian* army, he turned towards the *Hermus*, and poſted himſelf at firſt within five miles of the enemy. While he was forming his camp a party of *Gauls* mixed with ſome *Scythians* appeared in ſight of the *Romans*, and advanced in good order to attack them. The *Romans* repulſed them, and while they were endeavouring to repaſs the river, killed great numbers of them. After this ſkirmiſh both parties continued inactive for ſome days, till the conſul paſſing the river poſted himſelf within two miles and an half of the enemy's camp. While he was fortifying his new camp, three thouſand *Syrians* attacked the workmen, but were ſoon obliged to retire with the loſs of two hundred men partly killed, and partly taken. Both armies marched out of their camps every morning, and drew up in order of battle, but ſo near their trenches, that it was plain they had no mind to come to an engagement. At length the *Romans* marched into the plain, and challenged the *Syrians*, but *Antiochus* notwithſtanding this challenge continued near his intrenchments. Theſe delays tired out the conſul's patience, who dreaded the arrival of his brother, being unwilling to ſhare with him the glory of the victory. He therefore ſummoned a council of war in all haſte, and propoſed attacking the enemy's intrenchments: the winter, ſaid he, approaches, and the ſeaſon will ſoon force us either to diſcontinue the war till the next ſpring, or to ſpend the winter in our tents. Let us therefore march out immediately againſt theſe effeminate *Aſiatics*, and attack them in their trenches, ſince they have not the courage to meet us in the field. The *Romans* never ſhewed ſo much contempt for an enemy as on this occaſion; they were all to a man for forcing the *Syrian* camp, if they continued to decline a battle. Accordingly the next day the conſul after viewing the ſituation of the enemy's camp, advanced to it in order of battle. On the other hand, the king thinking it would be ſhameful for him to decline an engagement, being at the head of an army far more numerous than that of the enemy, in a friend's country, and in the midſt of his allies, reſolved at all events to accept the challenge, and accordingly prepared for a deciſive battle [c].

The battle of Magneſia.

THE *Roman* army conſiſted of four legions partly *Romans*, and partly *Latins*, each legion at this time containing five thouſand five hundred men, and of ſeven thouſand auxiliaries ſent by the kings of *Pergamus* and *Macedon*; but of theſe two thouſand were ordered to guard the camp during the action. The *Romans* were poſted in the center, and the *Latins* in the two wings, the left of which extended to the river. On the ſide of the right wing to cover and ſupport it, the conſul poſted the auxiliary

[b] POLYB. legat. 23. LIV. l. xxxvii. JUSTIN. l. iii. c. 7. APPIAN. p. 105, 106. AUREL. VICT. p. 609.
[c] LIV. & APPIAN. ibid.

troops

troops of *Eumenes*, a ſmall body of horſe, and ſome *Trallians* and *Cretans* lightly armed. He did not think it neceſſary to ſtrengthen in like manner the left wing, the river, and banks, which were very ſteep, ſeeming a ſufficient defence on that ſide. The ſixteen elephants, which the *Romans* had, were placed behind the army by way of corps-de-reſerve, the conſul not thinking it proper to oppoſe them to thoſe of the enemy, which were far more numerous, being in all fifty-two; and beſides excelled the *Roman* elephants in ſtrength, height, and courage, the former being brought from *India*, and the latter from *Africa*. As for the *Syrian* army, all the nations of the eaſt ſeemed to be aſſembled to ſupport the cauſe of *Antiochus*. But the main ſtrength of it conſiſted in ſixteen thouſand foot, armed after the *Macedonian* manner, who compoſed the phalanx. This body faced every way, was armed with long pikes, and taught to fight in cloſe order, as the ſoldiers of *Alexander the Great* had formerly been. *Antiochus* did not draw up his phalanx as uſual; but divided it into ten companies ſeparated from each other, placing in the ſpaces between each of the companies an elephant loaded with a tower full of armed men. On the right of the phalanx was drawn up in a line, part of the cavalry, *viz.* fifteen hundred *Aſiatic Gauls*, three thouſand horſe armed cap-a-pee, and a thouſand horſe more, the flower of the *Median* cavalry. At ſome diſtance from theſe followed the cavalry of the king's houſhold, richly cloathed, and wearing bucklers plated over with ſilver. In the ſame line twelve hundred *Scythians* on horſeback, armed with bows and arrows, made a great figure, being all choſen men, and of an extraordinary ſize. The light-armed troops, to the number of three thouſand, partly *Trallians*, and partly *Cretans*, with ten thouſand *Myſian* archers, and four thouſand men more, partly *Cyrtæans* armed with ſlings, partly *Perſians* armed with bows, and partly *Arabians* mounted on dromedaries cloſed the right wing, which was led on by the king in perſon ſurrounded by a body of *Syrians* and *Lydians* well mounted, but not heavily armed. The left wing was commanded by *Seleucus* and *Antipater*, the former the king's ſon, and the latter his nephew, and diſpoſed thus. Cloſe to the phalanx were poſted fifteen hundred *Galatians*, and two thouſand *Cappadocians*, which king *Ariarathes* had ſent to the aſſiſtance of his father-in-law. Next to theſe were placed two thouſand ſeven hundred auxiliaries ſent from different countries. Theſe were followed by three thouſand cuiraſſiers well mounted. And, laſtly, in the flank of this wing marched two thouſand horſe lightly armed. At ſome diſtance were placed ſeveral ſmall bodies of light-armed troops both foot and horſe; among which were two thouſand five hundred *Galatian* horſe, ſome *Tarantines*, *Cretans*, *Carians*, *Cilicians*, &c. The phalanx, which was in the center, was commanded by three officers of diſtinction, *viz.* *Minio*, *Zeuxis*, and *Philip*. A vaſt number of chariots, armed with hooks and ſcythes, were drawn up before the firſt line, as were likewiſe a great many elephants carrying towers with ſeveral floors, all filled with ſlingers and archers; and beſides many camels, animals then unknown to the *Roman* troops, mounted by *Arabians*, armed with ſwords ſix foot long, that the riders might from their backs reach the enemy. The *Romans* had never ſeen a more numerous army, nor one more finely adorned (O); and nevertheleſs they never ſhewed ſo great a contempt for an army as for this, which they were now going to attack.

On the day of the battle the weather proved very favourable to the *Romans*; for a thick fog riſing in the morning, the day was almoſt turned into night, ſo that the *Syrian* commanders could not have all the corps under their command in view, on account of their great extent, and ſend them proper orders in time; whereas the fog was not thick enough to prevent the *Roman* generals from ſeeing their ſeveral bodies at the greateſt diſtance, as they took up but little ground. Beſides, the damp,

(O) *Florus* tells us (53), that *Antiochus* ſtrengthened his army with elephants of a monſtrous ſize, all covered with gold, ſilver, ſcarlet, and their own ivory. We read in the firſt book of the *Maccabees* (54), that he had an hundred and twenty elephants. And indeed when he fought with *Ptolemy* he had an hundred and two, and afterwards, as *Polybius* aſſures us, an hundred and fifty. But in this engagement *Livy* writes, that he had only fifty-four elephants, ſeventy thouſand foot, and upwards of twelve thouſand horſe. According to *Appian* he had in all but ſeventy thouſand men. *Florus* moſt hyperbolically raiſes the number of his forces to three hundred thouſand men; and adds, that he had as many horſes and iron chariots in the field that day. The *Romans* were between eight and twenty and thirty thouſand men, horſe and foot, whereof two thouſand were left to guard the camp.

(53) *Flor. Hiſt Rom. l. ii. c.* 8.

(54) 1 *Maccab. c.* 8. *v.* 6.

which

which was occaſioned by the fog, ſlackened the ſtrings of the enemy's bows, ſo that a
the *Aſiatics*, who uſed them, could ſhoot their darts and arrows but faintly. The
whole dependance of *Antiochus* in the firſt attack was on his armed chariots, which
were to cut their way into the *Roman* army. For this purpoſe they had long hal-
berts faſtened to their poles, and ſharp hooks to their axle-trees; the former were
about the height of a man's head, and the latter almoſt ſwept the ground, and cut
off the legs of all who ſtood in their way. But *Eumenes* undertook to render them
uſeleſs, and even fatal to the enemy. This brave prince, putting himſelf at the
head of the bow-men and ſlingers, ordered them to charge not in a body, but divi-
ded in platoons, and to aim only at the horſes in the chariots. Accordingly, as ſoon
as the chariots moved, *Eumenes* advanced at the head of his men, who pouring on b
them from every quarter darts, ſtones, and javelins, and at the ſame time ſhout-
ing as loud as they could, ſo frightened the horſes, that they could no longer be kept
in order, but ſcouring up and down, and turning againſt their own troops, fell on
the *Arabians*, who ſupported them, which occaſioned a great confuſion in that quar-
ter. Thoſe in the *Syrian* army, who were at a diſtance, hearing the noiſe and outcries,
and not knowing the cauſe of them, were ſtruck with no ſmall terror. After this
advantage, the *Roman* cavalry advanced, and fell on thoſe whom the chariots had
put in diſorder. The *Syrians*, being already intimidated, after a faint reſiſtance gave
way, and the *Romans* made a great ſlaughter of their men and horſes, both being
bore down with the weight of their heavy armour. *Eumenes* charged the left wing, c
in which *Seleucus* commanded, with ſuch vigor, that he put it to flight, and the
fugitives flying to the phalanx for protection, put that body likewiſe in diſorder,
which *Domitius* obſerving, advanced againſt it at the head of his legionaries, but could
not break it till he ordered his men to attack the elephants, which, as we have obſerved
above, were placed in the ſpaces between the companies. The *Romans* had learnt
in their wars with *Pyrrhus* and *Hannibal* not to fear thoſe monſters which were once
ſo terrible to them. They attacked them therefore with great reſolution, and driv-
ing them againſt the phalangites, put that body into diſorder, by means of thoſe very
animals which had been poſted there for its defence.

BUT in the mean time advice was brought that the left wing of the *Romans* was d
in great danger. *Antiochus*, who had obſerved that the flanks of the left wing
were quite open and uncovered, the four ſquadrons which covered it, having joined
the reſt of the cavalry to fall upon the enemy's left wing, had charged it at the head
of all his auxiliaries not only in front, but in flank. The *Roman* infantry, ſeeing
themſelves in imminent danger of being ſurrounded, and hemmed in on all ſides, fled
in great diſorder to their camp, which was guarded by two thouſand men under the
command of a legionary tribune called *Æmilius*. This man ſeeing the *Romans* flying
towards him, marched out at the head of all his troops to meet them, and after
having bitterly reproached them for their cowardice, and ignominious flight, ordered
his men to draw their ſwords, and cut in pieces ſuch as ſhould advance one ſtep e
farther, or refuſe to face about againſt the enemy. This order given ſo ſeaſonably,
and put in execution without mercy againſt ſome, had the deſired effect. Thoſe
who were flying firſt halted, and then, being both reinforced and encouraged by
Æmilius, returned under his conduct to wipe off the diſhonour of their flight. At
the ſame time *Attalus* the brother of *Eumenes*, having left the right wing on his
receiving advice that the left was in danger, arrived very ſeaſonably with two hundred
horſe. *Antiochus* obſerving that the troops, which had fled, were returning to the
battle, and that the enemy's right wing was ready to fall upon him, turned his horſe
Antiochus about, and fled. This ſerved in a manner as a ſignal for the reſt of the troops, for
defeated. the whole *Syrian* army immediately turned their backs. *Eumenes* alone purſued them f
at the head of the cavalry, and made a moſt dreadful havock of the fugitives. The
Romans walking over heaps of dead bodies, eſpecially where the phalanx ſtood,
marched up to the *Syrian* camp, attacked, and plundered it. The riches they found
in it are not to be deſcribed, but the taking of it coſt the *Romans* a new battle, which
proved more fatal to the *Syrians* than that in the field, for the *Romans* having in
ſpite of a moſt deſperate reſiſtance forced the intrenchments, gave no quarter, but put
all to the ſword without diſtinction. There fell this day in the battle, in the purſuit,
and in the plunder of the camp fifty thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe, fifteen
hundred were taken priſoners, and fifteen elephants. In the conſular army there
were but three hundred foot killed, and twenty-five horſe. *Eumenes* had only fifteen
of

a of his men killed, ſo that this victory, as we are told by the ancients, ſeemed a prodigy to all nations both of the eaſt and weſt [d].

Antiochus retired to *Sardis* with as many of his forces that had eſcaped the ſlaughter, as he could draw together. From *Sardis* he ſoon marched to rejoin his ſon *Seleucus*, who had fled to *Apamea*. As for the conſul he took advantage of the king's defeat and flight, making himſelf maſter of all the neighbouring countries. Deputies haſtened to him from all parts; the cities of *Thyatira*, *Magneſia*, *Trallis*, *Magneſia* in *Caria*, all *Lydia*, and *Epheſus* itſelf, though highly favoured by *Antiochus*, declared for the *Romans*. *Polyxenidas*, upon the news of the king's defeat, left the port of *Epheſus*, and ſailed to *Patara*, where he landed with a very ſmall guard, and returned by land
b into *Syria*. The conſul took the road to *Sardis*, which opened its gates to him. As he ſtopped there, his brother *Africanus*, as ſoon as his health allowed him, came and joined him in that city, and congratulated him on the glory he had ſo lately acquired. But after all, the conſul, we may ſay, had but a ſmall part in the victory; for all the hiſtorians, who ſpeak of the battle of *Magneſia*, aſcribe the whole ſucceſs of it to *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus*, and *Attalus* his brother, without mentioning any valiant action or prudent order, by which the conſul ſignalized himſelf on that occaſion. However he took the ſurname of *Aſiaticus* as his brother had done that of *Africanus*.

Antiochus finding his affairs in a bad ſituation both by ſea and land, and not daring
c to appear before the conſular army in the field, ſent *Antipater* his brother's ſon, and *Zeuxis*, who had been governor of *Lydia* and *Phrygia*, to ſue for a peace. They were ordered to treat chiefly with the elder brother, of whoſe clemency and good nature *Antiochus* entertained a high opinion. Accordingly on their arrival at *Sardis*, where the conſul then was with his brother, they addreſſed the latter, and were by him preſented to the conſul. Their ſpeech was very ſubmiſſive, and ſuch as became a vanquiſhed people. To you, O *Romans*, ſaid they, we apply to know by what means we may appeaſe the wrath of your republic. All the kings you have hitherto conquered have experienced your clemency after their defeat. Shall *Antiochus* then be the only prince on whom you will wreak your vengeance? No victory has given
d you ſo much reaſon to favour the vanquiſhed as this. It aſſures you of the conqueſt of the univerſe. It even puts you upon a level with the immortal gods. Learn therefore to be like them, ſlow to puniſh, and ready to forgive [e].

HEREUPON a council was ſummoned, and after long debates the embaſſadors were called in, and *Scipio Africanus*, being deſired by the conſul to acquaint the deputies with the reſolutions of the aſſembly, is ſaid to have expreſſed himſelf in the following terms: We are ſenſible that the victory, which we have lately gained, is owing to the gods; and therefore ſhall treat the vanquiſhed with moderation, demanding little more of them now than we did at our firſt entering into *Aſia*. *Antiochus* ſhall obtain a peace upon the following terms: That he gives up his pretenſions
e to *Europe*, confines his dominions to *Aſia* beyond mount *Taurus*, pays us fifteen thouſand *Euboic* talents for the expences of the war, five hundred down, two thouſand five hundred when the ſenate and people ſhall confirm the articles, and one thouſand more every year for twelve years together. We alſo inſiſt upon his ſatisfying king *Eumenes*, and his paying him the four hundred talents he owes him, and what remains due for the corn, which his father ſent to the king of *Syria*. It is likewiſe the pleaſure of the council that you deliver up to us *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian*, *Thoas* the *Ætolian*, *Mneſilochus* the *Acarnanian*, and *Philo* and *Eubulis* two *Chalcidians*; for theſe have been the authors of our diviſions, the incendiaries who kindled the preſent war. Laſtly, the king of *Syria* for a further proof of his ſincerity ſhall give us twenty ſuch hoſtages as we ſhall chuſe, of whom *Antiochus* his youngeſt ſon
f ſhall be one [f].

Articles of the peace between Antiochus *and the* Romans.

THE embaſſadors of *Antiochus* had been ordered to refuſe no terms, and therefore theſe were accepted, and the whole affair concluded. So that the *Syrian* embaſſadors now prepared to ſet out for *Rome* to get the conditions of peace propoſed by *Scipio* ratified there. In the mean time the conſul dividing his army into three bodies, put it into winter quarters; one part continued at *Magneſia*, another was ſent to *Trallis*, and the third to *Epheſus*, where the *Scipio*'s took up their quarters. There they received a new embaſſy from *Antiochus* with the hoſtages he had promiſed, the

[d] LIV. APPIAN. & JUSTIN. ubi ſupra. [e] APPIAN. in Syriac. III. POLYB. legat. 4. LIV. l. xxxviii.
[f] POLYB. legat. 24. DIODOR. SICUL. legat. 9. LIV. l. xxxvii. JUSTIN. l. xxxi. c. 8. APPIAN. ibid.

Roman priſoners and deſerters, and the ſtrangers, which the conſul had demanded, a
except *Hannibal*, who, after the king's defeat, had fled out of his dominions; and *Thoas* the *Ætolian*, who, as ſoon as he heard that a treaty was on foot between *Antiochus* and the *Romans*, had returned to *Ætolia*, where a war was likely to break out between that republic and *Rome*. *L. Aurelius Cotta* was ſent with the embaſſadors to *Rome*, to acquaint the ſenate with the particulars of the treaty. When they appeared before the conſcript fathers, they ſpoke with great ſubmiſſion, and only deſired them to ratify the articles which the *Scipios* had offered to their maſter. The ſenate, after examining them, ordered that a treaty of peace ſhould be concluded with *Antiochus*, and the articles of it engraved on braſs, and fixed up in the capitol. They only added one clauſe, which was, That the *Syrians* ſhould change every year b
all their hoſtages, except the ſon of king *Antiochus*, who ſhould continue at *Rome*, as long as the republic thought fit. The peace being thus ratified, and all *Aſia*, on this ſide mount *Taurus*, delivered into the hands of the *Romans*, the *Greek* cities were by them reſtored to their liberty, the provinces of *Caria* and *Lydia* given to the *Rhodians*, and all the reſt that had belonged to *Antiochus*, beſtowed upon *Eumenes* g.

IN the mean time the conſulſhip of *Scipio* being expired, *Cn. Manlius Vulſo* was ſent into *Aſia*, to ſucceed him in the command of the army, and with him ten commiſſioners to regulate affairs there. *Manlius* hearing, on his arrival, that the city of *Perga* (P) was ſtill under the dominion of *Antiochus*, contrary to the treaty of peace, advanced with his troops to that place, being deſirous to pick a new quarrel with c
Antiochus; but the governor of the city ſhewing himſelf ready to deliver it up to the *Romans*, as ſoon as he received proper orders from his court, thirty days were allowed him for that purpoſe, and the city was given up at the time appointed. From *Perga* *Manlius* returned to *Apamea*, where the ten commiſſioners and king *Eumenes* then were; and they all together put the laſt hand to the treaty, which was brought from *Rome*, with the additions and alterations, which the ſenate had, after the departure of the embaſſadors, thought fit to make in it (Q). Nothing now remained but to ratify

g APPIAN. & LIV. ubi ſupra.

(P) The city of *Perga* ſtood on the banks of the *Ceſtrius*, and ſtill retains in ſome degree its ancient name, being called by the inhabitants *Pirgi*. The river *Ceſtrius* or *Ceſtrus* had its ſpring on mount *Taurus*, towards the confines of *Iſauria*. It waſhed *Piſidia* and *Pamphylia*, and diſcharged itſelf into the *Attalic* gulf, or the gulf of *Sattalia*.

(Q) As this is a very material part of hiſtory, we ſhall ſet down the treaty at full length, with the alterations and additions which the ſenate thought fit to make in it, ſuch as it has been tranſmitted to us by the *Greek* and *Latin* hiſtorians. It was couched in the following terms: "Peace and friendſhip ſhall "be eſtabliſhed between the *Roman* people and *Antiochus* king of *Syria*, on the following conditions. "I. The king ſhall not ſuffer any army of any enemy "to the *Roman* people, or their allies, to paſs through "his territories; neither ſhall *Rome*, or her allies, "ſuffer any army to paſs through their territories "to make war on *Antiochus*. II. The king of *Syria* "ſhall have no right to extend his conqueſts to the "iſlands near *Aſia*; and he ſhall renounce all his pretenſions to *Europe*. III. *Antiochus* ſhall withdraw "his troops from all the cities, towns and caſtles "on this ſide mount *Taurus*, as far as to the river "*Halys*, and out of all the plain which ſeparates "*Pamphylia* from *Lycia* on one ſide, and from *Lycaonia* on the other. IV. When the *Syrian* troops "evacuate any place, they ſhall not carry the machines of war with them; and if they have done "ſo in any caſe, they ſhall reſtore them. V. *Antiochus* ſhall not receive or harbour in his dominions any fugitive of the kingdom of *Eumenes*. "VI. The inhabitants of the cities given up by the "king of *Syria* ſhall not continue in *Syria*, but repair to *Apamea*, on a day appointed, to be ſent "home to their native countries. VII. But the "*Syrians*, who have a mind to continue in the cities ſubject to *Rome*, or to the allies of *Rome*, ſhall "be ſuffered to do ſo without moleſtation. VIII. "*Antiochus* ſhall, if it be in his power, deliver up "into the hands of the proconſul, *Hannibal* the "*Carthaginian*, and ſon of *Hamilcar*, *Mneſilochus* the "*Acarnanian*, *Thoas* the *Ætolian*, *Eubulis* and *Philo*, "two *Chalcidians*, and all perſons who have enjoyed "any magiſtracy in *Ætolia*. IX. The king of *Syria* "ſhall deliver up all his elephants to the *Romans*, "and train up no more for war. X. He ſhall put "the *Romans* in poſſeſſion of all his armed gallies; "ſhall have no more than ten ſhips at ſea, which "ſhall only be of thirty oars; and ſhall not ſail beyond "the promontories of *Calycadnus* and *Sarpedon*, unleſs it be to bring to *Rome* money, embaſſadors, "or hoſtages. XI. *Antiochus* ſhall not raiſe mercenaries in the countries ſubject to *Rome*, or receive "the voluntiers who ſhall offer to ſerve him. XII. "The houſes and other edifices which were built "before this treaty by the *Rhodians*, and other allies of *Rome*, in the *Syrian* territories, ſhall ſtill "belong to the *Rhodians*, or thoſe other allies who "built them. XIII. Both parties ſhall be at liberty "to demand the money that ſhall be reſpectively "due, and to demand the reſtitution of any thing "that has been taken from them. XIV. Thoſe to "whom *Antiochus* has given the poſſeſſion of any "cities, ſhall evacuate them, and put them into the "hands of their old poſſeſſors. XV. *Antiochus* "ſhall pay the *Romans* for twelve years the annual "ſum of a thouſand talents (*that is*, 258,333 *l.* 6 *s.* "8 *d.*) of the pureſt ſilver, ſuch as that of *Athens*, "and a hundred and forty thouſand modii (35,000 "*Engliſh* buſhels) of the beſt wheat. XVI. He ſhall "pay king *Eumenes*, in the ſpace of five years, three "hundred and fifty talents, and an hundred and "twenty-ſeven talents more, by way of ſatisfaction "for the corn he received from *Attalus*. XVII. *An-*

"*tiochus*

a ratify the treaty by religious ceremonies, and to begin to put it in execution. The proconſul took the uſual oath of the *Romans*, that is, ſtruck a ſow on the head with flint, ſaying, *If I break my word, may* Jupiter *ſtrike me as I ſtrike this victim.* Then *Q. Minucius Thermus*, one of the ten commiſſioners, and *L. Manlius*, were diſpatched to the court of *Syria*, where they made *Antiochus* ſwear, That he would inviolably obſerve all the articles of the treaty. The *Syrian* fleet was then in the port of *Patara*, whither *Fulvius Labeo* repaired, on board the *Roman* gallies, and burnt, according to the conventions, all *Antiochus*'s ſhips, chooſing rather to give this inſtance of ſeverity to all the maritime nations, than to apply the navy of the conquered king to their own uſe. They affected to ſhew the ſame diſintereſtedneſs with regard to
b the king of *Syria*'s elephants; for they made a preſent of them to the king of *Pergamus*. Thus ended the war with *Antiochus*, which coſt the *Romans* but little blood, and yet contributed more than any other to the aggrandizing of their republic; but, at the ſame time, this conqueſt proved, in a manner, fatal to *Rome*; for, from this period, the *Roman* writers date the depravity and corruption of manners, which ended at laſt in the total deſtruction of the republican ſtate. The *Romans*, who ſerved in *Aſia*, brought from thence great wealth, and introduced into *Rome* a taſte and love for luxury and effeminate pleaſures. Luxury, ſays a *Roman* poet, entered triumphant into *Rome*, with the pompous ſpoils of *Aſia*, and dragging after it all manner of vices, made greater havock in the city than the greateſt armies could have
c done; and thus revenged the conquered world [h].

As for the unhappy *Antiochus*, he did not long ſurvive his fall. Being greatly puzzled how to raiſe the ſum which he was to pay the *Romans*, he made a progreſs through the eaſtern provinces, in order to levy the tribute which they owed him, leaving the regency of *Syria* to his ſon *Seleucus*, whom he had declared his ſucceſſor. Being arrived in the province of *Elemais*, he was informed, that a very conſiderable treaſure was lodged in the temple of *Jupiter Belus*. This was a ſtrong temptation to a prince, who had not much regard for religion, and was in extreme want of money. Accordingly, upon a falſe pretence, that the inhabitants of that province had taken up arms againſt him, he entered the temple in the dead of the night, and ſeized on
d all the riches, which had been religiouſly kept there during a long ſeries of years. The populace, highly exaſperated at this ſacrilege, riſing up in arms, ſlew him, and all that were with him. This is the account of his death, which St. *Jerom* gives us, upon the teſtimony of *Strabo* [i]. But *Aurelius Victor* tells us, that this unfortunate prince, after his retreat beyond mount *Taurus*, gave himſelf up to all manner of debauchery, and was killed at an entertainment by one of his gueſts, whom he had ſtruck and abuſed. The difference of theſe accounts has made the moſt judicious among the *Greek* and *Latin* hiſtorians paſs over his death in ſilence. He died in the thirty-ſeventh year of his reign, and fifty-ſecond of his age, and is highly commended by moſt of the ancient hiſtorians for his humanity, clemency and liberality. A
e decree, which he is ſaid to have enacted, giving his ſubjects permiſſion, and even commanding them not to obey his orders when they interfered with the laws, ſhews,

Death of Antiochus.

[h] Juven. l. ii. ſatyr. 6.

[i] Hieron. in Daniel. c. 11.

" *tiochus* ſhall put into the hands of the *Romans* " twenty hoſtages, of which his ſon *Antiochus* " ſhall be one; ſhall exchange them all, except his " ſon *Antiochus*, every three years; and theſe hoſta- " ges ſhall all be between eighteen and forty-five " years of age. XVIII. If he is defective in the " ſums he is to pay annually, or brings any bad " money, he ſhall make ſatisfaction the next year. " XIX. If any of the allies make war upon *Antio-* " *chus*, he ſhall have a right to defend himſelf; but " he ſhall not keep any of their cities to himſelf, or " take them into friendſhip, or draw them over " to his party by corruption. The diſpute ſhall be " determined by pitched batties. XX. If any party " chuſes to add any further articles to theſe, it may " be done by mutual conſent (55)."

Moſt of the copies of *Livy*, inſtead of the river *Halys*, mentioned in the third article, have the river *Tanais*; which muſt certainly be a miſtake, ſince the *Tanais* divides *Aſia* from *Europe*, and falls into the *Palus Mœotis*, and neither the *Romans* nor *Antiochus* had at that time any intercourſe with the nations in that neighbourhood, which lay at a great diſtance from the provinces of *Aſia Minor*; whereas the *Halys* divided *Aſia Minor* into two parts; and *Antiochus* was not only to retire beyond mount *Taurus*, but to withdraw his troops from all the places lying between that mountain and the river *Halys*, which was on this ſide of it. The promontory *Calycadnus*, ſpoke of in the tenth article, ſtood at the mouth of a river in *Cilicia* bearing the ſame name, and near it was the promontory of *Sarpedon*. The river is now known to the *Italians* by the name of *Fiume del Ferro*. The promontory of *Calycadnus* is the ſame with *Strabo*'s cape *Zephyrium*.

(55) *Appian. in Syriac. p.* 112. *Polyb. legat.* 35. *Liv. l.* xxxviii. *c.* 38.

that

that he had an extraordinary regard for juſtice [k]. Till the fiftieth year of his age he behaved on all occaſions with ſuch courage and prudence, as crowned with ſucceſs all his enterprizes, and gained him the title of *the Great*; but, after that age, as he declined in the wiſdom of his conduct, as well as in his application to buſineſs, all his affairs were proportionably unſucceſsful. His conduct in the war with the *Romans*, the contempt in which he held the wiſe counſels of *Hannibal*, and the ignominious peace which he was forced to accept, drowned all the glory of his former expeditions. The prophet *Daniel* had foretold both his great exploits and misfortunes, and his prophecies were fully accompliſhed, as the reader will find in our notes (R). a

He

[k] AUREL VICTOR. de viris illuſtr.

(R) The prophecies of *Daniel*, from the tenth verſe of the eleventh chapter, to the nineteenth inclusive, relate to the actions of this prince, and were all fully accompliſhed. *But his ſons*, ſays the prophet, ſpeaking of the king of *Syria*, or the king of the north, *ſhall be ſtirred up, and ſhall aſſemble a multitude of great forces; and one* (Antiochus the Great) *ſhall certainly come, and overflow, and paſs through: then ſhall he return, and be ſtirred up, even to his fortreſs.* This king of the north was *Seleucus Callinicus*, who left behind him two ſons, *Seleucus Ceraunus*, and *Antiochus* afterwards ſurnamed *the Great*. The former reigned but three years, and was ſucceeded by *Antiochus* his brother. The latter, after having quelled the troubles of his kingdom, waged war with *Ptolemy Philopator* king of the ſouth, that is, of *Egypt*, diſpoſſeſſed him of *Cœle-Syria*, which was delivered to him by *Theodotus* governor of that province, defeated *Ptolemy*'s generals in the narrow paſſes near *Berytus*, and won part of *Phœnice*, advancing as far as the fortreſs, or, as we read in the *Hebrew*, as far as the fortreſſes, that is, to the frontiers of *Egypt*. The victory gained by *Ptolemy* over *Antiochus*, is plainly pointed out in the following lines: *And the king of the ſouth ſhall be moved with choler, and ſhall come forth and fight with him, even with the king of the north; and he ſhall ſet forth a great multitude, but the multitude ſhall be given into his hand.* *Ptolemy Philopator* was an indolent, effeminate prince; his ſubjects were forced to drag him, as it were, into the field, to repulſe the enemy who was marching into his country. At laſt he put himſelf at the head of the army, and, by the valour and conduct of his generals, gained a ſignal victory over *Antiochus* at *Raphia*. There *a great multitude*, that is, the great army which *Antiochus* led into the field, *was given into his hands*, and *Ptolemy did caſt down*, that is, ſlew *many thouſands of them*, and put the reſt to flight. *And when he has taken away the multitude, his heart ſhall be lifted up*, &c. *but he ſhall not be ſtrengthened by it.* *Antiochus* loſt upwards of ten thouſand foot, and three hundred horſe, and four thouſand of his men were taken priſoners. *Philopator*, after this victory, haſtened back into *Egypt*, and there gave himſelf up to ſloth and idleneſs, without taking the advantages which it gave him; and therefore was *not ſtrengthened by it. For the king of the north ſhall return, and ſhall ſet forth a multitude greater than the former, and ſhall certainly come, after certain years, with a great army, and with much riches.* *Antiochus*, having ended the war which he had waged with the nations beyond the *Euphrates*, raiſed a mighty army in thoſe provinces, and fourteen years after the ending of the former war, returned againſt *Egypt*, during the minority of *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, defeated *Scopas* near *Paneas*, and regained the whole country which *Philopator* had reduced after the victory gained at *Raphia*. *And in thoſe times there ſhall many ſtand up againſt the king of the ſouth.* This prophecy was fulfilled by the league made by the kings of *Syria* and *Macedon* againſt the infant king of *Egypt*, by the conſpiracy of *Agathocles* and *Agathoclea* for the regency, and by that of *Scopas*, who wanted to diſpoſſeſs him of his dominions, and ſeize them for himſelf. *Alſo the robbers of thy people ſhall exalt themſelves to eſtabliſh the viſion, but they ſhall fall.* Several apoſtate *Jews*, to ingratiate themſelves with the king of *Egypt*, complied with every thing he required of them, in oppoſition to the ſacred ordinances of the law. But *they fell*; for when *Antiochus* got again poſſeſſion of *Judæa* and *Jeruſalem*, he either cut off, or drove out of the country, all the partiſans of *Ptolemy*. *So the king of the north will come and caſt up a mound, and take the moſt fenced cities; and the arms of the ſouth ſhall not withſtand, neither his choſen people; neither ſhall there be any ſtrength to withſtand.*—*But he that cometh againſt him, ſhall do according to his own will, and none ſhall ſtand before him; and he ſhall ſtand in the glorious land, which by his hand ſhall be conſumed.* *Antiochus*, after having defeated the *Egyptian* army at *Paneas*, beſieged and took, firſt *Sidon*, then *Gaza*, and afterwards all the cities of thoſe provinces notwithſtanding the oppoſition made by the choſen troops, which the king of *Egypt* ſent againſt him, under the command of his beſt generals. *He did according to his own will* in *Cœle-Syria* and *Paleſtine*, and purſuing his conqueſts, entered *Judæa*, that *glorious land*, and there eſtabliſhed his authority, by driving out of the caſtle of *Jeruſalem* the garriſon which *Scopas* had left there; but that garriſon having made ſuch reſiſtance, as obliged *Antiochus* to ſend for the reſt of his army to reduce it, and the ſiege continuing ſome time, the country was deſtroyed and *conſumed* by the ſtay the army was forced to make in it, and the city of *Jeruſalem* ſuffered greatly, as appears from the decree which *Antiochus* afterwards enacted in favour of the *Jews*, granting them leave to repair their demoliſhed city, and raiſe it from the ruinous condition to which it was reduced. This decree was directed to one *Ptolemy*, who ſeems to have been governor of thoſe provinces at that time, and is ſtill extant in *Joſephus* (56). *He ſhall alſo ſet his face to enter with the ſtrength of his whole kingdom, and upright ones with him: thus ſhall he do, and he ſhall give him the daughter of women corrupting her; but ſhe ſhall not ſtand on his ſide, neither be for him.* St. *Jerom* tells us (57), that *Antiochus* gave his daughter in marriage to *Ptolemy*, *corrupting her* with bad principles, and inſtructing her how ſhe ſhould betray her huſband, and put him in poſſeſſion of the kingdom; but he was not ſucceſsful in his deſign, for ſhe was no ſooner married to *Ptolemy*, but ſhe forſook her father's intereſt, and engaged in that of her huſband; and hence it is that we find her joined with him in an embaſſy which was ſent from *Egypt* to *Rome*, congratulating the *Romans* on the victory which *Acilius* had gained over her father at *Thermopylæ*

(56) *Joſeph. Antiq. l.* xii. *c.* 3.

(57) *Hieronym. in c.* 11. *Danielis.*

a He was ſucceeded by *Seleucus* ſurnamed *Philopator*, or, as *Joſephus* ſtiles him, *Soter* [l], which indeed was the ſurname of his ſon *Demetrius*. This prince reigned eleven years, and ſome months; but made a very poor figure, by reaſon of the low ſtate to which the *Syrian* empire had been reduced by the *Romans*, and the exorbitant ſum of a thouſand talents he was obliged to pay annually, by virtue of the treaty of peace between the king his father and that republic. It was under this prince that the famous accident happened concerning *Heliodorus*, which is mentioned in the ſecond book of the *Maccabees* [m]. The city of *Jeruſalem* enjoyed, at that time, a profound tranquillity, *Onias* the high-prieſt cauſing the laws of God to be obſerved, and prompting even kings and idolatrous princes, by his exemplary piety, to have the holy place in the higheſt veneration, and to honour it with rich donatives. *Seleucus* b ſupplied, out of his private revenues, whatever was neceſſary for the pomp and magnificence of the ſolemn ſacrifices, notwithſtanding the difficulties he laboured under, by reaſon of the heavy tribute he was obliged to pay annually to *Rome*; but this ſcene was all on a ſudden changed, and great diſturbances raiſed in the city by one *Simon* of the tribe of *Benjamin*, and chief governor or protector of the temple. This man falling out with *Onias*, to be revenged on him for oppoſing his unjuſt enterprizes, fled from *Jeruſalem*, and went to *Apollonius*, who was governor of *Cœle-Syria* and *Paleſtine* for *Seleucus*, and told him, that there were immenſe treaſures laid up in the temple, which were not deſigned for the ſacrifices, but ſquandered away by the prieſts, and therefore might be better lodged in the king's coffers. Hereupon c *Apollonius* immediately gave notice of what he had heard to the king, who ſent *Heliodorus* his treaſurer to *Jeruſalem*, with orders to ſeize on the treaſures, and bring them to *Antioch*. *Heliodorus*, on his arrival at *Jeruſalem*, acquainted the high-prieſt, who had received him with great demonſtrations of reſpect and eſteem, with the motive of his journey, and asked him, Whether the information which had been given to the king was true? *Onias* told him, That there was indeed ſome money lodged in the temple, but that it was only depoſited there in truſt, being allotted for the maintenance of widows and orphans; that he could not, by any means, diſpoſe of it in wrong of thoſe to whom it belonged; that the whole amounted to no more than four hundred talents of ſilver, and two hundred of gold, and was, in great part, the d private property of *Hyrcanus*, a man of great honour and probity; and laſtly, that ſuch was the holineſs of the place, revered throughout the whole world, that no man ought to lay hands on what was depoſited there. But *Heliodorus* alledging the poſitive orders he had received from his maſter, told the high-prieſt in plain terms, that he muſt ſeize the money, whatever might be the conſequences of ſuch a ſeizure, and carry it to the king at *Antioch*. When *Heliodorus*, on the day appointed, came to the temple, with a deſign to execute his commiſſion, the whole city was ſeized with dread. The prieſts, dreſſed in their ſacerdotal robes, fell proſtrate at the foot of the altar; and the people, covered with ſackcloth, flocked to the temple, and jointly with the prieſts, beſought the Almighty not to ſuffer ſo holy a place to be violated e and expoſed to contempt. But, in the mean time, *Heliodorus*, attended by his guards, was got to the gates of the treaſury, and preparing to break it open, when *the Lord of ſpirits* revealed his power by moſt ſenſible marks, ſtriking all thoſe, who dared to obey *Heliodorus*, with ſuch terror as deprived them of their ſenſes; for there appeared to them a horſe richly capariſoned, which, ruſhing upon *Heliodorus*, ſtruck him

Seleucus Philopator. *Year of the flood* 2812. *Year before Chriſt* 187.

Seleucus *ſends* Heliodorus *to plunder the temple of* Jeruſalem.

[l] Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 4.

[m] 2 Maccab. iii, iv.

mopyla (58). *After this he ſhall turn his face to the iſles, and ſhall take many; but a prince for his own behalf ſhall cauſe the reproach, which* Antiochus *had offered him, to ceaſe: without his own reproach he ſhall cauſe it to turn upon him*; for after having put an end to the war in *Cœle-Syria* and *Paleſtine*, he ſent his two ſons with his army, by land, to *Sardis*, while he himſelf, with a great fleet, ſailed to the *Ægean* ſea, where he reduced ſeveral iſlands, and extended his empire on that ſide; *but the prince of the people to whom he had offered reproach* by that invaſion, that is, *Lucius Scipio* the *Roman* conſul, *made the reproach turn upon him*, by defeating him in the battle of *Magneſia*, and driving him out of all *Aſia Minor*. *Then he ſhall turn his face towards the fort of his own land; but he ſhall ſtumble and fall, and not be found.* *Antiochus*, after his defeat, *returned to the fort of his own land*, that is, to *Antioch*, the capital of his kingdom, and ſtrongeſt place in it. From thence going into the eaſtern provinces to levy money wherewithal to pay the *Romans*, he was ſlain, ſo that he returned not into *Syria*, nor was afterwards *found* there. Theſe are, as it were, the out-lines of *Antiochus*'s picture, and as they reſemble none but him, we cannot imagine that they were drawn undeſignedly, or at random.

(58) *Liv. l.* xxxvii. *c.* 3.

ſeveral times with his fore-feet. His rider had a terrible aſpect, and his weapons a
ſeemed to be of gold. At the ſame time appeared two young men, whoſe beauty daz-
the eye. Theſe, ſtanding on each ſide of *Heliodorus*, ſcourged him inceſſantly with
their whips in a moſt violent manner. *Heliodorus* fell to the ground ſpeechleſs, and
without the leaſt ſymptoms of life, and being in this condition put into a litter, was
by his guards carried off, while the temple, which before reſounded with lamenta-
tions, now echoed with the joyful ſhouts of all the people, who returned thanks to
the Almighty for having thus diſplayed his power in defence of the ſanctuary. Some of
Heliodorus's friends beſought the high-prieſt to invoke God in his favour; whereupon
he offered a ſacrifice for his health, and while he was praying, the two young men
above-mentioned appearing to *Heliodorus*, ſpoke to him thus: Return thanks to *Onias* b
the high-prieſt, ſince, for his ſake, the Lord has granted you life; and ſince you
have been ſcourged from heaven, declare to all men the mighty power of God.
Having ſpoke theſe words, they diſappeared. *Heliodorus* offered up ſacrifices, made
ſolemn vows to him who had ſaved his life, and returning thanks to *Onias*, departed
from *Jeruſalem*, declaring to every one the wonderful works of the Almighty, to
which he himſelf had been an eye-witneſs. On his return to court, the king, per-
ſiſting ſtill in his former reſolution of plundering the temple, asked him, Who, in
his opinion, was the moſt proper perſon for that attempt? *Heliodorus* replied, That
if he had any enemy or traitor, he might ſend him, ſince that was the moſt expedi-
tious way of getting rid of him, He, who dwells in heaven, being preſent in that place, c
and protecting it againſt ſuch as come to profane it. *Joſephus*, who alſo relates this
event, inſtead of *Heliodorus*, names *Apollonius*, who, as we have hinted above, was
governor of *Cœle-Syria* and *Paleſtine*; and with *Joſephus* agree the *Faſti Siculi*. Tho'
the hand of God had appeared on this occaſion in a very miraculous manner, yet
Simon did not lay aſide his animoſity againſt *Onias*, but carried it ſo far as to murder
ſeveral of thoſe who favoured the high-prieſt, being backed therein and encouraged
by *Apollonius*. Hereupon *Onias* took a journey to *Antioch*, to complain to the king
of theſe violences; but he had not been long there ere *Seleucus* died. The epito-
mizer of *Jaſon* of *Cyrenia* tells us, that *Seleucus* was dead before *Onias* reached *Antioch*;
but *Euſebius* ſays, that he found him alive, and prevailed upon him to baniſh the d
perfidious *Simon* [n]. But, be that as it will, heaven did not long defer puniſhing
Seleucus for his ſacrilegious attempt upon the temple, by that very hand which he had
employed in it. We have obſerved above, that when *Antiochus the Great*, the father
of *Seleucus*, made peace with the *Romans*, after the famous battle of *Magneſia*, among
other hoſtages that were then given for the obſervance of the articles, one was
Antiochus the king's ſon, and younger brother to *Seleucus*. This prince had been now
thirteen years at *Rome*, was twenty-ſeven years of age, and *Seleucus* was deſirous of
having him home, and ſending to *Rome*, by way of exchange, his own ſon *Deme-
trius*, who was but ten years old. Some authors are of opinion [o], that *Seleucus* in
this had no other view but to give his ſon a *Roman* education. Others conjecture, e
that he wanted *Antiochus*, to employ him in an expedition againſt *Egypt* during the
minority of *Philometor* [p]; but what prompted him to ſend for *Antiochus* is not recorded
by any authentic hiſtory of thoſe times. The affair was warmly debated in the ſenate
at *Rome*; but at length the exchange was accepted, and *Antiochus* ſet out for *Aſia*,
about the ſame time that the young *Demetrius* ſet out for *Rome*. During the abſence
of the two heirs to the crown, *Heliodorus* thinking this a fair opportunity of ſeizing
Seleucus *poiſoned. Year of the flood* 2823. *Before Chriſt* 176. the throne, by cutting off *Seleucus*, accordingly poiſoned him, and placed the crown
on his own head. Thus was fulfilled the prophecy of *Daniel*, who, ſpeaking of the
death of *Antiochus the Great*, *Then ſhall ſtand up*, ſays he, *in his eſtate a raiſer of taxes*
in the glory of the kingdom; but within few years he ſhall be deſtroyed, neither in anger f
nor in battle. Theſe words evidently denote the ſhort and obſcure reign of *Seleucus*,
and the kind of death which befel him; for he reigned only eleven years, and his
death was neither *in anger* nor *in battle*; that is, neither in war abroad, nor in rebel-
lion at home, but by the treachery of one of his own friends. The prophet calls him
a *raiſer of taxes*, or, as we read in the *Hebrew* text, a *collector of taxes*; and ſuch he
was during the whole time of his reign, being obliged to pay the *Romans*, agreeable
to the articles of peace between them and his father, a thouſand talents annually; and
the laſt of theſe twelve years was the laſt of his life. He is ſaid to have once raiſed

[n] 2 MACCAB. iv. EUSEB. in Chron. [o] SALIAN. ad Ann. Mund. 3878. [p] VAILLANT. in hiſt. reg. Syr.

a

a a conſiderable army with a deſign to aſſiſt *Pharnaces* king of *Pontus* againſt *Eumenes*; but when he was ready to paſs mount *Taurus*, dreading the vengeance of the *Roman* people, he returned home, and disbanded his troops [r]. *Joſephus* tells us [s], that he employed *Hyrcanus* the ſon of *Joſeph*, and nephew to *Tobias*, to gather the taxes on the eaſt ſide of the *Jordan*, where *Hyrcanus* on that occaſion built a ſtrong caſtle of white marble not far from the land of *Heſhbon*; the ſame author adds, that *Seleucus* appointed him governor of all that country, which he held the ſeven laſt years of that prince's reign, living all the time in war with the *Arabians*, and gaining ſignal victories over them.

b It is manifeſt from the ſecond book of the *Maccabees*, and alſo from *Joſephus* [t], that *Seleucus* had been in poſſeſſion of *Cœle-Syria*, *Phœnice*, and *Judæa*, ſome time before his death. For *Apollonius* was governor of thoſe provinces for *Seleucus*, *Heliodorus* was ſent by him to plunder the temple, and *Onias*, when oppreſſed by *Simon*, had recourſe to *Seleucus* king of *Syria*, and not to *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*. But by what means, or on what occaſion thoſe provinces became ſubject to *Seleucus*, is what we find nowhere recorded. After the battle of *Paneas*, *Antiochus*, as we have related above, made himſelf maſter of all *Cœle-Syria* and *Paleſtine*; but when *Ptolemy Epiphanes* married his daughter, he agreed to reſtore them to him by way of dowry. And if they were reſtored, how came *Seleucus* to be poſſeſſed of them anew? *Polybius* [u] ſeems to inſinuate, that this agreement was never executed; for that author

c tells us, that the abovementioned provinces continued ſubject to the king of *Syria* ever after the battle of *Paneas*; and adds, that *Antiochus Epiphanes*, who ſucceeded *Seleucus*, in the anſwer he gave to the embaſſadors, who came from *Greece*, to compoſe the differences that roſe between him and *Ptolemy Philometor*, denied that *Antiochus* had ever agreed to deliver up *Cœle-Syria* to *Ptolemy Epiphanes* on the marriage of his daughter. The authority of *Polybius* would prompt us to believe that *Cœle-Syria* and *Paleſtine*, notwithſtanding the abovementioned agreement, had been retained by the *Syrian* kings, if the contrary were not plain from the book of the *Maccabees*, and likewiſe from *Joſephus* [w], who tells us, that *Hyrcanus* and all the nobles of *Cœle-Syria* and *Paleſtine*, when news was brought them of the birth of *Philometor*, flocked

d to *Alexandria* to congratulate on that occaſion king *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, and *Cleopatra* his queen, which they certainly would not have done had thoſe provinces been ſubject to the king of *Syria*. *Diodorus Siculus* [x] tells us, that *Ptolemy Epiphanes* raiſed a powerful army with a deſign to make war upon *Seleucus*, but was prevented by death from putting his deſign in execution. Now it is not unlikely that *Seleucus*, being provoked thus by *Epiphanes*, taking advantage of the minority of his ſon *Philometor*, purſued the war, which his father was ready to begin, and ſeized on thoſe provinces. For it is certain from the book of the *Maccabees*, and likewiſe from *Joſephus*, that *Seleucus* was in poſſeſſion of thoſe provinces, when he died. But to

e reſume the thread of our hiſtory:

Antiochus, brother of *Seleucus*, being arrived at *Athens* on his return from *Rome*, received there the news of his brother's death, and was at the ſame time told that *Heliodorus* had ſeized the crown, and was ſupported by a ſtrong party; but that another was forming in favour of *Ptolemy*, who claimed the kingdom of *Syria* in right of his mother, the deceaſed king's ſiſter. Hereupon *Antiochus* had recourſe to *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus*, and to *Attalus* that king's brother, who conducted him into *Syria* at the head of a powerful army, drove out the uſurper, and ſeated him on the throne [y]. As this king proved a cruel perſecutor of the *Jews*, the prophet *Daniel* [z] foretold every thing that was to befal him. He expreſſes himſelf with rela- Antiochus Epiphanes.

f tion to his acceſſion to the crown in the following words [a]: *And in his* (Seleucus's) *eſtate ſhall ſtand up a vile perſon, to whom they ſhall not give the honour of the kingdom; but he ſhall come in peaceably, and obtain the kingdom by flatteries.* It is ſaid here, *that to him they ſhall not give the honour of the kingdom*; and truly he did not come to the crown either by right of birth, ſince his brother *Seleucus* had left behind him a ſon, who was his lawful heir; nor by the election of the people; but by the powerful aſſiſtance of *Eumenes* and *Attalus*, whom he gained by *flattering ſpeeches*, and great promiſes. On his being ſettled on the throne he aſſumed the ſurname of *Epiphanes*, that is, *the illuſtrious*, which title, as will ſoon appear, was never worſe applied. The *His character.*

[r] Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. Valeſii. p. 302. [s] Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 4, 5. [t] 2 Maccab. c. 3, 4. [u] Polyb. legat. 72. p. 893. [w] Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 4. [x] Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. Valeſii. p. 294, 297. [y] Appian. in Syriac. p. 116, 117. [z] Daniel. c. xi, & xii. [a] Daniel, c. xi. v. 21.

whole

whole ſeries of his life ſhews, that the epithet of *vile*, or, more agreeable to the original, *deſpicable*, given him by the holy prophet, ſuits better with his character. *Polybius* [b], *Philarchus* [c], *Livy* [d], and *Diodorus Siculus* [e], all heathen writers, and the two firſt his contemporaries, tell us, that he frequently uſed to go out of his palace, attended only by two or three of his domeſtics, and ramble about the ſtreets of *Antioch*; that he ſpent whole days in the ſhops of goldſmiths and engravers, diſputing with them about the myſteries of their trades, which he ridiculouſly pretended to underſtand as well as they; that he was not aſhamed to ſtoop ſo low as to converſe with the very dregs of the people, and mix indiſcriminately with them in the places, to which they reſorted, drinking and carouſing with them, though he had never ſeen them before; that when he heard of any young rakes met together on a party of pleaſure, he never failed to intrude himſelf, and join in all their wanton frolics, without any regard to common decency, or his royal character; that ſometimes diveſting himſelf of his royal robes, and putting on a *Roman* gown, he run from ſtreet to ſtreet, as he had ſeen done in the elections of magiſtrates at *Rome*, taking ſome by the hand, embracing others, and begging all he met to favour him with their votes; for ſometimes he ſet up for ædile, at other times for tribune, or ſome ſuch employment; having thus got himſelf elected, he uſed to call for the curule chair, and ſitting down in it, decide petty ſuits relating to contracts, bargains and ſales made in the market, with as much gravity and attention, as if they had been matters of the higheſt concern. We are likewiſe told [f], that he was much given to drunkenneſs; that he ſquandered away great part of his revenues in riotous exceſſes, and that when intoxicated with liquor, he ſcowered up and down the ſtreets, throwing money by handfuls among the populace, and crying out, Let him take it to whom fortune gives it. At other times he appeared in a *Roman* gown with a garland of roſes on his head, and in that garb walked about the ſtreets quite unaccompanied. If any one offered to follow him, they were ſure to be well pelted with ſtones, which he carried under his gown for that purpoſe. He took pleaſure in going into the public baths among the common people, where he expoſed himſelf by his indecent and ridiculous behaviour. This odd and extravagant conduct made his ſubjects look upon him as a madman; whence inſtead of *Epiphanes* or *the illuſtrious*, they uſed to ſtile him *Epimanes*, that is, *the madman* [g]. *S. Jerome* tells us, that he was a moſt lewd prince, and did not even ſcruple to gratify his luſt publicly, and in the ſight of the people [h]. From what we have related, we leave our readers to judge, whether he beſt deſerved the title of *illuſtrious*, which he aſſumed, or that of the *vile* and *contemptible*, which the prophet *Daniel* gave him.

a b c d

SCARCE was *Antiochus* ſeated on the throne, when the brother of the high-prieſt *Onias*, whoſe name was *Jeſus*, which he afterwards changed into that of *Jaſon*, being ambitious of the high-prieſthood, to which was annexed in thoſe times, the regal power, applied to the king for it, and by an offer of three hundred and ſixty talents, beſides eighty more which he promiſed on another account, prevailed upon *Antiochus* to diſplace the righteous *Onias*, and advance him to that dignity. Nor was this all, as *Onias* was univerſally revered for his exemplary piety and ſtrict juſtice, *Jaſon* well knew that his authority would be of no weight ſo long as his brother continued at *Jeruſalem*; the intruder therefore procured from the king an order for his removal from *Jeruſalem* to *Antioch*, and his confinement to that place. As the public treaſury was quite empty, when *Antiochus* came to the crown by reaſon of the heavy tribute paid to the *Romans* the twelve foregoing years, *Jaſon* found the king diſpoſed to grant any thing for ready money; and therefore propoſed to advance an hundred and fifty talents more, on condition that the king would impower him to make as many of the inhabitants of *Jeruſalem* freemen of *Antioch* as he ſhould think fit, and give him leave to erect at *Jeruſalem* a gymnaſium, or place of exerciſe, and an ephebeum, or a place for the training up of youth after the *Greek* manner. The king complied as readily with theſe propoſals, as he had done with the former; and by this means *Jaſon*, on his return to *Jeruſalem*, drew over many of his countrymen from the party of *Onias*. For the *Jews* were at that time, generally ſpeaking, mighty fond of the *Greek* faſhions; whence they began to be reconciled to *Jaſon*, when they found him bent upon introducing the *Greek* cuſtoms among them. Be-

e f

[b] Apud Athenæum, l. v. p. 193. [c] Apud eundem, l. x. p. 438. [d] Liv. l. xli. [e] DIODOR. SICUL. in Excerpt. Valeſii. p. 304. [f] ATHEN. l. x. p. 438. [g] Idem ibid. [h] HIERON. in DAN. c. 11. p. 37.

ſides,

a ſides, the freedom of *Antioch*, which he could grant to whom he pleaſed, was attended with many valuable privileges under the *Syro-Macedonian* kings; whence many, in hopes of having it conferred upon them, eſpouſed the party of *Jaſon* with great animoſity; ſo that under his deteſtable reign the manners of the *Jews* were totally corrupted, and the cuſtoms of the *Gentiles* introduced among them. They were aſhamed of their circumciſion, which was the diſtinguiſhing mark of the people of God. They built amphitheatres in *Jeruſalem* for profane ſhews, and places for the moſt infamous debaucheries. The prieſts themſelves were not aſhamed to leave their ſacred function, and run to the public ſports, in which they often became actors [i].

In *Egypt* ever ſince the death of *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, *Cleopatra* his widow, ſiſter
b to *Antiochus Epiphanes*, had taken upon her the government of the kingdom, and the tuition of her infant ſon, and had conducted herſelf with great care and prudence. But ſhe dying this year, the management of affairs fell into the hands of *Lennæus*, an *Egyptian* nobleman of great diſtinction, and *Eulæus* an eunuch, who was appointed to ſuperintend the king's education. Theſe no ſooner entered on the adminiſtration, but they demanded *Cœle-Syria* and *Paleſtine* of *Antiochus*; a demand, which ſoon occaſioned a war between the two crowns. As *Cleopatra* was mother to one, and ſiſter to the other of theſe two kings, ſhe had prevented them ſo long as ſhe lived from coming to a rupture. But the new regents did not ſhew ſo much regard for *Antiochus*, nor ſcruple to demand what they took to be their ſovereign's right. It muſt be
c owned, that the kings of *Egypt* had always poſſeſſed theſe provinces ever ſince the firſt *Ptolemy*, till the time that *Antiochus the Great* wreſted them out of the hands of *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, and left them to *Seleucus* his ſon with no other right than that of conqueſt. The *Egyptians*, to make good their claim, argued that in the laſt diviſion of the empire between the four ſucceſſors of *Alexander*, after the famous battle of *Ipſus*, theſe provinces had been aſſigned to *Ptolemy*; that he and his ſucceſſors had held them ever ſince that partition, till *Antiochus the Great* made himſelf maſter of them after the battle of *Paneas*, and that *Antiochus* had ſtipulated on the marrying of his daughter to *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, and made it the main article in the marriage-contract, to reſtore to him thoſe provinces by way of dowry. *Antiochus* denied both
d theſe particulars, and pretended that in the general diviſion, which had been made of *Alexander's* empire, all *Syria*, including *Cœle-Syria* and *Paleſtine*, had been allotted to *Seleucus Nicator*, and therefore belonged to him as his lawful heir in the *Syrian* empire. As to the marriage-contract, by virtue of which the *Egyptians* demanded the reſtitution of thoſe provinces, he maintained, that there was no ſuch article in that agreement. Having thus laid down their reſpective claims without coming to any concluſion, the deciſion of the controverſy was at laſt referred to the ſword [k].

In the mean time the king of *Egypt* being declared of age, great preparations were made at *Alexandria* for the ſolemnity of his coronation, as was uſual among the *Egyptians*. On this occaſion *Antiochus* ſent *Apollonius*, one of the chief noblemen of his
e court, with the character of embaſſador to aſſiſt at the ſolemnity, and congratulate the young king in his name on his taking the adminiſtration into his own hands. This in outward appearance was done in honour of his nephew; but the real motive was to diſcover the deſigns of the court, and the meaſures they were taking with regard to the provinces of *Cœle-Syria* and *Paleſtine*. And accordingly being informed on the return of *Apollonius*, that war was intended againſt him, he immediately imbarqued for *Joppa* to viſit the frontiers towards *Egypt*, and put them in a ſtate of defence againſt any attempts, which the *Egyptians* might make on that ſide. In this progreſs he took *Jeruſalem* in his way, and was received there by *Jaſon* with all the marks of honour which the baſeſt flattery could dictate, and that blind people were
f profuſe of their acclamations to an idolatrous prince, whoſe tyranny they were ſoon to experience. From *Jeruſalem* he went into *Phœnice*, and having ſettled all things in the places he paſſed through, he returned to *Antioch* [l]. The next year *Jaſon* ſent his brother *Menelaus* to *Antioch* to pay the tribute to the king, and negotiate ſome other affairs in his name. But *Menelaus* in the audience which he had, inſtead of purſuing his commiſſion, ſupplanted his brother, and obtained his office by offering three hundred talents more than *Jaſon* had given for it. *Menelaus* on his return to *Jeruſalem*, was oppoſed by his brother, and even obliged to quit the city; but having recourſe to *Antiochus*, and promiſing to embrace his religion, and the worſhip of

[i] 2 Maccab. 4. 10, 11, 12. Joseph. Antiq. l. ii. c. 6. [k] Hieronymus in Dan. & Polyb. legat. 82. d. 308. & legat. 72. p. 893. [l] 2 Maccab. iv. 21.

the *Greeks*, he ſo far gained the king's favour, that he was ſent back with ſuch a power as *Jaſon* could not reſiſt; who thereupon left *Jeruſalem*, and retired into the country of the *Ammonites*. Upon his flight *Menelaus* took poſſeſſion of the high-prieſthood, and made good his promiſe to *Antiochus*, by apoſtatizing from the law of *Moſes* to the ſuperſtition of the *Greeks*, and ſeducing as many of his countrymen as he could. Having thus taken poſſeſſion of the high-prieſthood, he neglected paying the money he had promiſed, and was on that account ſummoned to appear before the king at *Antioch*. But before he reached that city, *Antiochus* was gone from thence to quell an inſurrection at *Mallus* and *Tarſus*, two cities of *Cilicia*. For the revenues of theſe two cities having been allotted to *Antiochis*, one of the king's concubines, for her maintenance, the inhabitants out of indignation, or perhaps becauſe *Antiochis* exacted upon them, roſe up in arms, and committed great diſorders. *Antiochus* therefore haſtened thither in perſon to appeaſe the ſedition, leaving the government of *Antioch*, during his abſence, to *Andronicus*, one of the chief men of his court. In the mean time *Menelaus*, by ſelling many of the gold veſſels of the temple, at *Tyre*, and in the neighbouring cities, raiſed a ſufficient ſum, not only to pay the king, but to bribe *Andronicus*, and the other courtiers to reinſtate him in the king's favour. *Onias*, who was then confined to *Antioch*, could not help reproving the apoſtate for the ſacrilege he had been guilty of in plundering the temple of the ſacred veſſels; which *Menelaus* not being able to brook, applied to *Andronicus*, and by promiſing a large ſum of money engaged him to diſpatch *Onias*, who upon intelligence of what was plotting againſt him, took ſanctuary in the aſylum at *Daphne*. But *Andronicus*, having by fair promiſes prevailed upon him to quit the aſylum, treacherouſly ſlew him, and thereby earned the money which the impious *Menelaus* had promiſed him. His death was univerſally regretted by the *Greeks*, as well as the *Jews* of *Antioch*, who therefore joined in petitioning the king to take cognizance of the murder which had been committed in his abſence. *Antiochus*, wicked as he was, had a great eſteem, and even veneration for *Onias*; and therefore to gratify his own reſentment, as well as that of the *Antiochians*, who had preſented him the petition, cauſed *Andronicus*, after he had been convicted of the crime laid to his charge, to be conducted with infamy to the place where the murder had been committed, and there put to death in ſuch manner as his crime deſerved [m]. Upon the authority of the ſecond book of the *Maccabees*, we have rejected the teſtimony of *Joſephus*, who tells us [n], that *Jaſon* was not created high-prieſt till after the death of *Onias*. Nay in this *Joſephus* contradicts himſelf; for in his ſmall treatiſe of the *Maccabees* he relates this affair agreeable to the hiſtory we have followed. *Antiochus*, ſays he in that treatiſe, abrogating the high-prieſthood of *Onias*, put his brother *Jaſon* in his room, who promiſed to pay him a yearly tribute of three thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty talents; when he was in poſſeſſion of the high-prieſthood, he led the nation, eſtranged from their ancient manners and inſtitutions, into all ſorts of iniquity; and not only eſtabliſhed a gymnaſium in the fortreſs of our country, but introduced a total neglect of the temple. Thus far *Joſephus*, agreeable to the hiſtory of the *Maccabees* in every particular, ſave the annual tribute, which he increaſes, if the copy is not corrupted, beyond all meaſure.

Antiochus having ever ſince the return of *Apollonius* from the *Egyptian* court been making the neceſſary preparations for the war, which he ſaw himſelf threatened with by *Ptolemy* on account of *Cœle-Syria* and *Paleſtine*, and finding himſelf in a condition to begin it; reſolved to defer it no longer, but to carry it into the enemy's country inſtead of waiting for it in his own. He imagined that as *Ptolemy* was then but ſixteen years of age, and governed intirely by weak miniſters, he ſhould be able to bring him to what terms he pleaſed. Beſides, the *Romans*, under whoſe protection the *Egyptians* had put themſelves, were not at leiſure to afford them any aſſiſtance, by reaſon of the war which they had on their hands with *Perſes* king of *Macedon*; thinking therefore that he could not have a more favourable conjuncture for putting an end to the quarrel, he reſolved forthwith to begin the war. However, to keep as fair with the *Romans* as the caſe would admit, he ſent an embaſſy to *Rome* to pay the arrears of the tribute that was due to the republic, and at the ſame time to lay before the ſenate the right he had to the provinces of *Cœle-Syria* and *Paleſtine* then in his poſſeſſion, and to juſtify the war which he was obliged to engage in to maintain them [o].

Epiphanes *ſends an embaſſy to* Rome.

[m] 2 Maccab. iv. 32, 33, 34, & ſeq. [n] Joseph. Antiq. l. ii. c. 6. [o] Liv. l. xlii. c. 29. Polyb. legat. 71. p. 892. Justin. l. xxxiv. c. 2. Diodor. Sicul. legat. 18. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 6. Hieronym. in Dan. c. 11.

Apollonius,

a *Apollonius*, who was at the head of the embaſſy, carried with him beſides the tribute, conſiderable preſents for the republic. When the *Syrians* arrived at *Rome*, and were introduced to the ſenate, their ſpeech conſiſted chiefly of apologies in the name of the king their maſter, for having ſo long delayed ſatisfying the *Romans*. For *Seleucus* had neglected to pay this debt, and *Antiochus* his ſucceſſor had not yet been in a condition to diſcharge it. After *Apollonius* had paid down the whole ſum, he offered, as a free gift, ſeveral vaſes of gold, which weighed five hundred pounds, returned the republic thanks for the excellent education their king had received at *Rome*, and the marks of honour that were paid him during his abode there, and concluded with laying before the ſenate his claim to *Cœle-Syria* and *Paleſtine*, and demand-
b ing that the alliance between *Rome* and *Syria* might be renewed. The ſenate received the envoys very graciouſly, defrayed their expences, and made them preſents of a conſiderable value. The prætor *Attilius* was ordered to draw up the act of confederacy upon the ſame foot on which it had been made with *Antiochus the Great*. The money which the embaſſadors delivered was put into the hands of the quæſtors, and the gold veſſels conſigned to the cenſors, who offered them to ſuch of the gods as they thought fit. As for the king's claim to the provinces of *Cœle-Syria* and *Paleſtine*, the ſenate put off the diſcuſſing of that point to a more proper ſeaſon, returning no anſwer on that head [p].

Invades Egypt.

BEFORE the embaſſadors returned from *Rome*, *Antiochus* putting himſelf at the
c head of his army, had marched towards the frontiers of *Egypt*. There he was met by the forces of *Ptolemy* between mount *Caſius* and *Peluſium*. Hereupon an engagement enſued, in which the *Egyptians* were routed at the very firſt onſet. *Antiochus* taking advantage of this victory, fortified the frontiers of his dominions ſo well on that ſide, that they ſerved ever after as a barrier to check the utmoſt efforts of the *Egyptians* attempting to recover thoſe provinces. This was his firſt expedition into *Egypt*, after which, without engaging in any other enterprize that year, he returned to *Tyre*, and put his army into winter-quarters [q].

DURING his ſtay at *Tyre*, three deputies from the ſanhedrim of *Jeruſalem* waited upon him to complain of *Menelaus*, whom they convicted, in the king's preſence,
d of impiety, ſacrilege, and many violences and diſorders. Hereupon the king reſolved to put him to death; but *Menelaus*, having bribed *Ptolemy Macron* (S), one of the king's miniſters, with a large ſum of money, not only eſcaped the ſentence which was ready to be pronounced againſt him, but prevailed upon the king to put the three deputies to death, as if they had accuſed him unjuſtly, which was ſuch a bare-faced piece of oppreſſion and injuſtice, that the *Tyrians*, touched with compaſſion at their unhappy fate, cauſed them to be honourably interred [r].

His ſecond expedition into Egypt.

Antiochus, having ſpent the whole winter in making freſh preparations for a ſecond expedition into *Egypt*, as ſoon as the ſeaſon allowed him to take the field, marched to the frontiers of that country, where he gained a ſecond victory over the forces of *Ptolemy*, took *Peluſium*, and led his army into the very heart of the kingdom. In
e this laſt overthrow it was in his power to have cut off all the *Egyptians* to a man; but inſtead of purſuing this advantage, he took care to put a ſtop to the ſlaughter, riding about the field in perſon, and forbidding his men to put any more to death. This clemency gained him the hearts of the *Egyptians* ſo far, that when he advanced up into the country, all the inhabitants voluntarily ſubmitted to him; by which means he made himſelf maſter of *Memphis*, and all the reſt of *Egypt*, except *Alexandria*, which held out againſt him [s]. In this ſecond invaſion *Philopator* fell into the hands of the

[p] LIV. POLYB. JUSTIN. ibid. [q] HIERONYM. LIV. POLYB. ibid. [r] 2 MACCAB. xliv—l. [s] 1 MACCAB. xvii, xviii. & 2. MACCAB. v. 1. HIERONYM. in Dan. xi. 24, 25. DIODOR. SICUL. in excerpt. Valeſii. p. 311.

(S) This *Ptolemy Macron* having been formerly governor of the iſland of *Cyprus* under king *Ptolemy Philometor*, had during his minority kept in his own hands all the revenues of that iſland; and could never be prevailed upon to deliver them up to the miniſters, notwithſtanding their earneſt call for them. But as ſoon as the king was declared to be out of his minority, he brought the whole ſum to *Alexandria*, and paid it into the royal treaſury. As it was a ſupply very much wanted at that time to anſwer the exigencies of the government, he was highly commended for his conduct. But afterwards exaſperated at ſome ill treatment he met with from the miniſters, or becauſe he was not rewarded for ſo important a ſervice according to his expectation, he revolted from *Ptolemy*, went over to *Antiochus*, and delivered up to him the iſland of *Cyprus*. The king received him with great favour, took him into the number of his principal friends, and appointed him governor of *Cœle-Syria* and *Paleſtine*, ſending *Crates*, who had commanded in the caſtle of *Jeruſalem* under *Soſtratus*, to be governor of *Cyprus* in his ſtead (59). Great mention is made of *Ptolemy Macron* in the books of the *Maccabees*.

(59) *Valeſii excerpt. ex Polyb p.* 126.

con-

conqueror; but whether he was taken priſoner, or ſurrendered himſelf to him of his own accord, is uncertain. The latter ſeems to ſome moſt likely; for *Antiochus* entertained him very kindly, allowed him his liberty, kept him at his own table, and carrying him with him to *Memphis*, affected to be extremely careful of the intereſt of the young king, and to manage the affairs of the kingdom as tutor and guardian to him. But when he once ſaw himſelf in poſſeſſion of the country, he ſeized all that was valuable for himſelf, pillaged the cities, and cauſed ſuch deſolations as are not to be expreſſed, inriching himſelf and his army with the ſpoils of the plundered people. *Philometor* all this time made a pitiful figure; in the field he had always kept as far as poſſible from danger, and had not even ſhewn himſelf to thoſe who fought for him. Afterwards he ſubmitted to *Antiochus* in a moſt abject manner, ſuffering himſelf to be deprived of ſo large a kingdom without making one ſingle effort to preſerve it. This however was not ſo much owing to his want of courage, and natural capacity, for he afterwards gave many inſtances of both, as to the effeminate education he had received under *Eulæus* his governor. For that eunuch, who was alſo his prime miniſter, had taken care by corrupting him with all manner of luxury, to make him as unfit for buſineſs as he was able, that when the young prince was grown up, he might be as neceſſary to him, and conſequently have the ſame power in the kingdom, as he had during his minority [c].

a b

While *Antiochus* was thus employed in *Egypt*, a falſe report of his death prevailing all over *Paleſtine*, *Jaſon* thought this a proper opportunity to recover his ſtation at *Jeruſalem*, and therefore marched thither with above a thouſand men; and having by the aſſiſtance of the party he had in the city made himſelf maſter of it, and obliged *Menelaus* to retire into the citadel, practiſed all ſorts of cruelties on his fellow-citizens, unmercifully putting to death all thoſe who fell into his hands, and whom he conſidered as enemies [d]. When advice of this was brought to *Antiochus* in *Egypt*, he concluded that the *Jews* had made a general inſurrection, and therefore marched with all haſte out of *Egypt* into *Judæa* to quell it. What moſt provoked him was his being told, that the inhabitants of *Jeruſalem* upon a falſe report of his death had made great rejoicings. He therefore in a great rage laid ſiege to the city, took it by ſtorm, and in three days time ſlew forty thouſand of the inhabitants, and taking as many priſoners ſold them for ſlaves to the neighbouring nations. Nor did he ſtop here, but entering forcibly into the temple, and the moſt ſacred places, polluted with his preſence the holy of holies itſelf, whither the wicked *Menelaus* led him. And to offer the greater indignity to that ſacred place, he ſacrificed a ſow on the altar of burnt-offerings, and having cauſed part of it to be boiled, he ordered the temple to be ſprinkled all over with the water, in which it had been boiled, that he might thereby utterly defile it (T). After this adding ſacrilege to profanation, he carried away the

c

Takes Jeruſalem, *and profanes the temple.*

d

[c] 1 Maccab. i. 19. Justin. l. xxxv. c. 2. [d] 1 Maccab. i. 20--25. 2 Maccab. v, vi. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 8.

(T) This circumſtance is mentioned by *Diodorus Siculus* in the following words: "*Antiochus Epiphanes*, having overcome the *Jews*, entered the holy "oracle of God, to which the prieſts only had acceſs. "There he found the ſtatue of a man with a long "beard, holding a book in his hand, and ſitting "upon an aſs; which he took to be *Moſes*, who "built *Jeruſalem*, founded the nation, and eſtabliſhed "thoſe laws which are hated by all nations. But "he deſiring to take away what all nations abhorred, "did his utmoſt to abrogate the laws. Therefore "he ſacrificed a great ſow to the founder, on the "altar of God, which ſtood in the open air, and "poured blood both upon the ſtatue and the altar, "and boiling the fleſh commanded the holy books "containing their laws to be ſprinkled with the "water; the immortal taper, as they term it, which "always burnt in the temple, he commanded to be "put out, and compelled the chief-prieſt and other "*Jews* to eat hogs fleſh". Thus far *Diodorus Siculus* (60), who in this particular agrees with *Joſephus*. This author telling us, that *Antiochus*, after he had made himſelf maſter of the city, ſacrificed a ſow upon the altar, and cauſed the temple to be ſprinkled with the water, in which it had been boiled (61). And here we cannot help obſerving that *Joſephus* in his account of *Antiochus*'s taking the city of *Jeruſalem*, not only contradicts all the ancients, but even himſelf. For *Polybius*, *Strabo*, *Timagenes*, *Apollodorus*, *Nicolaus Damaſcenus*, &c. tell us, that *Antiochus* took *Jeruſalem* by ſtorm after he had lain a conſiderable time before it; and *Joſephus* in his hiſtory of the *Jewiſh* war (62), writes in expreſs terms, that *Antiochus took the city by force*, and repreſents him as inraged by what he had ſuffered in the ſiege; and in another place (63), he ſpeaks of thoſe who were ſlain in the ſiege fighting againſt *Antiochus* in defence of the place. But for all this, in his antiquities he tells us, that *Antiochus* entered the city *without force*, thoſe of his party within opening the gates to him. But this is not the only place where that writer is inconſiſtent with himſelf.

(60) *Diodor. Sicul. l.* xxxiv. *apud Photium cod.* 244. (61) *Joſeph. Antiquit. l.* xiii. *c.* 16. (62) *Joſeph. de bell. Judaic, l.* i. *c.* 1. (63) *Idem ibid. l.* vi. *c.* 11.

altar

a altar of incenſe, the ſhew-bread table, the candleſtick of ſeven branches belonging to the ſanctuary, which were all of gold, and ſeveral other veſſels, utenſils and gifts of kings likewiſe of gold, to the value of eighteen hundred talents. To complete the calamity of the *Jews*, *Antiochus* on his departure from *Jeruſalem* appointed governor of *Judæa* one *Philip*, a *Phrygian*, who was a man of a moſt cruel and inhuman temper, and *Andronicus*, another of the like diſpoſition, governor of *Samaria*, and left *Menelaus*, the moſt wicked of the three, in the office of high-prieſt.

In the mean time the *Alexandrians*, ſeeing *Philometor* in the hands of *Antiochus*, whom he ſuffered to govern his kingdom as he pleaſed, looked upon him as loſt to them; and therefore placed his younger brother on the throne, giving him the name
b of *Euergetes*, which was afterwards changed into that of *Phyſcon* or *great-belli.d*, his luxury and gluttony having made him remarkably corpulent, and by this name he is moſt commonly mentioned in hiſtory. On his aſcending the throne, *Cineas* and *Cumanus* were appointed his chief miniſters, and to them was committed the care of reſtoring, if poſſible, the affairs of the kingdom to their former flouriſhing condition [w].

His third expedition into Egypt.

Antiochus being informed of what was tranſacting in *Egypt*, took occaſion from thence to return a third time into that country upon the ſpecious pretence of reſtoring the depoſed king; but in reality to make himſelf maſter of the kingdom. Having therefore defeated the *Alexandrians* in a ſea-fight near *Peluſium*, he again entered that
c unhappy country at the head of a powerful army, and advanced directly to *Alexandria* with a deſign to beſiege it. Whereupon the young king, conſulting with his two miniſters, agreed to ſummon a council compoſed of all the chief officers of the army, and to deliberate with them on the moſt proper means to extricate himſelf out of his preſent difficulties. After long debates in the council they came at laſt to this reſoluti n; that as their affairs were in a very bad ſituation, it was abſolutely neceſſary for them to make up matters with *Antiochus*, and that for this purpoſe the embaſſadors, who were then at *Alexandria*, from ſeveral of the *Greek* ſtates to the *Egyptian* court, ſhould be deſired to interpoſe their mediation. The embaſſadors readily complied with the king's requeſt, and being accompanied by two embaſſadors from
d *Ptolemy*, forthwith ſailed up the *Nile* to wait on *Antiochus* with propoſals of peace. *Antiochus* received them in his camp very kindly, and having given them the firſt day a noble entertainment, appointed the next to hear their propoſals. The *Achæans* ſpoke the firſt, and afterwards the reſt in their turns. All agreed in aſcribing the calamities of the war to the ill conduct of *Eulæus*, and the minority of *Ptolemy Philometor*, made artful apologies in favour of the young king, and did all that lay in their power to ſoften *Antiochus*, and bring him to terms of peace with his nephew, laying great ſtreſs on their affinity. *Antiochus* in his anſwer to them acknowledged all to be true, that they had ſaid, as to the origin and cauſe of the war, and then took the opportunity of laying before them his title to the provinces of *Cœle-Syria*, and
e *Paleſtine*, exhibiting the various reaſons which we have already taken notice of, and producing ſome authentic inſtruments in proof of all that he alledged, which were judged ſo ſtrong, that all there preſent were of opinion that he had the beſt right to thoſe provinces. As for the propoſals of peace, he referred them to a future treaty, which, he ſaid, he would readily enter into with them, when two perſons then abſent, whom he named, ſhould be with him, without whom, he told them, he would not take a ſingle ſtep in ſo important a negotiation. Having returned this anſwer, he raiſed his camp, went to *Naucratis*, and from thence marched to *Alexandria*, which city he cloſely beſieged. In this extremity *Ptolemy Euergetes* and *Cleopatra* his ſiſter, who were in the city, ſent embaſſadors to *Rome*, repreſenting
The Egyptians *apply to the* Roman *ſenate.*
f their caſe, and imploring the aſſiſtance of that powerful republic. The embaſſadors being, ſoon after their arrival at *Rome*, introduced to the ſenate, appeared there dreſſed in the deepeſt mourning, and carrying olive-branches in their hands. After they had fallen proſtrate before the conſcript fathers, they expreſſed themſelves in the following terms: *Egypt*, ſaid they, which you have protected, and whoſe kings have been under your tuition, is now upon the very brink of ruin. *Alexandria* is beſieged; and, to complete our misfortunes, the enemy, who threatens us, has found favour here. *Antiochus*, king of *Syria*, who has been brought up here as your hoſtage, is the ſcourge which the gods have brought upon us. If therefore *Egypt* has deſerved

w Porphyrius in Græc. Euseb. Scaliger. p. 60. & 68. Polyb. legat. 81. p. 907. Liv. l. xliv. c. 19.

your compaſſion, as ſhe has always been faithful to you, ward off the blow that threatens her with deſtruction. Nothing is more eaſy to you than to fix on the head of our ſovereign, and your friend and ally, a crown which an ambitious uncle would bereave him of. *Antiochus* reveres your authority, and pays a deference to your orders; one word from you will put an end to his unjuſt conqueſts, and our fears. How glorious will it be for *Rome* to reſtore, with one word, tranquillity to *Egypt*! On the contrary, what a reflection would it be on your republic, if our ſovereign ſhould be forced to fly hither for refuge againſt an invaſion, which you might with ſo much eaſe have prevented! The danger is imminent, and the leaſt dilatorineſs in your deliberations will make the diſeaſe incurable [x]. Both compaſſion and policy inclined the ſenate to favour the ſuppliants. They plainly ſaw that it would be dangerous to ſuffer *Antiochus* to grow ſo powerful as the uniting the crown of *Egypt* to that of *Syria* would make him. The ſenate therefore reſolved to ſend without delay an embaſſy into *Egypt* to put an end to the war. The perſons appointed for this important negotiation were *Caius Popilius Lænas*, *Caius Decimius*, and *Caius Hoſtilius*. Their inſtructions were, that they ſhould firſt wait on *Antiochus*, and afterwards on *Ptolemy*, ſhould order them in the name of the ſenate to ſuſpend all hoſtilities, and put an end to the war; which, if either of them ſhould refuſe to do, they were to let him know that the *Romans* would no longer look upon him as their friend and ally. As the danger was imminent, three days after the reſolution was taken in the ſenate they ſet out together with the *Egyptian* embaſſadors from *Rome* [y] (U).

IN the mean time embaſſadors arrived in *Egypt* from *Rhodes*, ſent by that republic on purpoſe to make up matters between the contending parties. Theſe landing at *Alexandria* went from thence, after having received the proper inſtructions from the miniſters of that court, to the camp of *Antiochus* before the town, and uſed their utmoſt endeavours to make a thorough reconciliation between him and his nephew, inſiſting on the long friendſhip and alliance which had ſubſiſted between them and both crowns, and the obligations which they thought themſelves under on this account to uſe their beſt offices, in order to ſettle a good underſtanding between them. But while they were making long harangues on theſe topics, *Antiochus* interrupting them, declared in few words, that there was no occaſion for long ſpeeches on that ſubject, that the kingdom belonged to *Philometor* the elder brother, with whom he had concluded a peace, and contracted a ſtrict friendſhip, and that if they would reſtore the crown to him, the war would be ended at once. Thus he ſpoke, but harboured very different deſigns in his heart. The reſiſtance he met with at *Alexandria*, which city he plainly ſaw he ſhould never be able to maſter, had made him change his plan, and conclude that the ſureſt way to compaſs his deſign was to keep up an animoſity between the two brothers, and engage them in a war againſt each other, which, as it would ſoon exhauſt the kingdom, would give him a fair opportunity of overpowering both, and ſeizing the whole for himſelf. With this view he raiſed the ſiege of *Alexandria*, marched towards *Memphis*, and there put *Philometor* in poſſeſſion of the whole kingdom, except *Peluſium*, which he retained, that he might re-enter *Egypt*, having the key of that country in his hands, the inſtant matters were ripe for his purpoſe. Having thus ſettled things agreeable to his new ſcheme, he returned to *Antioch* [z].

Philometor being rouſed at length from the deep lethargy into which his indolence and effeminacy had plunged him, had penetration enough to ſee into *Antiochus*'s deſign. His keeping of *Peluſium* was a ſufficient indication to him, that he held this gate of *Egypt* with no other view but to invade the country when his brother and he ſhould have waſted their ſtrength by their domeſtic broils, and not be in a condition to make head againſt him; in which caſe they would both fall victims to his unbounded ambition.

[x] POLYB. legat. 90. p. 915. & legat. 84. p. 909. LIV. l. xliv. c. 19. JUSTIN. l. xxxiv. c. 2. [y] LIV. l. xliv. c. 9. POLYB. legat. 90. p. 915. [z] LIV. l. xlv. c. 11.

(U) The time of the departure of the embaſſadors from *Rome* is thus expreſſed in an ancient diary, which *Pighius* has inſerted in the ſecond volume of his annals (64). The third day before the nones of *April*. *C. Popilius Lenas*, *C. Decimus*, and *C. Hoſtilius*, are ſent embaſſadors to the kings of *Syria* and *Egypt* to put an end to the war between them. The embaſſadors early in the morning, attended by a troop of their clients and relations, ſacrificed in the temple of *Caſtor* to the houſhold gods of the *Roman* people a bull, and thus concluded their ſacrifices.

(64) *Vide Pighii Annal. ad Annum urbis 585.*

a ambition. The inſtant therefore that *Antiochus* left *Egypt* he ſent to his brother, intreating him to lay aſide all animoſity, and make a thorough reconciliation, leſt *Antiochus* taking advantage of their domeſtic feuds ſhould diſpoſſeſs them both of the kingdom. *Ptolemy Phyſcon* readily embraced the propoſal, and by the mediation of *Cleopatra*, who was ſiſter to both, an agreement was made upon terms, that the two brothers ſhould reign jointly. After this *Philometor* returned to *Alexandria*, and *Egypt* was reſtored to its former tranquillity, to the great joy of the inhabitants, particularly of the *Alexandrians*, who had greatly ſuffered by the war [a]. But the two brothers, not doubting but *Antiochus* would ſoon invade the kingdom anew, ſent embaſſadors into *Greece* to hire there ſome auxiliaries (W), which indeed was a very prudent
b ſtep; for *Antiochus* hearing of the reconciliation of the two brothers, and finding his fine ſcheme thereby intirely defeated, fell into a great rage, and reſolved to pull off the mask, and employ the whole force of his kingdom againſt both. Accordingly early in the ſpring he ſent his fleet to *Cyprus* to ſecure that iſland, and at the ſame time marched in perſon by land at the head of a powerful army to reduce the kingdom of *Egypt*, and ſeize it for himſelf, without pretending, as he had done before, to eſpouſe the cauſe, and ſupport the intereſt of one of his nephews. On his arrival at *Rhinocorura* he was met by embaſſadors from *Philometor*, who after having complimented him in their maſter's name, and told him that their ſovereign owed his reſtoration to his good offices, conjured him not to deſtroy his own work, but to ſuffer
c him peaceably to enjoy the crown, which he wore by his favour. But *Antiochus*, now throwing off the mask, and laying aſide thoſe tender and affectionate expreſſions which he had hitherto made ſhow of, returned the embaſſadors this haughty anſwer; that he would not grant peace to either of the brothers, but upon condition that the iſland of *Cyprus*, the city of *Peluſium* with all the lands on that branch of the *Nile* on which it ſtood, and the provinces of *Cæle-Syria* and *Paleſtine*, were delivered up to him for ever. Having thus declared his real deſign, he fixed a day for their returning him an anſwer to his demand, which not being ſatisfactory, he entered *Egypt* in an hoſtile manner, and having reduced the whole country as far as *Memphis*, received there the ſubmiſſion of moſt of the other cities and provinces. From *Memphis*
d he marched to *Alexandria* with a deſign to beſiege that city, the reduction of which would have made him abſolute maſter of all *Egypt*. And this he would without all doubt have accompliſhed had not the *Roman* embaſſadors put a ſtop to his further progreſs, and daſhed at once all the deſigns which he had been ſo long carrying on in order to poſſeſs himſelf of that country [b].

His fourth expedition into Egypt.

[a] Liv. ibid. Justin. l. xxxiv. c. 2. Porphyr. in Græc. Euseb. Scaliger. p. 60. & in Euseb. Chron. p. 68. Polyb. legat. 89. p. 912. [b] Liv. & Justin. ubi ſupra.

(W) Theſe embaſſadors were ſent into *Achaia*, deſiring in the two kings names only a thouſand foot under the command of *Lycortas*, and two hundred horſe under the conduct of his ſon *Polybius* the hiſtorian. The aſſembly of the *Achæans* was then ſitting at *Corinth*, and *Callicrates*, who preſided in it, oppoſed the requeſt of the embaſſadors, pretending that it was not for the intereſt of the *Achæan* confederacy to concern themſelves with foreign affairs; but that they ought to keep their troops at home, that they might be in a readineſs to aſſiſt the *Romans* againſt *Perſes*. *Lycortas* and *Polybius* anſwered *Callicrates*, and in their anſwer obſerved, that *Polybius* having waited on the *Roman* conſul *Marciss*, who commanded the army in *Macedon*, and offered him the ſuccours which the *Achæans* had agreed to ſend him, the conſul had thanked him, and at the ſame time told him, that ſince he had got footing in *Macedon*, he ſhould not want any foreign aid; and hence they concluded, that the *Achæans* ought not, on that pretence, to refuſe the kings of *Egypt* the ſuccours they required. They added, that as the *Achæan* republic could, without the leaſt inconveniency, raiſe thirty or forty thouſand men, ſo ſmall a number, as was deſired by the princes, could not leſſen their ſtrength; that they ought to ſeize this opportunity of aſſiſting them; that it would be a monſtrous piece of ingratitude to requite in this manner the many favours which they had received from the kings of *Egypt*; and that their refuſal on this occaſion would even be an infringement of the treaties concluded between them and that crown. This ſpeech moved the members of the aſſembly, who were all for ſending immediately to the kings the ſuccours they required; which *Callicrates* obſerving, diſmiſſed the aſſembly, pretending that it was not lawful to debate on an affair of this nature in a general meeting. It was therefore referred to a particular aſſembly, that was ſoon after held at *Sicyon*. In this all the members were of the ſame opinion with *Lycortas* and *Polybius*, when *Callicrates* produced a forged letter from *Marcius* the *Roman* conſul, wherein he exhorted the *Achæans* to interpoſe their mediation, and uſe their good offices in order to put an end to the war between the *Ptolemies* and *Antiochus*. This letter, which no one ſuſpected to be forged, determined the *Achæan* confederates to ſend an embaſſy only to the contending princes (65).

(65) *Polyb. legat.* 89—91.

The Roman *embaſſadors oblige him to quit* Egypt.

THE embaſſadors came up with him at *Eleuſina*, a village but four miles diſtant from *Alexandria*, and *Popilius* accoſted him with an air of gravity proper to gain himſelf reſpect. As the king was intimately acquainted with *Popilius*, and had contracted great familiarity with him, while he was an hoſtage at *Rome*, as he drew near him, he offered him his hand, which was an uncommon mark of familiarity and diſtinction from ſo great a prince. But *Popilius* diſdaining this kind reception, told him, that the public intereſt of his country muſt take place of private friendſhip, and that he would not join hands with him till he had firſt read to him the decree of the ſenate, with which he was ſent. I ſhall judge, ſaid he, by your ſubmiſſion, or refuſal, whether you ought to be treated as a friend or an enemy. If you obey, I ſhall receive all marks of your friendſhip with joy. Theſe words were very ſhocking to a victorious and powerful king at the head of a numerous army. However *Antiochus* took the decree which *Popilius* offered him, and after having read it, told him that he would adviſe with his council about it, and return him an anſwer in a ſhort time. But the proud republican inſiſting on an immediate anſwer, drew a circle round him in the ſand with a rod, which he held in his hand, and raiſing his voice, You ſhall not go out of this circle, ſaid he, till you either accept or reject the propoſal I have made to you. I expect you will pay me the reſpect that is due to the authority of the *Roman* people and ſenate. The king ſtruck with this ſtrange and peremptory way of proceeding, heſitated a moment, and then gave this anſwer, which would better have become a ſlave, than a great king. Then I muſt ſatisfy you, *Popilius*, I will do what your republic expects from me. He had no ſooner ſpoke than all the three embaſſadors offered him their hands at once, and *Popilius* behaved thenceforth according to his former friendſhip with him. The *Roman* embaſſadors, after *Antiochus* had left *Egypt*, returned to *Alexandria*, and having there put the laſt hand to the treaty of peace and reconciliation between the two brothers, ſailed to *Cyprus*, which *Antiochus* had conquered, obliged him to withdraw his troops from that iſland, and then returned to *Rome* to acquaint the ſenate with the ſucceſs of their negotiation [c]. They were ſoon followed by embaſſadors from *Antiochus*, and the two *Ptolemies*. The former being introduced to the ſenate made the following ſpeech, which ſufficiently ſhewed what a mean-ſpirited prince *Antiochus* was: Though *Popilius*, ſaid they, communicated your pleaſure to the king our maſter at a time when all *Egypt* was ready to ſink under his arms; yet he preferred obedience to victory. He thought himſelf as indiſpenſibly obliged to ſubmit to the deciſions of *Rome*, as to fulfil the will of the immortal gods. To this fulſome ſpeech the ſenate returned the following anſwer; *Antiochus* did wiſely in putting our orders in execution. The ſenate and people of *Rome* are ſatisfied with his conduct. After the *Syrian* embaſſadors, thoſe from *Egypt* were introduced; they addreſſed the ſenate in the like extravagant ſtrain; To you, conſcript fathers, ſaid they, we owe the deliverance of *Egypt*, and the concord that now reigns among us. The departure of *Antiochus*, and the union between the two rival princes by you brought to a happy iſſue, have ſecured our liberty, and reſtored peace to the kingdom. A double benefit! for which the kings and people of *Egypt* are as much indebted to you, as children to their parents, or mortals to the immortal gods. The ſenate anſwered in a few words, *Rome*, ſaid they, ſhares your happineſs, and is pleaſed with your gratitude. *Egypt* may always depend on her protection. After theſe compliments were paid the prætor was ordered to make the embaſſadors the uſual preſents [d].

Venus his rage upon Jeruſalem.

Antiochus, on his return from *Egypt*, being highly provoked to ſee himſelf thus oblig d to quit a kingdom, which he looked upon as his own, vented his rage upon the unhappy city of *Jeruſalem*, which had no ways offended him. On his march through *Paleſtine* he detached twenty-two thouſand men under the command of *Apollonius* with orders utterly to deſtroy the place. *Apollonius* arriving at *Jeruſalem*, carefully concealed his orders, and behaved in a friendly manner till the next ſabbath, when ſeeing all the people aſſembled in their ſynagogues to perform the religious duties of the day, he thought that the moſt proper time for putting his bloody commiſſion in execution. Accordingly he let looſe all his troops upon the unarmed and defenceleſs multitude, ordering them to put all the men to the ſword, and ſeize the women and children, who by the king's orders were to be ſold for ſlaves. This

[c] POLYB. legat. 92. p. 916. LIV. l. xlv. c. 11, 12. JUSTIN. l. xxxiv. c. 3. APPIAN. in Syriac. VAL. MAX. l. vi. c. iv. VELLEIUS PATERCUL. l. i. c. 10. PLUT. in Apophtheg. c. 32. HIERONYM. in Dan. xi. 27. [d] LIV. l. xlv. POLYB. legat. 92. VAL. MAX. l. vi. c. 4.

barbarous

a barbarous command was executed with the utmoſt rigor and cruelty; the ſoldiers inhumanly butchered all the men they could meet with; inſomuch that the very channels in the ſtreets flowed with blood. They afterwards plundered the city, and ſet it on fire in ſeveral places, pulled down the houſes, demoliſhed the walls, and built with the ruins, which the fire had ſpared, a fortreſs on the top of one of the hills of the city of *David*, over-againſt the temple, which it commanded. This fortreſs they made their place of arms to keep the whole nation in awe, ſtored it with all manner of proviſions, and laid up in it all the ſpoils which they had taken in the plunder of the city. From hence the gariſon uſed to ſally out upon thoſe who came to worſhip the true God in the temple, ſprinkling the ſanctuary with blood, and defiling it with all
b manner of pollutions, which their malice and hatred to the *Jewiſh* nation could ſuggeſt. The temple was therefore deſerted, and a ſtop put to the daily ſacrifices, none of the true ſervants of God daring to go thither to worſhip [e]. But the deſolations he cauſed in *Judæa*, the cruel perſecution which he ſtirred up againſt the true believers, and the bloody war which he carried on againſt the people of God, with the generous reſiſtance made firſt by *Mattathias*, and afterwards by his ſon, the brave *Judas Maccabæus*, we ſhall deſcribe at length in the hiſtory of the *Jews*, as in a more proper place.

AFTER ſeveral of *Antiochus*'s generals had been defeated, and the armies they commanded cut in pieces by *Judas Maccabæus*, the king of *Syria* ſent at length *Lyſias*,
c one of the greateſt lords of his court, to complete the abolition of the law of God, and the deſtruction of its few defenders. The *Syrian* army deſigned for this purpoſe conſiſted of ſixty thouſand men; and theſe preparations alarmed *Tiberius Gracchus*, whom the *Roman* ſenate had ſent to viſit all the kings, republics, and free cities in the eaſt. He immediately flew to *Antioch* to watch the ſteps, and examine the deſigns of the king, whom he ſoon found to be no ways a formidable enemy. During the ſtay of *Gracchus* at *Antioch*, *Antiochus* hearing that *Paulus Æmilius* the *Roman* general, after having conquered *Perſes* king of *Macedon*, and ſubdued that kingdom, had celebrated games at *Amphipolis* on the river *Strymon*, cauſed the ſame to be exhibited at *Daphne* near *Antioch*, having firſt ſent emiſſaries into all parts to invite ſpectators,
d and to bring at an immenſe expence the beſt actors, and moſt skilful workmen in *Europe* and *Aſia*. The games were celebrated with incredible pomp and magnificence, and were by far the fineſt that had ever been in *Syria* (X). The part the king

[e] POLYB. ibid. 1 MACCAB. i. 29, 40. 2 MACCAB. v. 24, 25, 26. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xii. c. 7. & in præfat. ad hiſtor. de Bell. Judaic. & l. i. c. 1. & l. vi. c. 11. ejuſdem hiſtor.

(X) *Polybius* gives us the following account of the ſolemn proceſſion which preceded the ſports. In the firſt place marched five thouſand men, all in the flower of their age, and in the attire of *Roman* ſoldiers; theſe were followed by the like number of young men in the *Myſian* dreſs; next to them came three thouſand *Cilicians* in light armor, with crowns of gold on their heads; then came three thouſand *Thracians*, five thouſand *Galatians*, many of them having ſilver ſhields, two hundred and forty couple of gladiators, a thouſand young men mounted on *Nicæan* horſes, three thouſand riding other horſes, moſt of them with gold trappings, and gold crowns. Theſe were ſucceeded by a thouſand of the king's friends all on horſeback with moſt coſtly trappings; four thouſand choice horſemen all in purple robes interwoven with gold; a hundred chariots drawn by ſix horſes abreaſt, and forty-two by four horſes; eight hundred youths with crowns of gold, walking before the ſtatues of the *Syrian* and *Greek* deities and heroes, which were carried by men in moſt rich and coſtly robes, and attended by a thouſand pages, all belonging to *Dionyſius* the king's ſecretary, and each of them carrying a ſilver veſſel, weighing a thouſand drachmas; the king's pages, to the number of ſix hundred, carrying veſſels of gold, two hundred women on foot, with chalices of gold full of ſweet-ſmelling waters to ſprinkle the ſpectators. The proceſſion was cloſed by fourſcore women in a very rich and expenſive attire, carried in litters with legs, according to the faſhion of thoſe days, of maſſy gold, and five hundred more in litters with legs of ſilver. Beſides the proceſſion, ſports, ſhews, and diverſions of all kinds were exhibited every day for the ſpace of a month; during which time the king entertained all the ſpectators of any note or rank at fifteen hundred tables, which were daily ſerved at an immenſe charge with the moſt expenſive diſhes of *Europe* and *Aſia*. In the rooms were placed fifteen large jars of gold, filled with precious ointments for the uſe of the king's gueſts. In ſhort, the whole was performed with ſuch order, elegancy, and ſplendor, as can hardly be expreſſed. But moſt of the ſpectators were more offended at the mean and unbecoming behaviour of the king, than pleaſed with all the reſt. At the proceſſion he appeared on a little palfrey, riding full ſpeed up and down, as if he had not been in his right ſenſes. He waited in perſon ſometimes at one table, and ſometimes at another, walking in his royal robes, and with the diadem on his head, before thoſe who brought in the diſhes. Sometimes he took it in his head to lie down on the floor, and there with a thouſand indecent actions put his gueſts quite out of countenance. He was once carried into the room, where his gueſts of moſt diſtinction were entertained, in the diſguiſe of a pantomime, and laid down on the floor as if he had been dead; but being rouſed by a ſudden flouriſh of inſtruments, he ſtarted up, and began to dance with ſo many ridiculous geſtures, that the whole company, ſhocked to the higheſt degree at ſuch a mean behaviour in a king, roſe up at once, and left the room (66).

(66) *Polyb apud Athenæum, l. v. c. 4. & l. x. c. 12. Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. Valeſii, p. 321.*

there acted during the whole time, anſwered in every reſpect the character which *Daniel* had given of him, calling him a *vile* and *deſpicable* perſon. He expoſed himſelf by a thouſand indecent actions to the ſcorn and ridicule of that numerous aſſembly, and cauſed more laughter than the beſt pantomimes; inſomuch that many of the ſpectators ſhocked at a conduct ſo unworthy of a prince, and ſo repugnant to all rules of modeſty and decorum, fled from the ſhows, and returned home. On this occaſion he brought out before the people all the vaſes and valuable moveables in his treaſury, which had never before been ſeen in public; and there is no doubt but the ſpoils of the temple of *Jeruſalem* were the fineſt part of the ſhow. Towards the *Roman* deputy *Antiochus* behaved himſelf with the meaneſt flattery, attending him like a ſlave, and giving him his own palace to live in, while he himſelf lodged in a borrowed houſe the whole time *Tiberius* continued at *Antioch*; nay, he even offered to reſign his crown to him; which offer the wiſe *Roman* rejected with the utmoſt indignation, and judging of the king from what he himſelf had ſeen, he acquainted his republic, that they had no reaſon to be under the leaſt apprehenſion of any danger from the king of *Syria* [d].

SCARCE was the *Roman* envoy gone, when news was brought to *Antiochus*, that the armies, which he had ſent againſt the *Jews*, were intirely cut off. Hereupon the king in a great rage drew all his troops together, which formed a very numerous army, being fully determined to deſtroy the whole *Jewiſh* nation, and ſettle new colonies in their country. But when he came to pay his army, he found his treaſury ſo exhauſted, that there was not money in it ſufficient for that purpoſe, he having expended vaſt ſums in his late ſhows, and beſides ſquandered away the greateſt part of his revenues in the preſents he beſtowed on his friends and followers. For he was naturally very generous, and in this particular excelled, as the author of the book of the *Maccabees* tells us, *all the kings before him*; and the prophet *Daniel* ſpeaks of him as *ſcattering among his followers, the prey, and the ſpoil, and riches.* How he came by theſe *riches, ſpoil* and *prey*, *Athenæus* tells us: All theſe expences, ſays he, ſpeaking of *Antiochus*, were made partly out of the prey, which contrary to the promiſe he had made to *Philometor*, he took in *Egypt*, partly out of the gifts of his friends, but chiefly out of the ſpoils of the many temples which he had ſacrilegiouſly robbed [e].

BESIDES the ſtraits and difficulties to which the want of money reduced him, he was greatly perplexed, according to the prophecy of *Daniel*, by tidings that came to him out of the eaſt, and out of the north. For in the north *Artaxias* king of *Armenia* had revolted from him, and *Perſia*, which was in the eaſt, paid no longer the uſual tribute, all things being there, as in the other parts of the empire, in the utmoſt confuſion, by reaſon of a decree which the king had enacted, injoining all the nations ſubject to him to renounce the religion of their anceſtors, and conform to that of the *Greeks*. To put a ſpeedy end to theſe evils, and prevent their ſpreading, *Antiochus* reſolved to divide his army into two parts, leaving one of them with *Lyſias* to reduce the *Jews*, and marching in perſon with the other firſt into *Armenia*, and afterwards into *Perſia*, to reſtore the affairs of thoſe provinces to their former condition. Accordingly having left *Lyſias* governor of all the provinces on this ſide the *Euphrates*, and committed to his care the education of his ſon *Antiochus Eupator*, who was then but ſeven years old, he croſſed mount *Taurus*, and entering *Armenia* defeated *Artaxias*, and took him priſoner. From *Armenia* he marched into *Perſia*, in order to oblige the inhabitants of that rich province to pay him the arrears of their

[d] POLYB. apud Athen. l. v. c. 4. p. 194, 195. & l. x. c. 12. p. 439. DIODOR. SICUL. in excerpt. Valeſii, p. 321. DANIEL. xi. 21. MACCAB. l. i. c. 3. v. 8. [e] MACCAB. l. i. c. 3. v. 13. & ſeq. ATHENÆUS Deipnoſoph. l. v. p. 195. 1 MACCAB. l. i. c. 3. v. 27, 28.

(Y) *Artaxias* the firſt of that name, of whom mention is made here, had, according to *Polybius*, *Diodorus Siculus*, and *Appian*, commanded the troops of *Antiochus the Great* in the provinces of *Aſia*, which were ſubject to the crown of *Syria*, and with the conſent of his maſter made himſelf ſovereign of a ſmall ſtate in *Upper Armenia*; while *Thariades*, another of the ſame king's generals, eſtabliſhed a new kingdom, likewiſe with the conſent of *Antiochus*, in *Lower Armenia*. After the defeat of *Antiochus* they both put themſelves under the protection of the *Romans*. Nevertheleſs *Epiphanes* made war upon *Artaxias*, cut his army in pieces, and took the prince himſelf priſoner. But his captivity, in all likelihood, laſted no longer than the life of *Epiphanes*. For we find him ſoon after at war with *Mythrobuzanas*, the ſon of *Thariades*, whom he forced to abandon his dominions, and fly for refuge to *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia*. *Artaxias* did all that lay in his power to prevail upon *Ariarathes* to deſtroy the fugitive prince. But the king of *Cappadocia* was ſo far from being ſeduced with the flattering hopes *Artaxias* gave him of ſharing with him the provinces of *Lower Armenia*, that he even had the generoſity to re-eſtabliſh at the head of a powerful army *Mythrobuzanes* on his throne.

yearly

a yearly tribute. He there was informed, that the city of *Elymais* was greatly renowned for its wealth, and that there was in the place a temple, dedicated, according to *Polybius*, to *Diana*, according to *Appian*, to *Venus*, in which immenſe ſums were lodged. Upon this notice he flew to *Elymais* with a deſign to plunder both the city and the temple, as he had done at *Jeruſalem*. But his deſign having taken vent, the inhabitants of the city, and the neighbouring villages, taking up arms in defence of their temple, repulſed him with the greateſt ignominy. *Antiochus* greatly grieved at this diſgrace, withdrew to *Echatan* in *Media*. Soon after his arrival thither, news was brought him of the defeat of *Nicanor* and *Timotheus*, two of his generals, in *Judæa*; which inraged him to ſuch a degree, that he immediately ſet out from
b *Media* with all poſſible expedition, in order to make that nation feel the moſt dreadful effects of his wrath, breathing nothing on his march but total ruin, and utter deſtruction. As he was thus haſtening towards *Babylonia*, through which he was to paſs on his return, he was met on the road by freſh meſſengers, bringing him an account that *Lyſias* had been defeated, that the *Jews* had retaken the temple, thrown down the images and altars which he had erected, and reſtored their former worſhip. At this news his fury and rage increaſed, and being impatient to reach *Antioch*, that he might from thence march in perſon againſt the *Jews*, and execute his vengeance upon the whole nation, he commanded his charioteer to drive with the utmoſt ſpeed, threatening to utterly extirpate the whole nation without leaving one ſingle perſon of
c the *Jewiſh* race alive. He had ſcarce uttered theſe words when he was ſeized with a great pain in his bowels, which no remedy could cure or abate. But notwithſtanding this violent ſhock, ſuffering himſelf to be hurried away by the wild tranſports of his fury, he gave orders for proceeding with the ſame precipitation in the journey. But while he was thus haſtening forwards, he fell from his chariot, and was by the fall ſo bruiſed, that his attendants were forced to put him into a litter. But not being able to bear even the motion of the litter, he was obliged to halt at a town called *Tabæ* (Z), ſituate among the mountains of *Parætacene* on the confines of *Perſia* and *Babylonia*, and there keep his bed, ſuffering inexpreſſible torments, occaſioned chiefly by the vermin which bred in his body, and the ſtench which made him inſupportable
d even to himſelf. But the torments of his mind, cauſed by his reflecting on the former actions of his life, ſurpaſſed by many degrees thoſe of his body. *Polybius*, who in his account of this wicked prince's death, agrees with *Joſephus*, and with the authors of the firſt and ſecond book of the *Maccabees*, tells us, that the uneaſineſs of his mind grew at laſt to a conſtant delirium or ſtate of madneſs, by reaſon of ſeveral ſpecters and apparitions of evil genii or ſpirits, which, he imagined, were continually reproaching him with the many wicked actions he had been guilty of. *Polybius* indeed aſcribes all this to the ſacrilegious attempt which he made on the temple of *Diana* in *Elymais*, without taking any notice of the many ſacrileges and profanations which he had not only attempted, but actually committed at *Jeruſalem*. But *Joſephus* with
e much more reaſon and juſtice imputes his cruel death to what he did at *Jeruſalem*; and of this *Antiochus* himſelf, as we read in the firſt book of the *Maccabees*, ſeems to have been well appriſed. To what a condition, ſaid he to his friends in the height of his torments, am I reduced! what a change of fortune have I undergone! Alas! I now remember with grief the calamities I brought on *Jeruſalem*. I am but too ſenſible of the vengeance of the God, whom I have provoked; and it ſhall be now my whole buſineſs to appeaſe him. I will reſtore to the *Jews*, whom I have perſecuted, their ancient privileges and liberties: I will make them as happy and independent as the city of *Athens*: I will reſtore the temple of the true God to its former luſtre, and return the ſacred veſſels, and even increaſe their number. Nay, I will
f embrace the law of the circumciſed myſelf, and zealouſly promote it in others. Thus ſpoke *Antiochus*, hoping he ſhould appeaſe the Almighty by theſe great promiſes; but as they were extorted from his mouth, and not from his heart, by the violence of his unrelenting torments, he did not obtain mercy, though he ſought it with tears; and therefore after having languiſhed ſome time in this deplorable condition,

The unhappy death of Antiochus Epiphanes. *Year of the flood* 2834. *Before Chriſt* 165.

(Z) *Polybius* and *Porphyrius* agree with the author of the ſecond book of the *Maccabees*, as to the place where *Antiochus* ended his days. *Caſtaldus* is of opinion that *Tabæ* and *Echatan* are one and the ſame city. It is plain from the hiſtory of the *Maccabees* that *Tabæ* ſtood in a mountainous country, and ſuch was the province of *Echatan* in *Media*. But *Niger* thinks that the ſituation of *Tabæ* agrees better with that of the preſent city of *Iſpahan*. *Q. Curtius* places *Tabæ* in *Parætacene*, which is the moſt northern province of *Perſia*.

he

he ended his unhappy life after having reigned eleven years and ſome months [f]. *Porphyrius*, *Euſebius*, *Jerom*, *Sulpitius Severus* and others tell us, that he reigned only eleven years; but the author of the firſt book of the *Maccabees* ſays, that he began his reign in the 137th year of the kingdom of the *Greeks*, and died in the 149th, which lengthens his reign to twelve years. To reconcile the abovementioned writers with the author of the hiſtory of the *Maccabees*, we muſt ſay with the learned *Uſher*, that *Antiochus* began his reign in the end of the 137th year, and died in the beginning of the 149th year of that æra, after having reigned, according to that computation, eleven years and ſome months (A). As *Antiochus Epiphanes* was a violent perſecutor of the *Jewiſh* church, and a type of the *Antichriſt*, who in after-ages is to afflict the chriſtian church, more is ſaid relating to him in the prophecies of *Daniel*, than to any other prince. But of this more at length in our notes (B). a b

Antiochus

[f] MACCAB. l. i. & ii. c. 6, 7, 8, 9, &c. POLYB. in excerpt. Valeſii, p. 144. APPIAN. in Syriac. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xii. c. 13. HIERONYM. in Dan. xi. 36. EUSEB. in Chron.

(A) As *Antiochus the great* attempted the ſame ſacrilege in the country of *Elymais*, which *Antiochus* his ſon is ſaid to have attempted in the city of *Elymais*, ſome have imagined that the identity of names may have led writers into a miſtake, and made them aſcribe to both the ſacrilege, which was attempted only by one. On this ſuppoſition *Scaliger* (67) finds fault with S. *Jerom*, for ſaying in his comment on the eleventh chapter of *Daniel*, that *Antiochus the great* was cut off with his whole army by the *Elymæans*, which he pretends not to be true of *Antiochus the great*, but only of his ſon *Epiphanes*. But what *Jerom* ſays is vouched by many other writers of no mean character, *viz.* that *Antiochus the great* was thus cut off in attempting to plunder the temple of the *Elymæans*, and none ever ſaid that *Epiphanes* loſt his life in ſuch an attempt; for he eſcaped, with the loſs indeed of many of his men, and died ſome time after, as *Appian* (68), *Polybius* (69), *Joſephus* (70), and the authors of the firſt and ſecond book of the *Maccabees* witneſs. Beſides, though the attempt was made by both princes in the ſame country, yet it was not on the ſame temple; for that of *Antiochus the great* was on the temple of *Belus*, and that of *Epiphanes* on the temple of *Diana*, which goddeſs is ſaid by *Strabo* to have had a very rich temple in the country of the *Elymæans* (71). The ſame author tells us, that this temple was plundered by one of the *Parthian* kings, who found in it ten thouſand talents. This temple, as the ſame *Strabo* informs us (72), was called *Azara*, or, as *Caſaubon* reads it (73), *Zara*; whence *Diana* was called by the *Perſians Zaretis* (74).

(B) The eleventh chapter of *Daniel* from the twentieth verſe to the end, is wholly concerning *Antiochus Epiphanes*. The whole may be divided into two parts, whereof the firſt relates to his war in *Egypt*, and the other to the perſecution carried on by him againſt the *Jews*. And firſt as to his wars with *Egypt*, the prophet after having ſpoke of his acceſſion to the crown in the twenty-firſt verſe; *And in his eſtate* (Seleucus Philopator's) *ſhall ſtand up a vile perſon, to whom they ſhall not give the honour of the kingdom; but he ſhall come in peaceably, and obtain the kingdom by flatteries* (75); after having thus, I ſay, pointed out his acceſſion to the throne, the prophet goes on thus: *And with the arms a flood ſhall they* (the *Syrians*) *be overflown before him*, (Antiochus Epiphanes) *and ſhall be broken; yea alſo the prince of the covenant. Heliodorus*, who had murdered *Seleucus*, and his adherents, as alſo the partiſans of the king of *Egypt*, who had formed deſigns againſt *Syria*, were defeated by the forces of *Attalus*, and diſperſed by the arrival of *Antiochus*, whoſe preſence diſconcerted all their meaſures. By the *prince of the covenant*, ſome ſuppoſe to be meant *Heliodorus*, the ring-leader of the conſpirators; others *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, king of *Egypt*, who loſt his life by a plot laid by his own ſubjects, while he was bent upon a war with *Syria*. In the following verſes *Daniel* evidently ſpeaks of *Antiochus*'s four different expeditions into *Egypt*; *And after the league made with him* (with *Ptolemy Philometor* his nephew, king of *Egypt*) *he ſhall work deceitfully; for he ſhall come up, and ſhall become ſtrong with a ſmall people. Antiochus*, though he was already determined in his own mind to wage war, he aſſumed a ſpecious appearance of friendſhip for the king of *Egypt*; nay, he even ſent *Apollonius* to congratulate his nephew on occaſion of his coronation, and to aſſiſt in his name at that ceremony. Nevertheleſs ſoon after, on pretence of defending him he marched into *Egypt*, defeated his forces, and returned to *Tyre* loaded with the ſpoils of the plundered people. What is ſaid in the twenty-fifth, fortieth, forty-ſecond and forty-third verſes, was accompliſhed in his ſecond expedition into *Egypt*, viz. *And he ſhall ſtir up his power and his courage againſt the king of the ſouth with a great army, and the king of the ſouth ſhall be ſtirred up to battle with a very great and mighty army, but he ſhall not ſtand; for they ſhall forecaſt devices againſt him, and at the time of the end ſhall the king of the ſouth puſh at him, and the king of the north ſhall come againſt him like a whirlwind with chariots, and with horſemen, and with many ſhips; and he ſhall enter into the countries, and ſhall overflow and paſs over. Antiochus*, after having employed the whole winter in making preparations for a ſecond expedition into *Egypt*, invaded that country both by ſea and land as ſoon as the ſeaſon allowed him, *and entered into* Egypt, as we read in the firſt book of the *Maccabees* (76), *with a great multitude, with chariots, with elephants, and horſemen, and a great navy,—and made war againſt* Ptolemy *king of* Egypt. If we compare the hiſtory of the *Maccabees*, and indeed the profane writers, with *Daniel*'s prophecies, we ſhall find a perfect agreement among them, with this difference alone, that the prophet is more clear and particular than any of the hiſtorians. *He ſhall ſtretch forth his hand*, continues the prophet, *alſo upon the countries, and the land of* Egypt *ſhall not eſcape. But he ſhall have power over the treaſures of gold and ſilver, and over all the precious things of* Egypt. *Antiochus* after the

(67) *Scaliger. in animadver. ad Euſeb. chron. p.* 140. (68) *Appian. in Syriac.* (69) *Polybius in excerpt. Valeſii. p.* 144. (70) *Joſeph. Antiq. l.* xii. *c.* 13. (71) *Strab. l.* xvi. *p.* 744. (72) *Idem ibid.* (73) *Caſaub. in notis ad pag.* 744. (74) *Heſych. in voce* Ζαρῆτις. (75) *Daniel. c.* xi. *v.* 21. *v.* 22. *v.* 23. *v.* 25. *v.* 40. (76) *Maccab. l.* i. *c.* . *v.* 17, 18, 19. *v.* 42. *v.* 43.

a *Antiochus* before he expired, having ſent for *Philip*, who was his chief favourite, and had been brought up with him from his infancy, appointed him regent of the *Syrian* empire during the minority of his ſon, and delivered into his hands the diadem, the ſeal of the empire, and the other enſigns of royalty, charging him above all things to give his ſon, then nine years old, ſuch an education as might qualify him to govern his ſubjects with juſtice and moderation. But *Philip* on his arrival at *Antioch*, found the employment, which the king had conferred upon him, uſurped by another. For *Lyſias*, upon the firſt advice of the king's death, had placed his ſon *Antiochus*, who was then under his care, on the throne, giving him the name of *Antiochus Eupator*, and aſſuming to himſelf the tuition of his perſon, and the govern-
b ment of his kingdom. *Philip* well knew that he was not at that time in a condition to contend with ſo powerful a rival, and therefore retired into *Egypt* in hopes of finding at that court the aſſiſtance he wanted to drive out the intruder, and take upon him the government which the king had intruſted him with [c].

Antiochus Eupator.

I N the mean time *Demetrius* the ſon of *Seleucus Philopator*, who had been an hoſtage at *Rome* ever ſince his father's death, and was now in the twenty-third year of his age, hearing of the death of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, and the acceſſion of his ſon *Eupator* to the crown, which of right belonged to him as the ſon of the elder brother, applied to the ſenate, and ſtrongly repreſented to them the indiſputable title he had to the crown of *Syria*. The ſame deſtiny, ſaid he, when he was introduced to the
c conſcript fathers, which formerly deprived *Syria* of *Seleucus*, my father, has juſt now taken from her my uncle *Antiochus*. They ſucceeded one another in the throne, and each of them left a ſon a minor. I was of the ſame age as young *Antiochus* is now, when upon the death of my father I was judged incapable of governing ſo great an empire. Afterwards I was brought from my native country to this place as an

Demetrius *demands in vain leave to return* to Syria.

[c] APPIAN. in Syriac. EUSEB. in Chron. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xii. c. 14. MACCAB. l. i. c. 6. v. 17.

the victory, which he gained over *Ptolemy*'s forces in his ſecond expedition into *Egypt*, made himſelf maſter of all that country, *Alexandria* alone excepted, over-running it with an aſtoniſhing rapidity, *which his forefathers had not done, nor his father's fathers*, as the prophet expreſſes it. What we read in the twenty-ſixth verſe, viz. *Yea, they that feed of the portion of his (the king of* Egypt's*) meat, ſhall deſtroy him, and his army ſhall overflow; and many ſhall fall down ſlain*; this I ſay was fulfilled by the revolt of *Ptolemy Macron* from *Philometor*, and the treachery and male-adminiſtration of *Lenæus*, *Eulæus*, and other miniſters employed under them. What is ſaid in the twenty-ſeventh verſe was fulfilled in the meeting of *Antiochus* and *Philometor* at *Memphis*; *and both theſe king's hearts ſhall be to do miſchief*, ſays the prophet, *and they ſhall ſpeak lyes at one table; but it ſhall not proſper; for yet the end ſhall be at the time appointed.* The two princes, in the time of the ſecond and third expedition of *Antiochus* into *Egypt*, met at *Memphis*, eat frequently at the ſame table, and behaved towards one another with all the outward marks of a ſincere friendſhip. The uncle ſeemed to have the nephew's intereſt at heart, and the nephew to repoſe an intire confidence in his uncle. But all this was mere ſhow and outſide; they both ſpoke lyes; the deſign of *Antiochus* being to ſeize on the kingdom for himſelf, and *Philometor*'s to lay hold of the firſt opportunity that offered, to diſappoint him; as he did accordingly by agreeing with his brother, and the *Alexandrians*, as we have obſerved in the text, out of *Livy*, and other profane hiſtorians (77). Hereupon followed what is foretold in the twenty-ninth and thirtieth verſes; *At the time appointed he ſhall return, and come towards the ſouth, but it ſhall not be as the former, or, as the latter. For the ſhips of* Chittim *ſhall come againſt him; therefore he ſhall grieve and return, and have indignation againſt the holy covenant.* For advice being brought to *Antiochus*, that the two brothers were reconciled, he pulled off the maſk, and openly owned that he intended to take poſſeſſion of *Egypt* himſelf, and with this view *he returned, and came again towards the ſouth*, that is, into *Egypt*; *but he did not prevail as in the former, and in the latter* attempts upon that country, by reaſon of *the ſhips that came from* Chittim, or the country of the *Greeks* againſt him, having on board *Popillius Lænas*, and the other *Roman* embaſſadors. For theſe, having imbarqued on ſome *Greek* ſhips, which they found at *Delos*, ſailed from thence to *Egypt*, and finding *Antiochus* before *Alexandria*, obliged him to leave the country, *to his great grief*, and return into his own dominions. However what the prophet foretold in the forty-ſecond and forty-third verſes, *of his ſtretching forth his hand upon the land of* Egypt, *and his having power over the treaſures of gold and ſilver, and all other the precious things of that country*, had its thorough completion; for in all his expeditions into *Egypt*, he miſerably haraſſed that country, returning from thence loaded with ſpoils, and carrying treaſures of gold and ſilver taken *by him and his followers* (78). And thus far the prophecies of *Daniel* relating to the wars between the kings of *Syria* and the kings of *Egypt*, or, as the prophet ſtiles them, between the *kings of the north*, and the *kings of the ſouth*. As to the other part of *Daniel*'s prophecy, which relates to the cruel perſecution, he brought upon the *Jews*, we ſhall take notice of it in the hiſtory of that people. In the mean time we cannot help obſerving, that by *the prince of the covenant*, mentioned in the twenty-ſecond verſe, the prophet moſt likely pointed out *Onias* the high-prieſt of the *Jews*, who was depoſed and baniſhed by *Epiphanes*, and at laſt murdered by one of his lieutenants; and not *Heliodorus*, or the king of *Egypt*, as ſome interpreters would have it.

(77) *Liv. l.* xliv. *c.* 19. *Athenæus, l.* v. *p.* 195. *c.* xi. *v.* 27.

(78) *Athen. l.* v. *p.* 195. *Hieronym. in Dan.*

hoſtage, and have here had the happineſs to grow up under your eyes, and form a
myſelf by your examples. All the ſenators of this great metropolis are fathers to me,
and all their children brothers. I am by the education you have given me become
intirely *Roman*, and if I fill by your favour the throne of my anceſtors, I ſhall only
ſit there to diſpenſe your laws. How glorious will it be for you, and how advanta-
gious for *Syria* to ſee two of your pupils ſucceed one another! Can you in equity ſuffer
a child to uſurp my rights, and let my reſidence among you be prejudicial to me?
I am informed that *Antiochus* is already proclaimed king, and has taken the name
of *Eupator*. My abſence alone could authorize his friends to give him a diadem, which
by right of birth, and order of nature, can belong only to me. I am the ſon of a
king, and of the eldeſt of the two brothers, who have ſucceſſively reigned in *Syria*. b
There is the ſame objection againſt the promotion of young *Antiochus* to the throne
after his father, as there formerly was againſt my ſucceeding mine. He is too young
to ſuſtain the weight of public affairs. He has no right to the crown, but what he
derives from *Epiphanes*; and *Epiphanes* himſelf pretended at firſt to hold the crown
only in truſt. Upon his death therefore my right revives, and I am now able to bear
the burden of the ſtate; I am three-and-twenty years old, and have learnt the art of
reigning from you. Let young *Antiochus* be brought to *Rome* for an hoſtage; his
youth will make him ſuſceptible of your inſtructions; and give me leave, conſcript
fathers, to go into *Syria*, and there take quietly poſſeſſion of my crown, or make good
my right by dint of ſword [h]. c

Notwithstanding the juſtice of this demand, the ſenators were divided in
their opinions. The moſt equitable among them thought they could no longer detain
Demetrius at *Rome*, ſince by that means they debarred him from the crown, to which
he had an indiſputable right. But the leſs ſcrupulous, upon principles of policy and
motives of intereſt, were for keeping the young prince ſtill at *Rome*. Theſe remon-
ſtrated, that ſuch a king of *Syria* as *Demetrius*, who was in the flower of his age, of
an aſpiring genius, and of extraordinary parts, might in the end prove a formidable
enemy to the republic, and raiſe new troubles in the eaſt; whereas a child on the
throne would court their friendſhip, and ſeek for protectors at *Rome*. Nay, theſe
refined politicians went further, and without any regard to juſtice propoſed declaring d
Antiochus ward of the republic, and ſending guardians to govern his dominions in
The Romans *uſurp the guardianſhip of young* Eupator. the name and under the direction of the *Roman* ſenate. This opinion, though repugnant,
in a moſt flagrant manner, to all the laws of common juſtice and equity, prevailed in
that venerable body; and accordingly three perſons of conſummate experience were
immediately named to give law to *Syria* under pretence of aſſiſting and adviſing
the new king during his minority. Theſe were *Cn. Octavius*, who had diſcharged
the conſulate with great reputation, *Sp. Lucretius*, and *L. Aurelius*. This iniquitous
decree was enacted by the ſenate, and confirmed by the people without the conſent or
even privity of the *Syrians*, who had no thoughts of deſiring any foreign guardians
for their king. So deſpotic a power did the haughty *Romans* aſſume over kings e
after the defeat of *Perſes*, and reduction of *Macedon*. Neither was the ſenate ſatiſ-
fied with oppoſing the juſt claim of *Demetrius* to the crown of his father, and ſetting
it on the head of a child, to whom it did not belong; but moreover gave the
guardians, who were to take care of the affairs of *Syria*, ſuch inſtructions as tended
to the weakening of the kingdom of their ward. For they were ordered by the ſenate
to burn all the ſhips with decks, which the king of *Syria* had, as ſoon as they ſhould
be in poſſeſſion of the guardianſhip, to hamſtring all his elephants, and in ſhort to
weaken by all means poſſible the ſtrength of that powerful kingdom. With theſe
inſtructions *Octavius*, who was at the head of this commiſſion, ſet out with his col-
legues to govern in quality of guardians, the moſt powerful ſtate in *Aſia* [i]. f

Celebrated victories of Judas Maccabæus. In the mean time *Lyſias*, who, as we hinted above, had uſurped the tuition of
the young king, and the government of the kingdom, was purſuing with the utmoſt
ardor the war againſt the *Jews*, which *Antiochus Epiphanes* had begun. He had entered
Judæa with fourſcore thouſand men, with all the cavalry of the kingdom, and four-
ſcore elephants, propoſing to make *Jeruſalem* the habitation of *Gentiles*, and utterly
aboliſh the worſhip of the true God. He had opened the campaign with the ſiege
of *Bethſura*, a ſtrong fortreſs between *Jeruſalem* and *Idumæa*; but being there defeated

[h] Justin. l. xxxiv. c. 3. Polyb. legat. 107. Appian. in Syriac. p. 117. [i] Justin. Polyb. Ap-
pian. & Liv. ubi ſupra.

by

a by the brave *Judas Maccabæus* with the loſs of eleven thouſand foot, and ſixteen hundred horſe, he had ſtruck up a peace with the conqueror, one of the articles of which was, that the decree of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, which obliged the *Jews* to conform to the religion of the *Greeks*, ſhould be revoked, and free liberty allowed them to live according to their own laws. But this peace was of no long duration; for the governors of the neighbouring provinces, not being ſatisfied with it, aſſembled all their forces to the number of an hundred and twenty thouſand foot, and five and twenty thouſand horſe, and marching, under the command of *Timotheus* into *Judæa*, put all to fire and ſword. But *Judas Maccabæus*, full of confidence in the God of armies, attacked and defeated them with a handful of *Iſraelites*. On this occaſion
b the *Syrians* loſt upwards of thirty thouſand men, and the victory was attended with many advantages on the ſide of *Judas*, who purſuing the remains of the ſhattered army, came up with them at the city of *Carnion*, and finding that many of them had there taken refuge in the temple of *Atargatis* (C), he cauſed fire to be ſet to it, which ſoon conſumed the temple, and all who were in it. After this ſevere execution he fell upon the *Syrians* in the town, and put them all without diſtinction to the ſword; and on this occaſion five and twenty thouſand more of *Timotheus*'s forces were ſlain [k]. On his return to *Jeruſalem* the city of *Ephron*, which had been well garriſoned by *Lyſias*, refuſed him admittance, though he promiſed to abſtain from all hoſtilities, ſince he could not poſſibly march his army any other way but through
c the city itſelf, which lay directly in the road. This refuſal exaſperated the *Jewiſh* general, who thereupon aſſaulting the place, took it ſword in hand, and after having put all the males, to the number of twenty-five thouſand, to death, cauſed the city to be razed to the ground [l]. After this *Judas* made himſelf maſter of all the ſouthern parts of *Idumæa*, and the country of the *Philiſtines*, with the important city of *Azotus*, or *Aſhdod*, demoliſhing every-where the heathen altars, burning their carved images, and inriching his army with the ſpoils of the plundered cities. But the *Syrian* garriſon, which ſtill kept poſſeſſion of the fortreſs of *Jeruſalem*, and frequently ſallied out upon the *Jews*, as they went up to worſhip in the temple, was a great thorn in their ſides. Wherefore *Judas*, to redeem himſelf from this annoy-
d ance, having firſt made the neceſſary preparations, laid cloſe ſiege to the place. But ſome of the apoſtate *Jews*, who ſerved among the *Syrians* in the fortreſs, knowing that they were to have no quarter, if the place were taken, found means to make their eſcape, and flying to *Antioch* acquainted the king and his council with the poſture of affairs at *Jeruſalem*, and repreſented the diſtreſs to which the gariſon was reduced ſo effectively, that forthwith an army was drawn together of an hundred thouſand foot, and twenty thouſand horſe, with thirty-two elephants, and three hundred chariots of war. The king in perſon, with *Lyſias* the regent of the kingdom, put himſelf at the head of this formidable army, and entering *Judæa*, laid ſiege to *Bethſura*. Here *Judas* with a ſmall number of reſolute men fell on the king's
e army in the night, and having killed four thouſand of them, and thrown the whole camp into the utmoſt confuſion, retired by break of day without the loſs of one ſingle man in ſo hazardous an attempt [m].

THOUGH the *Syrians* were well appriſed of the extraordinary valour of the *Jews*, yet they did not doubt but they ſhould overpower them with the great number of their forces and elephants, and therefore leaving *Bethſura*, reſolved to venture a general engagement, which *Judas* did not decline; nay he at the head of his ſmall army began the onſet, and killed about ſix hundred *Syrians*. But finding that notwithſtanding all his efforts, he muſt at length be bore down, and perhaps hemmed in, by ſo numerous an army, he choſe to withdraw in time, and retire in good order
f to *Jeruſalem*. Upon his retreat the king returned to the ſiege of *Bethſura*, which after

[k] MACCAB. l. i. c. 5. v. 37--43. & l. ii. c. 13. v. 24, 25, 26. [l] MACCAB. l. i. c. 5. v. 46--51. & l. ii. c. 12. v. 27, 28, &c. [m] Ibid. v. 65, 68, &c. & l. ii. c. 13. v. 15--17. &c.

(C) This deity is ſaid by *Strabo* (79) to be a *Syrian* goddeſs. *Pliny* (80) takes her to be the ſame with *Derceto*, and adds (81). that ſhe was worſhipped at *Joppa* in *Phœnice*. *Diodorus Siculus* tells us (82), that the inhabitants of *Aſcalon* paid her a ſpecial worſhip, and that ſhe was repreſented in that city by an image, having in the upper part the form of a woman, and that of a fiſh in the lower. Hence *Selden* conjectures this deity to have been the ſame with *Dagon* worſhipped by the *Philiſtines* (83).

(79) *Strab. l.* xvi. *p.* 748. (80) *Plin. l.* v. *c.* 23. (81) *Idem ibid. c.* 13. (82) *Diodor. Sicul. l.* ii. (83) *Vide Selden de Diis Syris Syntag.* 2. *c.* 3.

a long

a long and vigorous defence was obliged to ſurrender for want of proviſions [n]. From a
thence *Antiochus* marched againſt *Jeruſalem*, and beſieged the temple, which the
gariſon was ready to deliver up for want of proviſions, when providence relieved
them by an unforeſeen accident [o].

We have obſerved above, that *Philip*, whom *Epiphanes*, a little before his death,
had intruſted with the education and guardianſhip of his ſon, had retired into *Egypt*,
in hopes of finding aſſiſtance there againſt *Lyſias*. But being diſappointed in his
expectation, by reaſon of the diviſions which had again broke out between the
two brothers, who reigned jointly at that time, he left *Egypt*, and haſtening into
the eaſt, drew together a conſiderable army of *Medes* and *Perſians*, and taking advan-
tage of the king's abſence on his expedition into *Judæa*, ſeized *Antioch* the capital of b
the empire, and there took upon him the government of the kingdom. When news
of this attempt was brought to *Lyſias*, he thought it neceſſary to make peace with
the *Jews*, that he might be at liberty to turn his army againſt his rival in *Syria*. A
peace was accordingly granted to the *Jews* upon very advantagious and honourable
terms, and ſworn to by *Antiochus*. After this *Antiochus* was admitted within the for-
tifications of the temple, which ſeemed ſo ſtrong to him and his officers, as truly they
were, that contrary to the articles which he had ſwore to, he cauſed them to be demo-
liſhed before he ſet out for *Syria* [p]. *Lyſias* on his return to *Antioch* defeated *Philip*
in a pitched battle, retook the metropolis, and having got *Philip* into his hands, by
his death put an end to all the diſturbances he had raiſed [q]. c

While *Lyſias* was carrying on this war with the *Jews*, and his rival *Philip*, the
Roman embaſſadors, or rather guardians, arrived in the eaſt, and were there kindly
entertained by *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia*, through whoſe dominions they paſſed
in their way to *Antioch*. As this young prince had nothing more at heart than to
gain the good-will of the *Romans*, he expreſſed great joy at the guardianſhip which
they were going to take upon them over *Antiochus* his near relation. As he knew the
temper of the *Syrians*, and ſuſpected the intrigues of *Lyſias*, he offered to conduct
Octavius with an army into *Syria*, or to put the army under his command, in order
to prevent diſturbances, and guard the envoys againſt any treacherous attempts. For
he thought nothing could be more bold than the enterprize they had in hand. They d
were going of their own authority, without any invitation from the king, or the *Syrian*
nation, to aſſume the government of a people, who was ſubject only to their own
king. *Ariarathes* therefore preſſed *Octavius* to accept of a guard at leaſt; but the
Roman, relying on the majeſty of *Rome*, which he thought a ſafer guard than a nume-
rous army, with thoſe only who had attended him from *Rome* croſſed *Cappadocia*,
and entered the kingdom of *Syria*. Their arrival raiſed no ſmall jealouſy in the
heart of *Lyſias*, who, as he was himſelf of the blood royal, could not brook that
foreigners ſhould come ſo far to deprive him of what he thought his right on many
accounts. But *Octavius*, without even giving *Lyſias* notice of his arrival, or the
commiſſion on which he was come, advanced towards *Antioch* with all the pride of e
his republic, fancying that every thing would give way before him at the bare name of
a *Roman*. *Lyſias* was then maſter of the perſon of the young king, of all the
wealth of the kingdom, and had the troops at his command. However, as he was
too wiſe to oppoſe the deſigns of *Rome* ſword in hand, he hired an *African* born at
Leptis, and then reſiding in *Syria*, to diſpatch *Octavius*, without appearing to have
any hand in the murder himſelf. The aſſaſſin ſoon found a favourable opportunity
for making good his engagements with *Lyſias*. For *Octavius*, with an unheard-of
preſumption, arriving at *Laodicea*, a maritime city between *Tripolis* (D) and *Antioch*,
began there to put in execution the unjuſt orders of his republic, and to act the
ſovereign before he had even taken poſſeſſion of the regency. He cauſed all the f
Syrian ſhips, which he found there, to be burnt, and the elephants to be diſabled
from ſerving in war, under pretence that by the treaty made with the *Scipio's Antio-
chus the Great* had engaged to build no more ſhips of war, nor to tame more elephants.

[n] Maccab. l. i. c. 6. v. 49, 50. & l. ii. c. 13. v. 18. 22. [o] Maccab. l. i. c. 6. v. 48—54. [p] Mac-
cab. l. i. c. 6. v. 56. [q] Joseph. l. xii. c. 15.

(D) *Tripolis* ſtood at the foot of mount *Libanus* at a ſmall diſtance from the ſea, and was ſo called becauſe it conſiſted of three great quarters, which were like ſo many cities, being about a ſtadium diſtant from each other, as *Strabo* informs us; but *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, that it was called *Tripolis*, becauſe inhabited by three different nations, viz. *Arabians*, *Tyrians*, and *Sydonians*. It ſtill bears the ſame name.

a This bold ſtep exaſperated the populace to a great degree, and the *African*, in the height of the public indignation, falling upon *Octavius*, killed him in the gymnaſium at *Laodicea* [r]. This *Octavius* had been conſul ſome years before, and was the firſt of his family, who had attained to that honour [s]. *Octavius*, who afterwards became emperor, and is well known by the name of *Auguſtus*, was of the ſame family with this *Octavius*, but of another branch, which had not as yet been honoured with the conſular dignity. *Lyſias*, foreſeeing the evil conſequences of this attempt, did his utmoſt to clear himſelf from all ſuſpicion of being any ways concerned in it. He cauſed *Octavius* to be buried with extraordinary pomp, and immediately diſpatched embaſſadors to *Rome* to aſſure the ſenate, that neither he nor the king had b any hand in the aſſaſſination. But *Rome* ſent back the embaſſadors without any anſwer, reſerving the whole to a future enquiry. But in the mean time to honour the memory of *Octavius*, they commanded his ſtatue to be placed among thoſe of the great men, who had ſacrificed their lives for their country; and this ſtatue was ſtill ſtanding near the tribune of harangues in the time of *Auguſtus* [t]. In the mean time the aſſaſſin did not leave *Laodicea*, but publicly owned the action, which he maintained to be very commendable, and done at the inſtigation of the gods. Nay, one *Iſocrates*, a *Rhetorician*, made a public panegyric on the aſſaſſin, and exhorted the people to diſpatch in like manner the other embaſſadors, and all their attendants, that none might ſurvive to ſtir up the *Roman* ſenate againſt them, or give any information of what had happened [u]. c

Octavius, *embaſſador of the* Romans *in* Syria, *killed.*

Demetrius thinking that the murder of *Octavius* might have ſo far alienated the minds of the *Romans* from *Eupator*, that they would no longer detain him at *Rome* for his ſake, reſolved to addreſs the ſenate a ſecond time, and beg permiſſion to return into *Syria*. But as he had contracted an intimate acquaintance and friendſhip with *Polybius* the hiſtorian, who was then a priſoner at *Rome*, and generally deemed one of the beſt politicians of his age, he firſt adviſed with him; and that great man, and ſincere friend, when the young prince asked his opinion, whether he thought it proper for him to apply to the ſenate once more for leave to return into *Syria*, and take poſſeſſion of a crown to which he had an indiſputable right, returned him the follow- d ing anſwer: Take care not to ſtumble twice againſt the ſame ſtone. Have you but one way of getting into *Syria?* Should a man of your age depend on the capricious will of an unjuſt ſenate like a child? Only dare to ſet yourſelf at liberty, and you will reign of courſe. Theſe words ſtruck the prince, who had a great opinion both of the fidelity and wiſdom of *Polybius*, and had long governed himſelf intirely by his counſels. But the advice of a more timorous friend effaced the impreſſions they made. This was *Apollonius*, a young nobleman of *Syria*, who had been bred up with *Demetrius*, and was afraid his maſter might, by ſtealing privately away, diſguſt the ſenate, and thereby ruin his affairs. He therefore told him that it was impoſſible e *Rome* ſhould be ſo unjuſt as to detain him in the preſent circumſtances; and that ſhe would be glad to ſee an avenger of *Octavius*, and an enemy to *Lyſias* ſet out for *Syria* now that he ſtood in no need of her armies or fleets to recover his right at her expence. The advice of *Apollonius* prevailed, and *Demetrius* had again recourſe to the ſenate, joining intreaties to all thoſe motives of mutual intereſt, which might well induce him to deſire leave to depart, and the ſenate to grant it. But *Demetrius* was not ſo well acquainted with the *Romans* as *Polybius*; for they having ſtill the ſame reaſons for keeping him in *Rome*, perſiſted in the ſame reſolution. After all, ſaid they, when the matter was debated in the ſenate, the powerful kingdom of *Syria* is governed by a child, and *Rome* has nothing to fear during a minority. Be- f ſides, are we ſure that *Demetrius*, who is a young man of uncommon parts, will be as pliant on the throne, as he affects to be at *Rome?* Upon theſe conſiderations the ſecond requeſt of the prince met with a ſecond refuſal. When the decree of the ſenate, ordering him to continue in *Italy* till it pleaſed the conſcript fathers to diſmiſs him, was read to him, he could not forbear exclaiming with great indignation againſt the unjuſt and undeſerved uſage he met with. He then remembered the advice of *Polybius*, and reſolved to court the republic no longer, but to make his eſcape as ſoon as he could. He was greatly confirmed in this reſolution by *Diodorus* his governor, who being juſt then returned from *Syria*, whither his maſter had ſent him, told him that all *Syria* was in a flame, aſſuring him at the ſame time, that if he

[r] Appian. Syriac. p. 117. Polyb. legat. 114. p. 944. & legat. 122. p. 954. [s] Cic. Philip. 6. n. 4. [t] Cic. ibid. [u] Polyb. legat. 122. Justin. l. xxxiv. c. 5.

only ſhewed himſelf to his people they would all receive him with open arms as their deliverer. However before he took any ſtep in ſo nice a matter, he deſired the advice of *Polybius* as to the manner in which he might beſt elude the vigilance of the *Romans*. The faithful *Achæan* took the whole management of the affair upon himſelf, and having communicated the deſign of *Demetrius* to an intimate friend of his by name *Menithyllus*, who then reſided at *Rome* in quality of agent from the eldeſt of the two *Ptolemies*, he found out by his means an expedient to facilitate the prince's flight. There was at that time a *Carthaginian* ſhip riding at anchor in the port of *Oſtia*, and bound for *Tyre* with the firſt-fruits, which the *Carthaginians* annually ſent to the gods of the city from whence they originally came. *Menithyllus* pretending buſineſs in the eaſt, deſired the commander of the ſhip to tranſport him and his attendants thither, and agreed with him on a price for his paſſage. As no body entertained any ſuſpicion of him, he was allowed to carry on board what baggage and proviſions he pleaſed. When every thing was got ready, *Demetrius*, to conceal his deſign from the many domeſtics he had in his houſhold, ſent moſt of his retinue with his hunting equipage to *Anagnia*, as if he deſigned to follow them thither the next day. *Diodorus*, who was a man well verſed in buſineſs, was ſent into *Syria* in another ſhip, that he might get there before him, and pave the way for his reception. *Polybius*, who was at the bottom of all this without ever appearing in it, being informed by *Menithyllus* that *Demetrius* the evening before his departure was to give a grand entertainment to his friends in a hired houſe, began to be very uneaſy, leſt he ſhould let ſlip the opportunity; for he knew that the young prince, when in company with his friends, uſed to indulge himſelf in mirth and jollity without bounds or reſerve. Being therefore at that time indiſpoſed, and obliged to keep his houſe, he ſent him a letter, as night was already far ſpent, containing ſeveral ſentences out of the ancients touching the courage, ſecreſy, and ſobriety, which were neceſſary for the executing of great deſigns (E). The bearer was deſired to give it to the maſter of the houſe, and he to deliver it into the prince's own hands. *Demetrius* having peruſed it, knew from what hand it came, and with what intention it was wrote, and therefore pretending to be out of order, he immediately roſe from table, took leave of his friends, and returned home. There he imparted his deſign of leaving *Rome* that very night to ſome *Syrian* noblemen of his retinue, inviting them to accompany him, which they readily conſenting to, *Demetrius* ſet out in the dead of the night for *Oſtia*.

Demetrius *eſcapes from* Rome.

Menithyllus had gone ſome days before to acquaint the commander of the *Carthaginian* veſſel, that he had received freſh orders from the king his maſter, which would keep him ſome time longer at *Rome*; but however he would put on board of him the ſame number of paſſengers at the ſame price, and on the ſame conditions. Theſe he earneſtly recommended to him, telling him that they were officers of diſtinction, who were going to ſerve in the *Egyptian* army. The prince and his retinue to the number of ſixteen perſons arrived early in the morning, and by break of day the *Carthaginian* weighed anchor to the great joy of *Demetrius*, who already conſidered himſelf as ſitting on the throne of his anceſtors. Three days paſſed before he was miſſed at *Rome*, every one believing he was gone, according to his cuſtom, to divert himſelf with hunting in the neighbourhood of *Anagnia*. The ſecret was not diſcovered till the fourth day, when one of his ſervants, who had been ill uſed by his fellow-ſervant, went to *Anagnia* to complain to his maſter of the ill treatment he had met with; but not finding him there he returned to *Rome*, and diſcovered how long *Demetrius* had been abſent. Hereupon a ſtrict ſearch was made after him, but no one in the city, except *Polybius* and *Menithyllus* being privy to his eſcape, the meſſengers, who were diſpatched into all parts, returned without having heard any tidings of him. The ſenate met the ſixth day, and being fully convinced that he had made his eſcape, thought it needleſs to ſend after him ſince he had got the ſtart of them by ſix days. They therefore reſolved to take no further notice of it for the preſent; but only to ſend three embaſſadors into *Syria* to obſerve what effect the return of

(E) The ſentences, which *Polybius* made uſe of on this occaſion, were the following:

Ὁ δρᾶν, τὰ τῷ μέλλοντι, οἴχεται φέρων
Εἰς ὃ φέρει νύξ, τοῖς δὲ τολμῶσι τὶ πλέον.

Τόλμα τὶ, κινδύνευε, πρᾶτ', ἀποτύγχανε,
Ἐπίτυχε πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ σαυτὸν πρός.

To theſe he added the famous ſaying of *Epicharmus*:
Νῆφε, καὶ μέμνησο ἀπιστεῖν. ἄρθρα ταῦτα τῶν φρενῶν.

Demetrius

a *Demetrius* would produce there, and to watch that prince's ſteps. Purſuant to this reſolution, *Tiberius Gracchus*, who had been two years before conſul, *Lucius Cornelius Lentulus*, and *Servilius Glaucia* were a few days after appointed to go firſt into *Greece*, to appeaſe the minds of the people there, who were diſſatisfied with the *Roman* government, and from *Greece* to croſs over into *Syria* [x].

Writes to the ſenate.

In the mean time the fugitive prince landing in *Lycia*, wrote from thence a very polite letter to the ſenate: My deſign, ſaid he, in making my eſcape, was only to revenge the death of *Octavius*, who was inhumanly murdered contrary to the law of nations. *Lyſias* was the author of the aſſaſſination, and my aim is wholly at him. As to young *Eupator*, though he has uſurped my right, I reſpect him on account of
b his age, and the protection with which you honour him. Theſe promiſes had no great weight with the ſenate, no one doubting but *Demetrius*, when he once ſaw himſelf ſeated on the throne, would ſacrifice to his own ſafety the life of his young rival. But they thought it did not become *Rome* to oppoſe by force of arms the ſettling of the lawful ſovereign on the throne of *Syria*; and therefore waited without much uneaſineſs to hear of the prince's arrival, and adventures there. From *Lycia Demetrius* continued his voyage, and landed at *Tripolis*, a *Syrian* city on the confines of *Phœnice*. He no ſooner appeared there but he was acknowledged and proclaimed king by all the inhabitants. In order to gain a ſtrong party, he gave out in all the places he paſſed through, that he was ſent by the *Roman* ſenate to take poſſeſſion of his
c hereditary dominions, and that *Rome* was reſolved to ſupport him to the utmoſt of her power. This report was no ſooner ſpread abroad, but *Eupator*'s cauſe was looked upon as loſt, both officers and ſoldiers abandoning him in troops to join the new king. His army increaſed daily, the cities and ſtrong-holds ſtrove which ſhould firſt ſubmit to him, and the whole kingdom with great joy acknowledged him for their lawful ſovereign. He no ſooner appeared before *Antioch*, the metropolis of the kingdom, but the citizens, throwing open their gates, crowded out to him, inviting him to take poſſeſſion of the palace of his anceſtors. At length *Lyſias*, and his ward *Eupator*, being ſeized by their own ſoldiers, were delivered up to the new-comer, who ordered them to be put to death. Thus *Joſephus*, *Juſtin* and *Appian* relate the unhappy
d end of young *Eupator* and his guardian [y]. But the author of the firſt book of the *Maccabees* tells us, that they were taken priſoners by the ſoldiers of *Demetrius*, and by them put to death after the prince had declared that he would not ſee them [z]. So that according to this writer they were ſlain by the ſoldiery without any orders from *Demetrius*. *Eupator* reigned according to *Joſephus* [a], and *Euſebius* [b], two years, according to *Porphyrius* [c], and *Sulpitius Severus* [d], one year and ſix months. The author of the ſecond book of the *Maccabees* tells us, that both he and his guardian *Lyſias* were killed in the third year of his reign, or, as others read it, after he had reigned three years [e].

Commands Eupator *to be put to death.* *Year of the flood* 2836. *Before Chriſt* 163.

Honoured by the Babylonians *with the ſurname of* Soter.

No ſooner was *Demetrius* fixed on the throne, but he delivered the *Babylonians*
e from the tyranny of *Timarchus* and *Heraclides*, two brothers, whom *Antiochus Epiphanes* had raiſed to great honours upon no other merit but that of a ready compliance with his unnatural luſt. The firſt he had made governor, and the other treaſurer of the province of *Babylon*, and their adminiſtration was inſupportable to the inhabitants. *Demetrius* therefore giving ear to the juſt complaints of his ſubjects, cauſed *Timarchus*, who was the moſt guilty, to be put to death, and baniſhed the other. This deliverance was ſo acceptable to the *Babylonians*, that they gave *Demetrius* the title of *Soter* or *Saviour*, which he bore ever afterwards [f]. After this *Demetrius*, at the inſtigation of *Alcimus*, who on the death of *Menelaus* had been by *Eupator* appointed high-prieſt of the *Jews*, renewed the war with that nation, which had been
f carried on for ſo many years by *Epiphanes* and *Eupator* his predeceſſors. In this war the famous *Judas Maccabæus*, after repeated victories over the numerous armies of the king of *Syria*, loſt his life, as we ſhall relate at length in the hiſtory of the *Jews*. Upon his death his brother *Jonathan* took upon him the command of the army, but the *Syrians* ſoon after withdrew their forces from *Judæa*, which, without all doubt, was owing to the letters ſent by the *Roman* ſenate to *Demetrius* in behalf of the *Jews*. For that prince was at this time very cautious not to give the *Romans* any offence,

[x] Polyb. legat. 114. [y] Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 13. Appian. in Syriac. p. 117. Justin. l. xxxiv. c. 3. [z] Maccab. l. i. c. 7. [a] Joseph. ibid. c. 16. [b] Euseb. in Chron. [c] In Græc. Euseb. Scaliger. [d] Sulpitius Severus hiſtor. Sacra. l. ii. [e] Maccab. l. ii. c. 14. v. 12. [f] Appian. in Syriac. p. 117.

and

and therefore ready to grant any thing they deſired. His point in view was to get a himſelf acknowledged king of *Syria* by the republic, knowing that this was the moſt effectual method to ſtifle all remaining factions at home, and keep up a good underſtanding with his neighbours abroad. Being therefore informed that the *Romans* had three embaſſadors at the court of *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia*, he ſent *Menochares*, one of the chief lords of his court, thither to treat with them on this ſubject; and finding on his return by the report he made, that the good offices of the embaſſadors were abſolutely neceſſary for the gaining of his point, he ſent again deputies to them, firſt into *Pamphylia*, and afterwards to the city of *Rhodes*, aſſuring them of his inviolable attachment to the intereſt of *Rome*. At length by thus continually preſſing and ſoliciting them, he obtained what he deſired. Firſt the embaſſadors, b and afterwards their republic, acknowledged the ſovereignty of *Demetrius*, and gave him the title of king. To cultivate the amity of that powerful republic, he ſent the next year the ſame *Menochares* and others on an embaſſy to *Rome*, with a crown of gold of great value in acknowledgment of the kind entertainment he had received while an hoſtage in that city. With the preſent he ſent the aſſaſſin, who had murdered *Octavius*, and *Iſocrates*, who in his public declamations had maintained the juſtice of that action, and exhorted the people to treat the other embaſſadors in like manner. The *African* was not under the leaſt concern, but appeared gay during the whole journey, and boaſted that he would make even the *Roman* ſenate approve of what he had done. But the *Rhetorician* ſunk into a deep melancholy from the moment he was ſeized, c in order to be delivered up to the republic, which he had offended. He let his beard and nails grow, and could not be prevailed upon without force to take any nouriſhment; by which means he grew ſo thin before he reached *Rome*, that he looked like a skeleton. This was perhaps an artifice in the declaimer to raiſe compaſſion. But the ſenate would ſee neither of them, thinking that the puniſhment of theſe two men was too ſmall a ſatisfaction for the murder of their embaſſador. They therefore rejected the two unhappy victims that were offered them, and kept *Syria* in fear of a more ſevere vengeance. As to the embaſſadors, the ſenate received them with all the uſual honours, accepted of the king's preſent, and gave him proofs of a perfect reconciliation [g]. d

Demetrius is acknowledged king by the Romans.

Demetrius, after the orders he had received from *Rome*, had given *Judæa* ſome reſpite, as we have hinted above; but as he was in the flower of his age, and had a martial genius, he could not live long in peace. He therefore turned his arms againſt *Cappadocia*, where young *Ariarathes* then reigned. He was a prince endowed with many excellent qualities, of a ſweet diſpoſition, very gracious to his ſubjects, and highly eſteemed and beloved by them. His kingdom under ſo mild a government would have ſoon become one of the moſt happy and flouriſhing ſtates of *Aſia*, had not great diſturbances been raiſed by a pretender to his crown, ſupported in his unjuſt pretenſions by the whole power of *Syria*. His rival's name was *Holophernes*, or, as others write it, *Orofernes*, and his claim was this: *Antiochis*, the daughter of e *Antiochus the Great*, was married very young to the king of *Cappadocia* named *Ariarathes*, as well as his ſon. The queen having lived ſome time without children, and on that account believing herſelf barren, to gain the affection of her husband and ſubjects, feigned herſelf twice to be with child, and pretending to be delivered firſt of one ſon, and afterwards of another, impoſed two ſuppoſititious children on the king her husband; the firſt of whom was called *Ariarathes*, and the other *Holophernes*. They were both brought up at the court of their ſuppoſed father, as heirs to his crown. But afterwards the queen proving truly to be with child, and being delivered firſt of one daughter, and then of another, and at laſt of a ſon, of whom ſhe became paſſionately fond, declared to the king, that the two children, he had f brought up as his eldeſt ſons, were neither his children nor hers, and gave him ſtrong proofs of the cheat ſhe had put upon him. Hereupon the king immediately ſent the two ſuppoſititious children out of the kingdom with a ſufficient ſum of money to ſupport them. The eldeſt, called *Ariarathes*, was ſent to *Rome*, where he was carefully kept, and as he was a young man of a weak mind, and ſlender parts, he was very little affected with his loſs. But *Holophernes*, who was endowed with many great qualities, and had an enterprizing genius, was ſent into *Ionia*, and commanded never more to ſet foot in the kingdom of *Cappadocia*. The true ſon, at

Sets up a pretender to the crown of Cappadocia.

[g] POLYB. legat. 122. p. 954, 955. APPIAN. in Syriac. ubi ſupra. DIODOR. SICUL. legat. 25.

firſt

a firſt called *Mithridates*, taking thenceforth his father's name, was declared preſumptive heir to the crown. Nay, the loving father, out of an exceſs of tenderneſs, as ſoon as the young prince was capable of governing, offered to reſign the crown to him, and lead himſelf a private life. But young *Ariarathes* proteſted that he would rather die a thouſand times than rob his father of his dignity; and by this generous behaviour he merited the name of *Philopator*, hich the *Greeks* afterwards gave him [h].

Not long after *Ariarathes*, upon the death of his father, had aſcended the throne, *Demetrius*, who had juſt then taken poſſeſſion of the kingdom of *Syria*, offered him his ſiſter *Laodice* in marriage. But ſhe being the widow of *Perſes* king of *Macedon*, an avowed enemy to the *Romans*, and *Demetrius* himſelf not being yet acknow-
b ledged by them king of *Syria*, *Ariarathes* was afraid this match might give them offence, and therefore rejected the offer. This *Demetrius* reſented, and under pretence of ſettling *Holophernes* on the throne, as he ſaid, of his anceſtors, made war on the king of *Cappadocia*. Beſides, *Holophernes* tempted the *Syrian* with great promiſes, engaging to pay him a thouſand talents, if he placed him on the throne. *Demetrius* therefore made great preparations for the carrying back of *Holophernes* to his native country; and on the other hand *Ariarathes*, entering into an alliance with *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus*, raiſed a conſiderable army to maintain his right. But *Demetrius* carried all before him; and driving *Ariarathes* out of *Cappadocia*, placed *Holophernes* on the throne. The dethroned prince fled to *Rome*, where, after long
c debates, the affair was determined, rather according to the inclinations of the judges, than the rules of equity, as we ſhall relate in the hiſtory of *Cappadocia* [i].

Demetrius, having now no wars to carry on, gave himſelf up intirely to pleaſures and eaſe, leading a ſtrange, or rather a fantaſtic kind of life. For he cauſed a caſtle to be built near *Antioch*, flanked it with four ſtrong towers, and there ſhutting himſelf up caſt off all care of the public, being ſeldom ſober the whole time he lived in that retirement. As no petitions were admitted, no grievances redreſſed, nor juſtice adminiſtred, the whole government was at a ſtand; which giving juſt cauſe of offence to all his ſubjects, they formed a conſpiracy for the depoſing of him. *Holo-*
d *phernes*, who had been driven out of *Cappadocia*, and at that time lived at *Antioch*, entered into this plot againſt his benefactor, flattering himſelf that, in caſe the conſpiracy took effect, the *Syrians* would place him on the throne in the room of the depoſed king. But the whole conſpiracy being ſoon diſcovered, *Holophernes* was ſeized, and kept under cloſe confinement at *Seleucia*, *Demetrius* not caring to put him to death, that he might again, when a proper occaſion ſhould offer, let him looſe upon *Ariarathes* [k]. *Demetrius* on examining the conſpirators, found that *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia*, *Attalus* king of *Pergamus*, and *Ptolemy Philometor* king of *Egypt*, were at the bottom of the plot; and concluding from thence, that if any misfortune ſhould befal him, his ſon, named alſo *Demetrius*, might meet with oppoſition in his ſucceſſion to the throne, unleſs his title was approved by the *Roman* ſenate, reſolved
e to deprive himſelf of his child, and ſend him to *Rome* to be brought up there. Accordingly the young prince ſet out ſoon after for that metropolis with a retinue ſuitable to his quality. But the *Romans* reviving their former reſentment againſt his father for making his eſcape, and taking poſſeſſion of a ſceptre which they had not put into his hands, received the king's ſon very coldly, and ſcarce treated him as a nobleman. Theſe proceedings greatly provoked the young prince's governors, who thereupon carried him back to *Syria*, when they had ſcarce ſhewn him at *Rome*. This ſudden eſcape of the ſon was no leſs reſented by the ſenate than that of the father had been ſome years before. While the republic was thus full of reſentment both againſt the father and the ſon, *Heraclides*, who had been ſome time at *Rome* watching an
f opportunity to raiſe new diſturbances in *Syria*, thought this the moſt proper time to ſucceed in a plot againſt *Demetrius*, which had been contrived by the abovementioned kings, *Ptolemy*, *Attalus*, and *Ariarathes*, and privately carried on by *Heraclides*. Theſe princes being highly incenſed againſt the king of *Syria*, the former for an attempt he had made upon the iſland of *Cyprus*, and the two others for the war he had waged with them in behalf of *Holophernes*, employed *Heraclides* to find out ſome young man of parts and addreſs, and ſuborn him to perſonate the ſon of *Antiochus Epiphanes*,

Demetrius *gives himſelf up to drunkenneſs and debauchery.*

Alexander Balas *lays claim to the crown.*

[h] Polyb. l. iii. p. 161. & legat. 126. Appian. in Syriac. Justin. l. xxxv. c. 1. Epitome Livii, l. xlvii. Diodor. Sicul. l. xxxi. apud Photium cod. 244. p. 1160. Zonar. l. ix. [i] Appian. in Syriac. p. 118. Polyb. legat. 126. [k] Justin. l. xxxv. c. 1.

and under that title to lay claim to the crown of *Syria*. This *Heraclides*, as we have related above, had been a great favourite of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, and his treaſurer in the province of *Babylon*, while *Timarchus* his brother was governor of it. But on the coming of *Demetrius* to the crown, the two brothers being found guilty of malverſation and other crimes, *Timarchus* had been executed, and *Heraclides* baniſhed. The latter being obliged to quit the dominions of the king of *Syria*, took up his reſidence at *Rhodes*, and there having found a young man named *Balas*, of mean extraction, but every way qualified for the abovementioned deſign, he thoroughly inſtructed him to act the part that was given him [l]. a

HAVING thus formed him for the impoſture, he cauſed him in the firſt place to be acknowledged by the three kings abovementioned, who acted underhand in concert with him; and then carrying him to *Rome* with *Laodice*, the real daughter of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, whom he had gained over, introduced them both to the ſenate a few days after the flight of young *Demetrius*. As *Rome* was at that time highly incenſed againſt *Demetrius* for the ſudden eſcape of his ſon, the ſenate received them very graciouſly. *Heraclides*, who preſented them to the ſenate, made on that occaſion a very artful ſpeech, which he concluded with the following words, after having expatiated on the inviolable attachment of *Antiochus Epiphanes* to the intereſt of *Rome*, and the cruelties ſuppoſed to have been practiſed by *Demetrius* both over his ſubjects, and the children of *Epiphanes*: But you, conſcript fathers, are already too well acquainted with *Demetrius*, and my complaints will add nothing to the opinion you entertain of that ſubtle and crafty uſurper. You have already openly diſcovered your ſentiments by the reception you gave young *Demetrius*. You did not think the ſon of an uſurper worthy of your education; nor would you form for the throne a perſon deſigned to perpetuate injuſtice on it. Nevertheleſs you did not then know, that two children of *Antiochus Epiphanes* had ſurvived their father, and their brother *Eupator*, who was cruelly aſſaſſinated. Appear then, you illuſtrious offſpring of one of the heroes of *Aſia*: I have reſcued you from want and oppreſſion, only to preſent you before the powerful and equitable tribunal of *Rome*. Make your demands yourſelves; and be aſſured that the protection you will meet with, will be as favourable as your cauſe is juſt. Accordingly *Balas* ſpoke for himſelf, and addreſſed the ſenate thus: The only favour I ask is, that you would remember king *Antiochus* my father. If his conduct was agreeable to you, you may as much depend on the ſubmiſſion of his ſon. Aſſiſt him with your protection, and he will ſoon give you proofs of his gratitude. If you deſire to ſee *Syria* united in a cloſe confederacy with *Rome*, give me only leave to return home. *Polybius*, who was then at *Rome*, tells us, that the whole city was fully convinced of the impoſture, and therefore greatly ſurprized to hear that the ſenate had paſſed a decree in favour of the two pretenders. This famous decree was couched in the following terms: The ſenate and people of *Rome* having examined the petition of *Alexander* and *Laodice*, the children of *Antiochus Epiphanes* king of *Syria*, the friend and ally of the *Roman* people, give the ſon leave to recover the rights of his father; and our will and pleaſure is, that our allies aſſiſt him therein [m]. *Balas* had changed his name, and taken that of *Alexander*, as *Juſtin* informs us; whence he is commonly called by the ancients *Alexander Balas*; the latter was, according to *Appian*, his mother's name.

The impoſtor Balas *countenanced by the* Roman *ſenate.*

Alexander being thus countenanced by the *Roman* ſenate, met with no difficulty in raiſing troops as ſoon as he landed in *Syria*. *Ariarathes*, *Ptolemy*, and *Attalus*, ſent him immediately powerful ſuccours; ſo that he was ſoon in a condition to appear before *Ptolemais* in *Paleſtine*, and even make himſelf maſter of that important place; the reduction of which was no ſooner heard of in *Syria*, but great numbers of *Syrians* out of diſaffection to *Demetrius* flocked to him from all parts. This brought *Demetrius* out of his caſtle to provide for his own defence; he drew together all the forces he could, took the field, and at the head of a formidable army marched out to meet the impoſtor. He was well appriſed that *Rome* had ſet up this rival to his crown; and therefore to appeaſe the republic, he ſent to *Rome* an impoſtor, named *Andriſcus*, who pretending to be the ſon of *Perſes* was come to the court of *Syria* to ſollicit his eſtabliſhment on the throne of his father in *Macedon*. The ſenate was well pleaſed to have this mock-king in their hands, but did not on that account diſcountenance b c d e f

[l] LIV. Epitome, l. lii. POLYB. legat. 142. p. 966. JUSTIN. l. xxxv. c. 1. APPIAN. in Syriac. p. 131. ATHENÆUS, l. 211. SULPITIUS SEVERUS, Hiſt. Sacr. l. ii. c. 22. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 3. [m] POLYB. LIV. APPIAN. JUSTIN. ubi ſupra.

in

a in the leaſt the pretender to the crown of *Syria*, nor ſhew any inclination to aſſiſt *Demetrius*. This prince, finding the *Romans* bent on his ruin, had recourſe to *Jonathan*, who had ſucceeded the famous *Judas Maccabæus* in the command of the *Jewiſh* forces, and made him moſt tempting offers. He wrote a very obliging letter to him, appointing him commander in chief of all his forces in *Judæa*, and empowering him to raiſe what troops he thought fit. At the ſame time he commanded the governor of the fortreſs of *Jeruſalem* to deliver up into his hands all the hoſtages of the *Jewiſh* nation, which were kept there as pledges of their fidelity to the *Syrian* intereſt. As the aſſiſtance of *Jonathan* was like to carry great weight with it, and turn the balance in favour of that ſide for which he ſhould declare, *Alexander*,
b hearing what *Demetrius* had done to gain ſo powerful an ally, ſent alſo his propoſals to him, appointing him high-prieſt of the *Jews*, honouring him with the title of the king's friend (F), and preſenting him with a purple robe, and a crown of gold, as enſigns of the high dignity conferred upon him, none but princes and nobles of the firſt rank being in thoſe days allowed to wear purple. *Demetrius*, being informed of the advantageous offers of *Alexander*, reſolved to out-bid him, hoping, by that means, to ſecure to himſelf an ally of ſuch weight; he therefore ſent a ſecond meſſage to *Jonathan*, offering to confirm all the grants of his rival, and adding to them many extraordinary gifts and privileges to be enjoyed for ever by him and the whole *Jewiſh* nation, provided he would eſpouſe the cauſe, and maintain the undoubted
c rights of his family; but as he had, on all occaſions, betrayed an irreconcileable hatred to the *Jews*, and endeavoured to extirpate the whole nation, *Jonathan* looked upon all theſe offers as extorted only by the neceſſity of his affairs, and which he would certainly revoke, as ſoon he ſaw himſelf again in quiet poſſeſſion of the crown. He therefore rejected the propoſals of a prince, on whom he could not, by any means, depend, and reſolved to enter into an alliance with *Alexander*. Of him he accepted the high-prieſthood, and, with the conſent of the people, on the feaſt of tabernacles, which happened ſoon after, he put on the pontifical robes, and officiated as high-prieſt, after that office had been vacant ſeven years [n].

Jonathan *declares for* Alexander Balas.

T H E two kings having taken the field at the head of their reſpective armies,
d *Demetrius*, who wanted neither courage nor conduct, when his reaſon was not impaired by immoderate drinking, gained the victory in the firſt battle; but it was of no advantage to him, for *Alexander* being ſpeedily reinforced by the three kings, who firſt ſet him up, and vigorouſly ſupported both by *Jonathan* and the *Romans*, he ſtill maintained his ground. The *Syrians* likewiſe, notwithſtanding the overthrow of *Alexander*, continued to deſert in troops from *Demetrius*, who, by his ſurly temper, had rendered himſelf odious to all his ſubjects; wherefore *Demetrius*, beginning to apprehend the event of the war, ſent his two ſons, *Demetrius* and *Antiochus* to *Cnidus*, a city of *Caria*, and there committed them, with a great treaſure, to the care of a friend of his in that place, that, in caſe any misfortune ſhould
e befal him in this war, his children might be out of the reach of his rival, and wait in a place of ſafety for ſome favourable turn of fortune [o].

Demetrius, having thus ſecured his children, and recruited his army the beſt he could, took the field anew, and being reſolved to put the whole to the iſſue of a battle, engaged his rival at the head of an army far ſuperior in number to his own. Both parties fought with incredible bravery, being encouraged by the example of their leaders. At firſt *Demetrius*'s left wing put the enemy's right to flight; but purſuing them too far, a fault which has occaſioned the loſs of many victories, on their return they found the right wing, in which *Demetrius* fought in perſon, quite routed, and the king himſelf killed in the flight. As long as he could prevail upon
f his men to keep their ground, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a very eminent manner; and when they began to give way, being bore down by the enemy's numbers, he diſplayed an extraordinary skill in military affairs, by retiring in good order, and keeping his men together, in hopes that his left wing might return in the mean time from the purſuit; but in the retreat his horſe having unluckily plunged into a

[n] Maccab. l. i. c. 10. ver. 21. & c. 7. ver. 14. Joseph. Antiq. l. xv. c. 3. [o] Justin. Liv. ibid. & Eutrop. l. iv.

(F) The title of *the king's friend* was highly eſteemed under the *Syro-Macedonian* kings, being beſtowed upon perſons only of the firſt quality; and to wear a purple robe was a mark of great diſtinction, not only among the *Macedonians*, but other nations; whence the word *Purpuratus* in the *Latin* tongue ſignifies a man of quality, or a prince.

bog,

bog, he was abandoned by his own men, and ſurrounded on all ſides by the enemy. a
Demetrius *defeated and killed.* In this ſituation, quitting his horſe, he fought a conſiderable time on foot with incredible bravery, putting all thoſe to death who dared to approach him; inſomuch that none venturing to come within his reach, they kept at a diſtance, diſcharging inceſſantly ſhowers of darts, arrows and javelins againſt him from all quarters. He fell at length, after having received a great many wounds, and for ſome time made head alone againſt the enemy's whole army [p] (G). *Polybius* and *Porphyrius*, who were both intimately acquainted with this prince, give him a moſt extraordinary character, and tell us, that he was killed after he had reigned twelve years; but *Joſephus*, upon what authority we know not, will have him to have reigned eleven years only. b
Year of the flood 2846. *Before Chriſt* 153.

Alexander, by this victory, having made himſelf maſter of the whole *Syrian* empire, ſent a ſolemn embaſſy into *Egypt*, to demand *Cleopatra* the daughter of *Ptolemy*, in marriage. The king not only complied with his requeſt, but conducted her to him in perſon; and the nuptials were celebrated at *Ptolemais* with great pomp and rejoicings. *Jonathan*, the *Jewiſh* high-prieſt, being invited by *Alexander* to aſſiſt at the ceremony, went thither, and was received by both kings with all poſſible marks of honour, eſpecially by *Alexander*, who cauſed him to be clad in purple, and inrolled among the firſt princes of his kingdom. He likewiſe honoured him with the chief command of all his forces in *Judæa*; and becauſe many out of envy preſented petitions againſt him, the king not only refuſed to peruſe them, but iſſued c
a proclamation, forbidding any one to ſpeak ill of him, or offer any complaints againſt his conduct [q].

Alexander Balas, ſeeing himſelf in the quiet poſſeſſion of the crown, thought that his only buſineſs now was, to glut himſelf with all the pleaſures which the plenty and power he had attained to could afford him; and therefore, abandoning himſelf to his natural inclination for luxury, idleneſs and debauchery, he ſhut himſelf up in the inner parts of his palace with lewd women, ſpending his whole time with them, and leaving the intire management of affairs to a favourite called *Ammonius*, who, to uſe the expreſſion of *Juſtin*, diſcharged the office of a ſovereign in his room. As this *Ammonius* was a man of a ſuſpicious, cruel and ſavage diſpoſition, he behaved d
more like a deſpotic tyrant than a miniſter, putting all thoſe to death whom he imagined capable of diſturbing his maſter in the poſſeſſion of the crown which he had uſurped. All thoſe of the blood royal, who fell into his hands, were moſt inhumanly maſſacred, and among the reſt *Laodice* the ſiſter of *Demetrius*, and *Antigonus* one of his ſons, who had remained in *Syria*, when the other two were ſent to *Cnidus*: This conduct ſoon drew, both upon the king and his miniſter, the hatred of the whole nation; of which *Demetrius*, the eldeſt of the deceaſed king's ſons, being informed, he thought this a favourable opportunity to recover his right; and therefore having, by means of *Laſthenes* (H), hired ſome companies of *Cretans*, he left *Cnidus* where he had been educated, and ſet ſail for *Cilicia*, which he ſoon made e
himſelf maſter of, the inhabitants flocking from all parts to join him. This rouſed *Alexander* from his lethargy; he quitted his ſeraglio, drew together what forces he could, and having committed the government of *Antioch* to *Hierax* and *Diodotus*, who was afterwards called *Tryphon*, he took the field; but upon advice that *Apollonius*

[p] MACCAB. l. i. c. 10. ver. 48, 49, 50. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 5. JUSTIN. l. xxxv. c. 1. APPIAN. in Syriac. p. 131. POLYB. l. iii. p. 165. [q] MACCAB. l. i. c. 10. ver. 59——66. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 7.

(G) *Polybius*, *Juſtin* and *Joſephus* agree with the author of the firſt book of the *Maccabees* concerning the unfortunate death of *Demetrius*; and *Appian* tells us in expreſs words, that *Demetrius* loſt at the ſame time his crown and his life, tho' the *Latin* tranſlator makes this author ſay, that the dethroned prince died in baniſhment; a ſenſe which the *Greek* original will not by any means bear.

(H) The perſon with whom *Demetrius* intruſted his children, is ſuppoſed to be that *Laſthenes*, of whom mention is made in *Joſephus*, and the hiſtory of the *Maccabees*. He was a native of *Cnidus*, and zealouſly attached to the intereſt of *Demetrius*, whoſe children he brought up with great care. Hence *Demetrius Nicator*, the eldeſt of the two, looked upon him, even after he came to the crown, as his father, and honoured him with this title in the letter which is ſtill extant in the hiſtory of the *Maccabees*. And indeed *Laſthenes* could not expect leſs gratitude from a pupil who owed his crown to him. This zealous tutor did not conceal from him any of thoſe large ſums, which *Demetrius Soter*, uncertain of the event, had depoſited in his hands, but employed them all in making the neceſſary preparations for a war with the uſurper of the crown of *Syria*. But, after all, *Laſthenes* no ſooner got the power into his hands, upon his pupil's acceſſion to the crown, but he proved a moſt cruel and oppreſſive tyrant, and, by his cruelties and oppreſſions, eſtranged the minds of the *Syrians* from their lawful ſovereign.

(I) gover-

a (I) governor of *Cæle-Syria* and *Phœnice*, had declared for *Demetrius*, he began to ſuſpect the fidelity of the *Syrians*, and thereupon called in king *Ptolemy*, his father-in-law, to his aſſiſtance [r].

Apollonius's firſt attempt, after he had declared for *Demetrius*, was to reduce *Jonathan*, who, mindful of the many favours he had received at the hands of *Alexander*, perſiſted in his attachment to that prince's intereſt. *Apollonius* having aſſembled all the troops that were diſperſed in *Cæle-Syria*, *Phœnice*, and the neighbouring provinces, advanced to *Jamnia*, a maritime city between *Azotus* and *Joppa*. From thence he ſent a proud meſſage to *Jonathan*, challenging him to an engagement. Hereupon *Jonathan*, marching out of *Jeruſalem* with ten thouſand
b men, advanced to *Joppa*, and being there joined by his brother *Simon*, who commanded a ſeparate body, beſieged and took the place in the ſight of *Apollonius* and his army. Being maſter of *Joppa*, he fell upon *Apollonius*, and routed him with great ſlaughter. The remains of the enemy's army fled to *Azotus*, and not thinking themſelves ſafe within the walls of the city, they took ſanctuary in the temple of *Dagon*; but *Jonathan*, not thinking himſelf obliged to pay any reſpect to an idolatrous aſylum, entered *Azotus* by force, and ſetting fire to the city, reduced it to aſhes, together with the temple; all thoſe who had fled thither for ſhelter, periſhing in the flames. All the neighbouring places which had declared for *Demetrius* underwent the ſame fate; ſo that *Apollonius* loſt on this occaſion above eight thouſand men. And now
c *Jonathan*, being maſter of the field, turned his arms againſt *Aſcalon*; but the inhabitants being ſtruck with terror at his approach, opened their gates to him, and received him and his army within their walls. And now, having no more enemies to contend with in thoſe parts, he led back his army to *Jeruſalem*, loaded with the ſpoils of the conquered enemy, and the riches of the plundered cities. *Alexander*, when informed of theſe ſucceſſes, teſtified his gratitude with new marks of diſtinction, ſending him a claſp of gold, ſuch as the princes only uſed to wear who were of the royal family, and beſtowing upon him the ſovereignty of the city of *Accaron*, and its territory [s].

In the mean time *Ptolemy Philometor*, to whom *Alexander* had applied for ſuccours,
d advanced to his relief, at the head of a mighty army. The author of the ſecond book of the *Maccabees* emphatically compares his troops to the ſand of the ſea-ſhore. As

[r] Maccab. l. i. c. 10. ver. 67. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 8. Justin. l. xxxv. c. 2. Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. Valeſii. p. 346. [s] Maccab. l. i. c. 10. ver. 69—87. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 8. Diodor. in excerpt. Valeſii. p. 346.

(I) As the name of *Apollonius* often occurs in the hiſtory of theſe times, it being very common among the *Greeks* and *Syro-Macedonians*; to avoid confuſion, we ſhall give an account of the perſons who bore it, and are mentioned in the occurrences of the times which we are now writing of. The firſt we meet with of this name in the hiſtory of the *Maccabees*, is *Apollonius* the ſon of *Thraſeas*, who was governor of *Cæle-Syria* and *Phœnice*, under *Seleucus Philopator*, when *Heliodorus* was ſent to *Jeruſalem* to plunder the temple, and who ſupported *Simon* againſt *Onias* the high-prieſt (84). He was alſo prime miniſter to the ſame king, but on the acceſſion to the crown of his brother *Antiochus Epiphanes*, he left *Syria*, and retired to *Miletus*, finding himſelf in all likelihood excluded from the adminiſtration, and ſome way obnoxious to the new king. While he reſided at *Miletus*, a ſon of his bearing the ſame name reſided at *Rome* with *Demetrius* the ſon of *Seleucus Philopator*, then an hoſtage in that city. As this *Apollonius* was a great favourite of *Demetrius*, as ſoon as that prince recovered the crown of his anceſtors, he beſtowed on the ſon the ſame government of *Phœnice* and *Cæle-Syria*, which the father had enjoyed under *Seleucus Philopator* (85). And this we take to be the *Apollonius*, who being continued in the ſame government by *Alexander Balas*, revolted from him, as we have related, to ſide with *Demetrius* the ſon of his old maſter (86). Another *Apollonius* is mentioned in the ſecond book of the *Maccabees* (87), and ſaid to be chief miniſter to *Antiochus Epiphanes*; but he ſeems to have been of another family, being called, in the above-mentioned hiſtory, the ſon of *Meneſtheus*. He was ſent by *Epiphanes*, with the character of embaſſador, firſt to *Rome* (88), and afterwards to *Ptolemy Philometor* king of *Egypt* (89). This *Apollonius* is in all likelihood the ſame, who, in the hiſtory of the *Maccabees*, is ſaid to have been over the tribute, and who, on *Antiochus*'s return from his laſt expedition into *Egypt*, was ſent with a detachment of twenty-two thouſand men to deſtroy *Jeruſalem*, and build the citadel on mount *Acra*, which kept the whole *Jewiſh* nation in awe for many years. Beſides theſe, there are two others bearing the ſame name in the hiſtory of the *Maccabees*, one of whom being governor of *Samaria* under *Antiochus Epiphanes*, was ſlain in battle by *Judas Maccabæus* (90), and the other, called the ſon of *Gennæus*, being likewiſe governor of ſome ſeignory in *Paleſtine*, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his hatred to the *Jewiſh* nation (91).

(84) *Maccab. l.* ii. *c.* 3. *ver.* 5. & *c.* 4. *ver.* 4. (85) *Polyb. legat.* 114. *p.* 944, 945. (86) *Maccab. l.* i. *c.* 10. *ver.* 69. (87) *Maccab. l.* ii. *c.* 4. *ver.* 21. (88) *Liv. l.* xlii. *c.* 6. (89) *Maccab. l.* ii. *c.* 4. *ver.* 21. (90) *Maccab. l.* i. *c.* 3. *ver.* 10. *Joſeph. Antiq. l.* xii. *c.* 7. & 10. (91) *Maccab. l.* ii. *c.* 12. *ver.* 2.

he entered *Paleſtine*, all the cities, through which he paſſed, received him with loud acclamations. As he marched by the place on which *Azotus* formerly ſtood, ſome perſons of his retinue diſaffected to the *Jews*, ſhewed him the ruins of that city, and of the once magnificent temple of *Dagon*, telling him, that theſe were the ſad effects of *Jonathan*'s fury; but notwithſtanding theſe complaints, and the ſight of many dead bodies, which ſtill lay unburied on the road, and in the adjoining fields, *Ptolemy* gave *Jonathan*, when he came to wait on him at *Joppa*, as favourable a reception as he could deſire. Both princes ſpent the night in that city, and leaving it the next day, *Jonathan* accompanied the king as far as *Eleutherus* a river of *Phœnice*, and then returned to *Jeruſalem*. *Ptolemy* purſued his march, haſtening to the defence of his ſon-in-law and ally; but, upon his arrival at *Ptolemais*, he was, to his great ſurprize, informed, that *Alexander* had a deſign upon his life, and that *Ammonius*, the king of *Syria*'s great favourite, had taken upon him to execute this deteſtable piece of treachery. Perhaps *Alexander* fearing that *Ptolemy*, coming with ſo powerful an army, might ſeize on *Syria* for himſelf, had reſolved to prevent this danger, by cutting him off at *Ptolemais*; for in that city the conſpirators were all aſſembled. *Ptolemy* could not be perſuaded at firſt, that *Alexander* had any hand in the plot, aſcribing the whole to the jealous temper of his imperious miniſter, who, without any orders from his maſter, nay, even without his privity, had put to death many *Syrian* lords of great diſtinction. He therefore wrote a letter to the king of *Syria*, complaining of the attempt, and demanding the criminal to be delivered up to him; but *Alexander* refuſing to comply with ſo juſt a demand, *Ptolemy* concluded from thence, that he was privy to the plot, and that *Ammonius* had only executed his maſter's orders. Hereupon, being highly exaſperated, he reſolved to turn his arms againſt the prince he was come to defend, and accordingly ſent embaſſadors to young *Demetrius*, offering him his daughter *Cleopatra*, *Alexander*'s wife, in marriage, and promiſing to ſettle him on the throne of his anceſtors. *Demetrius* willingly embraced this advantagious offer, went immediately to wait on *Ptolemy*, and received from him his daughter, who too eaſily complying with her father's will, was not aſhamed to break through her former engagements, and abandoning her firſt, marry a ſecond husband [t].

WHEN news of this was brought to *Antioch*, the inhabitants of that city, who had long groaned under the oppreſſions of the favourite miniſter, thinking this a proper opportunity to revenge the many violences he had committed in their city, roſe up in arms in a tumultuous manner, ſurrounded his palace, and killed him, as he was attempting to make his eſcape from the rage of the incenſed multitude in the attire of a woman [u]. Nor did the death of *Ammonius* put a ſtop to the ſedition; the *Antiochians* were uneaſy to ſee a prince on the throne, whom his wicked miniſters, and his own indolence, had rendered odious to the whole nation, and therefore thought of nothing but ſhaking off the yoke. *Ptolemy*, taking advantage of the preſent diſpoſition of the *Antiochians*, did all that lay in his power to engage them in favour of *Demetrius*; but they, remembring the many evils they had ſuffered under *Demetrius Soter* his father, were afraid the ſon might prove a no leſs cruel tyrant when once fixed on the throne, and therefore refuſed to declare in his favour. However, their hatred to *Alexander* ſo far got the better of their prejudices againſt *Demetrius*, that they entered into a confederacy againſt the former, and opened their gates to *Ptolemy*, offering to place the crown on his head; but that prince, who, as *Joſephus* tells us, knew how to ſet bounds to his ambition, when not agreeable to the rules of the ſtricteſt equity, rejecting their offer, and aſſembling all the inhabitants of that great metropolis, with a generoſity ſcarce to be paralleled, declared, that he could not, without the moſt flagrant injuſtice, place himſelf on the throne of *Syria*, by excluding the lawful heir. He repreſented *Demetrius* to them as a young prince of ſuch amiable qualities as promiſed a mild and peaceable reign; and, to calm their fears, he offered to be their guarantee for their new ſovereign's conduct, undertaking to aſſiſt him with his advice, and teach him the art of governing. The diſintereſted repreſentations of *Ptolemy* had the deſired effect; *Demetrius* was proclaimed king of *Syria*, and placed on the throne of his anceſtors [w].

IN the mean time *Alexander*, who was then in *Cilicia*, having aſſembled a numerous army, advanced to *Antioch*; and being met in the neighbourhood of that city by *Ptolemy* and his new ſon-in-law, a bloody engagement enſued, in which *Alexander*

[t] JOSEPH. l. xiii. c. 8. LIV. Epit. lib. l. [u] JOSEPH. ibid. & MACCAB. l. i. c. 11. ver. 13. [w] MACCAB. l. i. c. 11. ver. 8——12. JOSEPH. ubi ſupra. DIODOR. SICUL. in excerpt. Photii. cod. 244.

being

a being vanquiſhed, all thoſe, who had hitherto ſtood by him, abandoning his party, came over to *Demetrius*. The unhappy *Alexander*, inſtead of gathering together the remains of his ſhattered forces, betook himſelf to a precipitous flight, and being attended only by five hundred horſe, never halted till he got into *Arabia*. He there thought himſelf ſafe in the houſe of a chief lord of that country, whom the author of the hiſtory of *Maccabees* calls *Zabdiel*, *Joſephus*, *Zabel*, and *Diodorus Siculus*, *Diocles*; but the place proved fatal to him, for the treacherous *Zabdiel* ſtabbed him with his own hand, and made this baſe act matter of merit with *Ptolemy* and *Demetrius*; but the former was ſcarce able to taſte the fruits of the victory, for his horſe, terrified in the heat of the battle at the braying of an elephant, ſtarted, and threw him; and,
b while he was on the ground, *Alexander*'s men having ſurrounded him, wounded him mortally on the head, and would have killed him on the ſpot, had not his own guards reſcued him out of their hands. But this only prolonged his life a ſhort time; he lay ſenſeleſs four days, the fifth he ſeemed to recover, and in this interval the head of *Alexander*, which *Zabdiel* had cauſed to be ſtruck off, was brought to him as a preſent from the *Arabian*; but the joy he felt on this occaſion ſoon put an end to his life [x]. As for *Demetrius*, he took, without any further oppoſition, poſſeſſion of his father's dominions, ſtiling himſelf from this victory *Nicator*, that is, *the Conqueror*. *Alexander Balas* had reigned, according to *Joſephus*, five, according to the hiſtory of the *Maccabees*, ſix years, reckoning from the one hundred and ſixtieth year of the
c kingdom of the *Greeks*, or the *Æra* of the *Seleucidæ*, to the one hundred and ſixty-ſeventh, which was the firſt of the reign of *Demetrius Nicator* (K).

THIS is the account which *Joſephus* gives us of the troubles of *Syria*, and the death of *Alexander Balas*. But the author of the hiſtory of the *Maccabees* varies greatly from him, eſpecially in what relates to the character of *Ptolemy Philometor* king of *Egypt*, whom *Joſephus* highly commends, as we have ſeen, and the author of the firſt book of the *Maccabees* repreſents as an ambitious and perfidious prince, trampling under foot the moſt ſacred laws of nature and juſtice, to raiſe himſelf on the ruins of his own ſon-in-law. The account which the latter author gives us of this famous revolution, which put an end both to the life and reign of *Alexander Balas*, is as follows:

[x] JOSEPH. l. xiii. c. 8. LIV. Epit. l. lii. DIODOR. SICUL. ubi ſupra.

(K) *Alexander Balas* is called, in the firſt book of the *Maccabees* (92), the ſon of *Antiochus Epiphanes*; but as all the profane hiſtorians are unanimous in this, *viz.* that he was an impoſtor, and noways related to the family of the *Seleucidæ*, we have, upon their authority, contradicted the writer of that book. *Polybius*, who was then at *Rome*, tells us, that the whole city was fully convinced, that *Alexander Balas* had no right to the crown of *Syria*, and that the whole was a cheat carried on by *Heraclides*, who had long waited in *Rome* for ſome opportunity of raiſing diſturbances againſt *Demetrius*, by whom his brother had been put to death, and himſelf baniſhed. The ſame author adds, that the people of *Rome* were much ſurprized to hear, that the ſenate had paſſed a decree in favour of the impoſtor, and even began to ſuſpect, that *Heraclides*, being well appriſed of the preſent diſpoſition of the ſenate, had ſet up this impoſtor to pleaſe them (93). *Livy* tells us, that he was meanly born, and that his deſcent was not well known (94). *Athenæus* calls him the *ſuppoſititious* ſon of *Antiochus Epiphanes* (95). *Appian* ſays, that he intruded himſelf into the family of the *Seleucidæ* (96). *Sulpitius Severus* calls him a *Rhodian*, and adds, that he impudently paſſed himſelf upon ſome for the ſon of *Antiochus Epiphanes* (97). Some modern writers urge the following argument to prove, that he was truly the ſon of *Antiochus Epiphanes*. *Jonathan*, ſay they, *the virtuous high-prieſt of the holy nation, preferred his alliance to that of* Demetrius; *whence it is plain, that he had a juſt title to the crown* (98). But herein they run counter to their own principles; for allowing him to have been the true ſon of *Epiphanes*, yet, as he was the ſon of the younger brother, who had himſelf uſurped the crown, he could have no right to it in the life-time of *Demetrius*, who was the ſon of the elder brother. *Epiphanes* himſelf knew, that *Demetrius* had an indiſputable right to ſucceed his father in the kingdom of *Syria*, and therefore pretended at firſt to govern the empire only as guardian to the young prince, who was then under-age. Beſides, *Jonathan*, that virtuous high-prieſt of the holy nation, did not afterwards ſcruple to ſide with the ſon of *Demetrius* againſt the ſon of *Balas*, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel of this hiſtory. The conduct therefore of *Jonathan* is no proof of *Alexander*'s right, nor could thoſe authors have alledged it as ſuch, but out of a ſupine and unpardonable inadvertency.

Diodorus Siculus tells us, that *Alexander* having, ſome time before his death, conſulted a famous oracle in *Cilicia*, was warned by the god to beware of a place which had given birth to a creature of two ſhapes. It was generally thought, that the city of *Abas*, where *Alexander* was killed, was pointed at by this anſwer; for, after his death, upon inquiry, they found, that a woman called *Herais*, the daughter of *Diophantus* a *Macedonian*, and of an *Arabian* woman, after ſhe had been ſome years married to one *Samiadas*, all on a ſudden changed her ſex, and took her father's name (99).

(92) *Maccab. l.* i. *c.* 10. *ver.* 1. (93) *Polyb. legat.* 140. (94) *Liv. in Epit. l.* lii. (95) *Athenæus l.* v. *c.* 10. (96) *Appian. in Syriac. p.* 31. (97) *Sulp. Sever. Hiſt. Sacr. l.* ii. (98) *The authors of the Roman Hiſtory publiſhing at Paris. l.* xlvii. (99) *Diodor. Sicul. in fine. l.* xxxii. *apud Photium. cod.* 244.

Ptolemy

Ptolemy Philometor, being a prince of an unbounded ambition, had formed a deſign a
of uniting in his perſon the crowns of *Syria* and *Egypt*. As *Alexander Balas* had married *Cleopatra* the daughter of *Ptolemy*, and was in imminent danger of being driven from the throne by *Demetrius Nicator* the ſon of *Demetrius Soter*, the king of *Egypt* laid hold of this opportunity to put his deſign in execution. Accordingly, having raiſed a numerous army, he entered *Syria*, under the ſpecious pretence of aſſiſting his friend and relation againſt the attempts of his arrival. All the cities through which he paſſed opened their gates to him, *Alexander* having commanded them to pay the king of *Egypt* the honours that were due to him as the father-in-law of their ſovereign; but the treacherous *Ptolemy*, under plauſible appearances, only took advantage of the credulity of the unfortunate *Alexander*, putting *Egyptian* gari- b
ſons into the cities which had received him as a friend, and by that means ſecuring the poſſeſſion of them to himſelf. Thus he advanced into *Syria*, making himſelf maſter of all the places he found in his way as far as *Seleucia*, a maritime city on the mouth of the *Orontes*. And now it was in vain for him to diſſemble any longer, the leaſt ſagacious being fully appriſed of his wicked deſign; he therefore pulled of the mask, and ſending deputies to *Demetrius*, inviting the young prince to join him againſt their common enemy, he offered him, in order to convince him of his ſincerity, his daughter *Cleopatra*, *Alexander Balas*'s wife, in marriage; and, the better to palliate his injuſtice, he pretended, that *Alexander* and his prime miniſter had formed a plot againſt him, and hired aſſaſſins to take away his life, without any regard to their c
affinity and ancient friendſhip. *Demetrius*, not daring to withſtand the ſollicitations of the embaſſadors from ſo powerful a prince, went to wait on *Ptolemy*, who had nothing in view but his own intereſt in this alliance; for not caring to contend with two enemies at once, he made uſe of *Demetrius* to haſten the deſtruction of *Alexander*, not doubting, but when he had once got rid of him, the other would fall an eaſy victim to his ambition. After the ceremonies of the marriage were over, *Ptolemy* ſet out for *Antioch*, and there treacherouſly cauſed himſelf to be crowned king of *Syria*, without any regard to the moſt ſacred rights, and the ſolemn promiſes given to the unhappy *Demetrius*.

All theſe things were tranſacted in the heart of the kingdom, while *Alexander* d
Balas, deceived by the falſe promiſes of his father-in-law, was reducing the cities of *Cilicia*; but the news of the unfaithfulneſs of his wife, and the treachery of *Ptolemy*, made him drop that enterprize; however, he did not ſink under this ſhocking news, but aſſembling his troops without loſs of time, he advanced, by great marches, to ſtop the progreſs of the uſurper. *Ptolemy* met him, and offered him battle, which *Alexander* accepted, having no other reſource but in his courage, which fortune did not proſper. His troops were intirely defeated, and himſelf forced to take refuge in *Arabia*, where he miſerably periſhed by the hands of *Zabdiel*, one of the lords of the country. The *Barbarian* cut off his head, and ſent it to *Ptolemy*, who did not long enjoy the fruit of his crimes, death three days after putting an end both to his e
ambitious projects and his life. Upon his death *Demetrius* took poſſeſſion of the throne, and was by all the *Syrians* acknowledged for their ſovereign [y].

This is the account which the author of the firſt book of the *Maccabees* gives us of the troubles of *Syria*. The diſagreement between him and *Joſephus*, eſpecially with relation to *Ptolemy*, is very palpable; and therefore, in this oppoſition, we leave the reader to judge which of the two deſerves the preference. As for us, we cannot help thinking it highly improbable, that *Alexander Balas* ſhould hire aſſaſſins to murder *Ptolemy*, while he was actually marching to his aſſiſtance with the whole ſtrength of his kingdom. What great advantage could that prince propoſe to himſelf by cutting off ſo powerful an ally, and the only true friend he then had, as f
Joſephus himſelf is pleaſed to tell us? Some writers have endeavoured to reconcile *Joſephus* with the book of the *Maccabees*, by ſaying, that *Alexander* formed the deſign of aſſaſſinating *Ptolemy* by means of his favourite miniſter *Ammonius*, after the unjuſt proceedings of the king of *Egypt* had convinced him, that this prince had entered his dominions with a deſign to ſeize them for himſelf. But this is rather contradicting *Joſephus* than reconciling him with the other writer; for the former tells us in expreſs terms, that *Alexander* had received no provocation from *Ptolemy*, and this, in our opinion, has not the leaſt appearance of truth. But *Joſephus* is not the only author

[y] Maccab. l. i. c. 11. ver. 1——20.

who

a who contradicts the hiſtory of the *Maccabees*; for *Diodorus Siculus* [z] tells us, that *Alexander Balas*, having retired after the battle to *Aba* a city of *Arabia*, put himſelf there under the protection of *Diocles*, one of the chief lords of the country, whom he had a little before intruſted with the care of his ſon *Antiochus*, who was then a child. While he was here, the officers, who had attended him in his flight, entering into a conſpiracy againſt him, ſent privately meſſengers to the conqueror, offering to rid him of an enemy, who was formidable even in his retreat. *Demetrius*, who had no other view but to ſecure to himſelf the crown of *Syria*, accepted the offer made him in the name of the conſpirators; whereupon *Alexander* was ſeized, and barbarouſly murdered by thoſe, who, to that time, had acknowledged him for their
b ſovereign. *Euſebius* [a] tells us, that *Alexander* ſurvived *Philometor* four years; and that he married the daughter of *Ptolemy Euergetes* the brother of *Philometor*; and in this he not only contradicts the book of the *Maccabees* and *Joſephus*, but all the profane hiſtorians whoſe works have reached us.

Demetrius, having now no rival to contend with, and being altogether a ſtranger to ſtate affairs, left the whole care of the government to *Laſthenes*, who had hired thoſe *Cretans* by whom he was attended into *Cilicia*, when he firſt ſet out from *Cnidus*. As *Laſthenes* was a man of a ſevere and imperious temper, he ſoon alienated the minds of the *Syrians* from their new king. The firſt wrong ſtep he took was to command all the *Egyptians*, whom *Ptolemy* had placed in the maritime cities of
c *Phœnice* and *Syria*, to be cruelly maſſacred by the troops of *Syria* who were in the ſame gariſons. Hereupon the *Egyptian* army, which was ſtill in *Syria*, and had placed *Demetrius* on the throne, full of juſt horror for ſo barbarous an execution, abandoned him, and returned home [b]. After this, *Demetrius*, at the inſtigation of his prime miniſter, cauſed a ſtrict ſearch to be made after thoſe who had been againſt him or his father in the late wars, and put them all to death. Having by this means got rid, as he imagined, of all his enemies, he disbanded the greateſt part of his army, keeping in pay only his *Cretans*, and ſome other mercenaries. By this means he not only deprived himſelf of thoſe veterans who had ſerved under his father, and being well affected to him, would have maintained him on the throne, but made
d them his greateſt enemies.

In the mean time *Jonathan*, ſeeing every thing quiet in *Judæa*, having gathered together what forces he could, and prepared the neceſſary engines of war, laid ſiege to the fortreſs which the *Syrians* ſtill held at *Jeruſalem*. Hereupon complaints being made to *Demetrius*, that prince advanced as far as *Ptolemais*, and ſummoned *Jonathan* to wait on him there, and give an account of his conduct. *Jonathan*, ordering his men to purſue the ſiege with all poſſible vigour during his abſence, ſet out for *Ptolemais*, with ſome of the prieſts and principal men of the nation, carrying with him many rich and valuable preſents. Theſe not only appeaſed the king's wrath, but proved ſuch an efficacious recommendation in behalf of *Jonathan*, that *Demetrius*,
e having diſmiſſed the informers, confirmed him in the office of high-prieſt, admitted him into the number of his friends, and, at his requeſt, annexed to *Judæa* the three governments of *Apherema*, *Lydda* and *Ramatha*, which had formerly belonged to *Samaria*. Moreover, the king agreed to free the whole country under his government from all duties, cuſtoms and tributes, for three hundred talents to be paid to him by way of equivalent [c]. *Demetrius*, having thus ſettled matters with the *Jews*, returned to *Antioch*, where he gave himſelf up to all kind of exceſſes, *Laſthenes* putting him, as he was but very young, upon moſt wicked attempts. This behaviour alienated more and more the affections of his people from him, and diſpoſed the whole nation for a general revolt; which being obſerved by *Diodotus*, afterwards called *Tryphon*, he
f thought this a favourable opportunity to make a bold puſh, aiming at nothing leſs than to place the crown on his own head. *Diodotus* was born in the territory of *Apamea*, at a place called *Secoan*, and brought up in the city of *Apamea* [d]. He had been very ſanguine in the cauſe of *Alexander Balas*, who had appointed him, in conjunction with *Hierax*, governor of *Antioch*, and therefore had no ſhare in the confidence of *Demetrius Nicator*; but an obſcure and private life did not ſuit the taſte of *Diodotus*, who was a man of an unbounded ambition. He had very early formed

[z] Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. Valeſii. l. xxxii. p. 194. [a] Euseb. in Chron. [b] Maccab. l. i. c. 11. ver. 18. Joseph. l. xiii. c. 8. [c] Maccab. l. i. c. 11. ver. 20——37. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 8. [d] Maccab. l. i. c. 11. ver. 39. Strabo, l. xvi. p. 752. Liv. l. lii, liii. Joseph. l. xiii. c. 9. Appian. in Syriac. p. 132.

4

vaſt ſchemes, and, if we believe *Strabo*, in the very beginning of *Nicator*'s reign, a
ſeized the fortreſs of *Coraceſium* in *Cilicia*, and made it his place of arms, ſcouring
from thence the ſeas with impunity, and taking all the inhabitants of the coaſts who
fell into his hands, and carrying them to *Delos*, where he ſold them to the *Romans*,
who, after the reduction of *Carthage* and *Corinth*, piqued themſelves upon having
great numbers of ſlaves. The indolence of *Demetrius Nicator*, adds the ſame author,
the avarice of the governors, who had their ſhares of the profits ariſing from his
piracies, and the connivance of the king of *Egypt*, a declared enemy to *Nicator*,
encouraged theſe robberies, and other diſturbances in the *Syrian* empire. At length
Diodotus, being well appriſed of the diſaffection of the people to their ſovereign,
began to entertain thoughts of ſeizing the crown for himſelf. With this view he b
went into *Arabia*, and there laying before *Zabdiel*, who had been intruſted with
the perſon and education of *Antiochus* the ſon of *Alexander*, the ſtate of affairs in
Syria, with great difficulty prevailed upon him to put the youth into his hands, that
he might take advantage of the preſent diſturbances to place him on the throne of
his father. *Appian* calls this prince *Alexander*, and not *Antiochus*, contrary to the
teſtimony of the hiſtory of the *Maccabees*, and of *Joſephus*. He was the ſon of
Alexander Balas by *Cleopatra*, and was very young when *Diodotus* drew him from
his retreat (L). The traitor's ſcheme was to make uſe of the pretenſions of *Antiochus*,
till he had drove *Demetrius* from the throne, and afterwards to cut off the young
prince, and place the crown on his own head. c

IN the mean time *Jonathan* was carrying on the ſiege of the fortreſs of *Jeruſalem*
with great vigour; but not being able to reduce it, he ſent deputies to *Demetrius*,
deſiring him to withdraw the gariſon which he could not drive out. As that prince
was then involved in great difficulties, on account of the ſeditions and tumults which
daily broke out at *Antioch*, the inhabitants of that metropolis having an utter averſion
both to his perſon and government, he promiſed to grant *Jonathan* his requeſt, upon
condition he would ſend him ſome troops to keep the *Antiochians* in awe. Hereupon
Jonathan ſent him immediately three thouſand men, by which reinforcement the
king believing himſelf ſufficiently ſtrong to undertake any thing, reſolved to diſarm
the *Antiochians*, and accordingly ordered them all to deliver up their arms. This d
unexpected order cauſed a great uproar in the city; the inhabitants ran to their
arms, and, to the number of one hundred and twenty thouſand men, inveſted the
king's palace, with a deſign to kill him. The *Jews* haſtened to his relief, fell upon
the mutiniers, killed about an hundred thouſand of them, and ſet fire to the city,
which ſoon obliged the reſt to ſubmit, and ſue for pardon, which was granted them.
The tumult being thus quelled, the *Jews* returned, loaded with ſpoils, to *Jeruſalem*,
after having taken this dreadful revenge on the *Antiochians*, for the wrongs they had
ſuffered from them in *Juda* and *Jeruſalem*, eſpecially in the reign of their great per-
ſecutor *Antiochus Epiphanes* [f]

Demetrius, notwithſtanding the pardon he had granted to the *Antiochians*, put e
many of them to death, confiſcated their eſtates, and practiſed upon that unhappy
people all ſorts of cruelties and oppreſſions; whereupon the whole kingdom con-
ceived ſuch an hatred and animoſity againſt him, that they only wanted an oppor-
tunity to make him feel the moſt dreadful effects of their vengeance. That ungrateful
and impolitic prince behaved no better towards *Jonathan* than he did towards
his own ſubjects; for notwithſtanding the promiſes he had made to him, and the
great obligations he owed him for his late aſſiſtance, he refuſed to ſtand to the treaty
concluded with him at *Ptolemais*, in virtue of which he was to free the *Jewiſh* nation
from all taxes and tributes for three hundred talents. This ſum had been paid; but,
for all that, the king exacted the ſame taxes and tributes with the utmoſt rigour, by f
which means he alienated the *Jews* from him, as he had done his own ſubjects [g].

WHILE things were in this unſteady condition, *Tryphon* arrived in *Syria*, with
Antiochus the ſon of *Alexander Balas*, and laid claim to the crown in his name, ſtiling

[f] MACCAB. l. i. c. 11. ver. 41——52. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. iii. c. 9. DIODOR. SICUL. in excerpt. Valeſii. p 347, 348. [g] DIODOR. SICUL. ibid. MACCAB. l. i. c. 11. ver. 53. JOSEPH. ibid.

(L) *Antiochus* was, according to *Euſebius*, about ſeven years of age when *Tryphon* drew him from his retreat. *Livy* tells us, that he was then but two years old, wherein he contradicts himſelf, if ſome miſtake has not crept into the copy; for he elſewhere owns, that *Antiochus* reigned only two years under the guardianſhip of *Tryphon*, by whom he was, according to him, put to death in the tenth year of his age.

himſelf

himſelf guardian and protector of the young king. He no ſooner appeared, but the veterans, whom *Demetrius* had disbanded, and multitudes of others, whom he had provoked with his ill conduct, flocked to him, proclaimed him king, and marching under his banners againſt *Demetrius*, obliged that prince to come to an engagement, wherein his army was intirely routed, all his elephants taken, and he himſelf forced to ſhelter himſelf within the walls of *Seleucia*. *Antiochus*'s party being thus maſter of the field, marched ſtreight to *Antioch*, which opened its gates to them, and there placed the young prince on the throne of the kings of *Syria*, giving him the ſurname of *Theos*, that is, *the God* [h].

Antiochus being now in poſſeſſion of *Antioch* and the throne, *Tryphon*, his guardian,
b made it his firſt buſineſs to gain over *Jonathan* and the *Jewiſh* nation. With this view he ſent an embaſſy to *Jonathan*, and an obliging letter, confirming him in the office of high-prieſt, renewing the grant of the three ſeignories mentioned above, to which a fourth was added, and allowing him to wear purple with a gold claſp, to drink in a gold cup, and to have place among the king's chief friends, or the firſt lords of the kingdom, with many other privileges and advantages to be enjoyed by the whole *Jewiſh* nation. In virtue of the ſame letter, which was wrote in the new king's name, *Simon* was appointed commander in chief of all the king's forces, from the *Ladder* of *Tyre*, a mountain ſo called on the ſea-coaſt between *Tyre* and *Ptolemais*, to the borders of *Egypt*; the whole on condition, that the two brothers, and
c the *Jewiſh* nation, would declare for *Antiochus*. *Jonathan*, provoked at the ingratitude of *Demetrius*, accepted the invitation, and eſpouſed with great warmth the new king's party; whereupon a commiſſion being ſent him, empowering him to raiſe forces for the king's ſervice throughout all *Cæle-Syria* and *Paleſtine*, he drew together a great army, and marching round the country as far as *Damaſcus*, ſecured all thoſe parts in the intereſt of *Antiochus*. In the mean time the forces which *Demetrius* had in *Cæle-Syria* and *Paleſtine*, invaded *Galilee*, in order to make a diverſion, and oblige *Jonathan* to turn his arms that way; which he did accordingly, leaving *Simon* to command in *Judæa*. On his entering *Galilee*, he was very near being cut off with his whole army by a ſtratagem; but, while moſt of his men fled,
d being ſeized with a panic fear, a ſmall body of the moſt reſolute and couragious ſtood their ground, and made head againſt the enemy, till the reſt rallied, and returning to the charge, renewed the fight, and gained at laſt a complete victory. On the other hand *Simon*, laying ſiege to *Bethſura*, made himſelf maſter of that important place, which had been long in the hands of the *Syrians* [i]. The commander of the king's forces in *Galilee* having recruited his army with great expedition, returned againſt *Jonathan*, who, upon advice of his march, went to meet him as far as *Amathis* on the borders of *Canaan*; and there the two armies encamped over-againſt each other. The *Syrian* commander formed a deſign of attacking *Jonathan*'s camp in the night-time, in hopes of ſurpriſing him; but finding, on his approach,
e the *Jews*, who had received intelligence of his deſign, ready to receive him, he was ſo diſcouraged at the diſappointment, that he returned to his camp, and having cauſed fires to be lighted there to deceive the enemy, he marched off the ſame night, and got ſo far before *Jonathan* received advice of his retreat, that he could never come up with him; wherefore, after having purſued him in vain to the banks of the *Eleutherus*, he turned his arms, firſt againſt the *Arabians* who were of *Demetrius*'s party, and afterwards entered the territory of *Damaſcus*, putting all thoſe to the ſword who refuſed to ſide with *Antiochus*; by which means he intirely ſuppreſſed the party of *Demetrius* in thoſe parts, while his brother did the ſame in the country of the *Philiſtines*, after having made himſelf maſter of *Joppa*, and placed a ſtrong gariſon
f in it [k].

THE partiſans of *Demetrius* being thus every-where deſtroyed or driven out of the country, *Tryphon* thought it high time to put in execution the deſign he had formed from the beginning, of cutting off *Antiochus*, and ſeizing the crown of *Syria* for himſelf; but foreſeeing that *Jonathan* would, to the utmoſt of his power, oppoſe ſuch a black and treacherous attempt, he reſolved, in the firſt place, to rid himſelf of ſo formidable an enemy, and with this deſign entered *Judæa*, at the head of a powerful army. *Jonathan* met him with forty thouſand men at *Bethſan*, a city of

[h] MACCAB. l. i. c. 11. ver. 54——56. LIV. Epit. l. lii. JOSEPH. ibid. APPIAN. in Syriac. [i] MACCAB. l. i. c. 11. ver. 57——62. JOSEPH. ibid. [k] MACCAB. l. i. ubi ſupra. & c. 12. ver. 1——24. JOSEPH. ibid.

the

the tribe of *Manaſſeh* (M). At the ſight of ſo numerous an army, *Tryphon* was intimidated, and had recourſe to artifice inſtead of force. No declaration of war had been made, and therefore the *Syrian*, under a falſe appearance of friendſhip, eaſily circumvented the high-prieſt. He told him, That he was come thither only to conſult with him about their common intereſt, and to put *Ptolemais* into his hands, as a reward for the ſervices he had done young *Antiochus*. Credulity is too often the fault of good men. *Jonathan* believed him, and ſuffered himſelf to be prevailed upon to diſmiſs his army, keeping only three thouſand men with him, and of theſe he afterwards ſent two thouſand into *Galilee*, ſo that he entered *Ptolemais* with a guard only of a thouſand men, expecting, according to the traitor's oath, to be put in poſſeſſion of the place; but he was no ſooner got within the walls, than the gates were ſhut upon him, and he ſeized, after all his followers had been put to the ſword. Troops were likewiſe immediately detached after the two thouſand men, who were upon their march towards *Galilee*; but they, having received advice of what had happened to *Jonathan* and his men at *Ptolemais*, put themſelves in a poſture of defence, being reſolved to ſell their lives at a dear rate; which the enemy perceiving, ſuffered them to proceed on their march without moleſtation; ſo that they arrived ſafe at *Jeruſalem*, where they found all the inhabitants in tears for what had happened to *Jonathan*. However, they did not deſpond, but chooſing *Simon* for their general inſtead of *Jonathan*, applied themſelves, with all poſſible ſpeed, to the finiſhing of the fortifications begun by *Jonathan* at *Jeruſalem*. On the other hand, the *Syrian* army, leaving *Ptolemais*, advanced towards the land of *Judah*, and encamped near *Addus*, which is called by *Joſephus Addida*, and ſtood on a mountain that commanded the plains of *Judah*, and was not far from *Jeruſalem*. *Simon*, at the head of a powerful army, marched out againſt *Tryphon*, and poſted himſelf near the *Syrian* camp. *Tryphon*, not daring to give him battle, had recourſe to his uſual treachery; he ſent a deputation to the camp of the *Iſraelites*, informing *Simon* that his brother was alive, that he had detained him priſoner only on account of the money which he owed to the king of *Syria*, and that he would ſet him at liberty, if the *Jews* ſent him an hundred talents of ſilver, and *Jonathan*'s two ſons as hoſtages. The embaſſadors inſiſted upon the delivering up of the hoſtages as a neceſſary precaution, leſt *Jonathan*, who was highly provoked, ſaid they, againſt *Tryphon*, ſhould revolt from *Antiochus*, and join *Demetrius*. *Simon* ſaw plainly, that his propoſal was no more than a feint, and that ſome treachery was concealed under theſe artful ſpeeches; however, as he apprehended, that, upon his refuſal, *Tryphon* would put *Jonathan* to death, and the people blame him as the author of it, he reſolved to comply with the requeſt, and accordingly ſent the hundred talents, and the two hoſtages. And then the traitor, having received all he demanded, pulled off the mask, and declared himſelf an enemy to the *Jewiſh* nation. He returned into *Syria*, carrying *Jonathan* and his two ſons along with him, and having there reinforced his army, he re-entered *Judæa*, with a deſign utterly to deſtroy the whole nation; but *Simon* kept ſo cloſe to him in all his marches and countermarches, that he was forced to retire with diſgrace. On his retreat, he put *Jonathan* to death in the neighbourhood of *Baſcama* (N); but whether

(M) The city called *Bethſa* by the *Jews*, *Methora* by *Zonaras* and *Bazan* by *Cedrenus*, ſtood on the confines of *Galilee*, and is the ſame that is mentioned in the firſt chapter of *Joſhua*. The *Canaanites* kept poſſeſſion of this city, which was the moſt conſiderable in the *Decapolis*, after the *Iſraelites* had conquered *Paleſtine*. It ſtood in the middle of a great plain, near the mountains of *Gilboa*, about a mile on this ſide the *Jordan*, and 120 furlongs, according to *Joſephus*, from the lake of *Genneſareth*, and 600 furlongs from *Jeruſalem*. The *Greeks* gave it the name of *Scythopolis*; and ſo it is called in the hiſtory of the *Maccabees* (100), becauſe anciently inhabited by the *Scythians*, who, according to *Herodotus*, had, in the reigns of *Pſammitichus* king of *Egypt*, and *Cyaxares* king of *Media*, extended their conqueſts as far as *Syria* and *Paleſtine*. *Pliny* tells us, upon the credit of an ancient tradition, that *Bethſa* was, in former times, called *Nyſa*, from *Bacchus*'s nurſe, whom the *Scythians* buried near that place. It is now known among the eaſtern nations by the name of *Elbyzan*. It was on the walls of this city, if *Joſephus* is to be credited (101), that the *Philiſtines* hung up the dead bodies of *Saul* and *Jonathan*. Some *Jewiſh* authors ſay, that it was ſubject to the *Iſraelites* before the *Babyloniſh* captivity, they having at length driven out the *Canaanites*; but that the *Aſſyrians* afterwards made themſelves maſters of it, and held it long after the return of the *Jews*.

(N) The author of the hiſtory of the *Maccabees* tells us, that the ſnow which fell prevented *Tryphon* from entering into the country of *Gilead*, and that he ſtopped at *Baſcama*; whence it is plain, that this city was not, according to that author, in the land of *Gilead*, where *Joſephus* and ſome modern geographers place it.

(100) *Maccab. l.* ii. *c.* 12. (101) *Joſeph. Antiq. l.* vi.

by

a by poiſon or the ſword, no hiſtorian is exact enough to tell us [l]. *Tryphon*, after the death of *Jonathan*, believing he had no body to fear, cauſed *Antiochus* to be privately murdered. That young prince was troubled with the ſtone, and his guardian cauſing him to be cut for it, ordered the ſurgeons to diſpatch him in the operation [m]. Upon his death the treacherous *Tryphon* declared himſelf king of *Syria* in his ſtead, and accordingly took poſſeſſion of the crown, no one daring to oppoſe him.

THE firſt ſtep he took, after he had aſcended the throne, was to try whether he could prevail upon the *Romans* to acknowledge him king, ſince, without their protection, his affairs, as he was well appriſed, could never proſper. He therefore ſent embaſſadors to *Rome*, to notify to the republic his acceſſion to the crown of *Syria*,
b and to preſent the *Roman* ſenate with the ſtatue of a victory of maſſy gold, weighing a thouſand of thoſe pieces of gold which were called *aurei*. He hoped, that, in regard of ſo valuable a preſent, and the good omen of victory which the ſtatue carried with it, the ſenate would not ſcruple to acknowledge his title; but the *Romans*, cunningly eluding his expectation, received the preſent, and ordered the name of young *Antiochus*, whom *Tryphon* had lately murdered, to be engraved on it, as if it had been ſent by him [n]. About this time *Sarpedon*, one of *Demetrius*'s commanders, attempted to recover *Phœnice*; but his army was defeated by the forces which *Tryphon* had in thoſe parts. As the victorious army of the uſurper was returning from the purſuit, and quietly marching along the ſea-ſide between *Ptole-*
c *mais* and *Tyre*, a wave ſwelling all on a ſudden to an incredible height, and breaking with great violence on the ſhore, overwhelmed a great many of them, and then, running back with the ſame rapidity, left the dead bodies on the ſtrand, and a vaſt quantity of fiſh mingled with them; whereupon *Sarpedon*'s men returning with all ſpeed, found, that thoſe who had eſcaped the diſaſter, had retired to the neighbouring cities, eſpecially to *Ptolemais*, whither *Sarpedon* advanced, and, under the very walls of the city, offered up the fiſh, which he found mingled with the dead bodies on the ſhore, to *Neptune the deliverer*, by way of thankſgiving for the diſaſter which had befallen the enemy [o].

Demetrius in the mean time lay idle at *Laodicea*, abandoning himſelf to all manner
d of lewdneſs and debauchery, without ſo much as ſeeming to be ſenſible of his misfortunes. However, as *Tryphon* had given the *Jewiſh* nation juſt reaſon to renounce his friendſhip, *Simon* ſent embaſſadors to *Demetrius*, with a crown of gold, to treat with him about an alliance, and to offer him all the forces of *Judæa* againſt the uſurper. The embaſſadors were kindly received by the king, who, as he had no other reſource in the melancholy ſituation of his affairs, willingly granted them all they demanded, *viz.* a confirmation of the high-prieſthood and ſovereignty to *Simon*, an exemption from all taxes and tributes, and a general amneſty for all paſt acts of hoſtility, upon condition that the *Jews* joined him againſt *Tryphon* [p].

NOT long after *Demetrius* had concluded this alliance with *Simon* and the *Jewiſh*
e nation, he was encouraged to attempt the recovery of his kingdom by other embaſſadors ſent to him out of the eaſt, and inviting him thither. The *Parthians* having over-run and reduced moſt of the eaſtern provinces, from the *Euphrates* to the *Indus*, ſuch of the inhabitants of thoſe countries as were originally *Macedonians*, not being able to bear that uſurpation, nor the pride and inſolence or their new maſters, earneſtly intreated *Demetrius*, by repeated embaſſies, to come into thoſe parts, promiſing him a general revolt from the *Parthians*, and a ſufficient number of troops to expel thoſe uſurpers, and recover all the provinces of the eaſt. *Demetrius*, ſeduced with theſe promiſes, embarqued in this enterprize, and paſſed the *Euphrates*, leaving *Tryphon* in poſſeſſion of the greateſt part of *Syria*. He imagined, that, after
f he ſhould have made himſelf maſter of the eaſt, with ſuch an increaſe of power, he ſhould be in a better condition to ſuppreſs that rebel on his return. As ſoon as he appeared in the eaſt, the *Elymæans*, *Perſians* and *Bactrians* declared in his favour; ſo that, by their aſſiſtance, he defeated the *Parthians* in ſeveral engagements; but at laſt, being deceived by falſe appearances of a treaty of peace, he inadvertently put himſelf into the power of a *Parthian* commander, who ſeized on his perſon, and cut

[l] MACCAB. l. i. c. 12. ver. 39——53 & c. 13. ver. 1——11. & 20—24. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 12. [m] MACCAB. l. i. c. 13. ver. 31, 32. LIV. l. lv. STRABO. l. xvi. p. 752. JUSTIN. l. xxxvi. c. 1. [n] DIODOR. SICUL. legat. 31. [o] STRABO. l. xvi. p. 758. ATHEN. l. viii. c. 2. ex Poſſidonio Stoico. [p] DIODOR. SICUL. in excerpt. Valeſii. p. 355. MACCAB. l. i. c. 13. ver. 34—42. & c. 14. ver. 38—41. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 11.

his whole army in pieces. The king who reigned in *Parthia* at this time, was *Mithridates* the ſon of *Priapatius*, a valiant and wiſe prince. As ſoon as *Demetrius* was delivered up to him, he carried the captive prince round the provinces which had revolted, expoſing him every-where to public view, that the people, by ſeeing the perſon, whom they had looked upon as their deliverer, reduced to ſo low and ſhameful a condition, might be the eaſier brought to ſubmit to their former yoke. After this he treated him as a king, ſent him into *Hyrcania* to reſide there, with a maintenance ſuitable to his dignity, and even gave him his daughter *Rhodogune* in marriage; however, he kept him ſtill in captivity, tho' with all the liberty that could be granted him in that condition. *Juſtin* adds, that *Mithridates* engaged to carry him back into *Syria*, at the head of a powerful army, and to drive out the uſurper; but the death of the *Parthian* king fruſtrated all theſe expectations [q]. *Syncellus* tells us, upon what authority we know not, that *Demetrius* was kept in irons by *Mithridates* and his ſucceſſor *Phrahates*, and that he was from thence ſurnamed *Siderites*.

Cleopatra wife to *Demetrius*, upon advice of her husband's captivity, ſhut herſelf up with her two children in *Seleucia* on the *Orontes*, whither many of *Tryphon*'s ſoldiers flocked daily to her; for as he was naturally of a cruel and inhuman temper, he ſoon made the *Syrians* feel all the weight of a tyrannical government, which they not being able to bear, abandoned him, and went over to *Cleopatra*; but ſtill her party alone was not ſtrong enough to ſupport her, and therefore, fearing leſt the people of *Seleucia* ſhould chuſe rather to give her up to *Tryphon*, than bear a ſiege out of affection to her perſon, ſhe invited *Antiochus Sidetes* (O), her husband's younger brother, to join his intereſt with her's, promiſing, on this condition, to marry him, and procure him the crown; for being abandoned by *Demetrius*, who had married the *Parthian* king's daughter, ſhe reſolved to ſeek a new intereſt, by diſpoſing of herſelf in marriage to ſome-body elſe; and not ſeeing how ſhe could do this more to her advantage than by marrying the next heir to the crown, ſhe fixed upon him, and took him in the room of his brother [r]. This *Antiochus* was the ſecond ſon of *Demetrius Soter*, and had been ſent to *Cnidos* with his brother *Demetrius*, to be kept there as in a place of ſafety, during the war between their father and *Alexander Balas*. He ſeems to have continued in thoſe parts, even after his brother's acceſſion to the crown; for he is ſaid to have been at *Rhodes* when *Demetrius* was taken priſoner; and there in all likelihood the meſſenger ſent by *Cleopatra* found him: For he, having accepted the offer, and thereupon aſſumed the title of king of *Syria*, wrote immediately a letter to *Simon*, dated from the *iſles of the ſea*, that is, from *Rhodes*, as is commonly underſtood, ſince he had been there a little before [s]. In this letter he complained of *Tryphon*'s unjuſt uſurpation, and acquainted *Simon*, that he was preparing to come into *Syria*, to take vengeance on that treacherous aſſaſſin and uſurper, and recover his father's kingdom; and therefore, to gain him over to his intereſt, he confirmed to him all the privileges and immunities which other kings had granted to the *Jewiſh* nation, exempted *Jeruſalem* from the juriſdiction of the kings of *Syria*, and, to many other valuable privileges, added that of coining money, the only regal prerogative which the heads of the *Jewiſh* nation ſeemed to want (P) [t]. The wiſe high-prieſt therefore did not think it adviſeable to reject ſuch advantageous offers, whereby he was inveſted in the rights of royalty, and made a

a b c d e

[q] MACCAB. l. i. c. 14. ver. 1, 2, 3. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 9. JUSTIN. l. xxxvi. c. 1. & l. xxxviii. c. 9.
[r] APPIAN. in Syriac. p. 132. JUSTIN. ibid. JOSEPH. ubi ſupra, c. 12. [s] MACCAB. l. i. c. 15. ver. 1. JUSTIN. APPIAN. ibid. [t] MACCAB. l. i. c. 4. ve 2——9.

(O) He was called *Sidetes* or *Sedetes*, from the *Syriac* word *Zidah* which ſignifies *to hunt*, he being much given to that manly diverſion (103). *Syncellus* thinks he had this appellation from the city of *Sidon*, whence he firſt marched againſt *Tryphon*. *Joſephus* beſtows upon him the ſurname of *Pious*, (104). *Juſtin* calls him, after his father's name, *Soter* (105), and *Euſebius* gives him no other name but that of *Sidetes*, a name, ſays that writer, which he well deſerved from his paſſion for hunting.

(P) Till the reign of *Antiochus*, the *Syrian* kings had conſtantly refuſed the *Jews* the privilege of coining money; but *Simon*, it ſeems, did not wait for the new king's grant, the kings of *Syria* not being then in a condition to diſpute with him that prerogative. He had three years before ſtruck medals with his own name, and the year in which the *Jews* had been reſtored to their full liberty, by the reduction of the fortreſs of *Jeruſalem*. This event was repreſented on the reverſe by the figure of a palm-tree, the ſymbol of *Judæa*.

(103) *Plut. in Prob.* (104) *Joſeph. Antiq. l.* xii. *& l.* xiii. *c.* 16. (105) *Juſtin. in Prolog. l.* xxxix.

free,

a free, independent and ſovereign arbiter of the religion, revenues and government of his country; but prepared to aſſiſt *Sidetes* in mounting the throne of his anceſtors, and driving out the uſurper.

THE young prince therefore, depending on the friendſhip of the *Jews*, in the beginning of the following year, left *Rhodes*, and landed in *Syria*, with an army of mercenaries, whom he had hired in *Greece*, *Aſia Minor*, and the iſlands, and having married *Cleopatra*, joined what forces ſhe had to his own, took the field, and marched againſt *Tryphon*. At the ſight of a prince of the blood of the *Seleucidæ*, moſt of the uſurper's forces, weary of his tyranny, abandoned him, and going over to *Antiochus*, augmented his army to the number of an hundred and twenty thouſand
b foot, and eight thouſand horſe. *Tryphon*, not being in a condition to keep the field againſt ſo great a force, had no reſource but in flight; he therefore retired to the city of *Dora* in the neighbourhood of *Ptolemais*, where he was cloſe beſieged by *Antiochus*, who employed all his ſea and land-forces againſt the place. During this ſiege the high-prieſt *Simon* ſignalized his zeal for the new king, ſending him two thouſand choſen men, with conſiderable preſents in gold, ſilver, arms and engines of war. But proſperity had changed the heart of *Antiochus*; he ſent back to *Simon* his preſents and troops, and with them *Athenobius*, one of his friends, to demand the reſtitution of *Gazara*, *Joppa* and the fortreſs of *Jeruſalem*, with ſeveral other places then held by *Simon*, which he claimed as belonging to the crown of *Syria*, or
c elſe five hundred talents in lieu of them, and five hundred more for the damages that were done by the *Jews* within the borders of his dominions. To this meſſage *Simon* anſwered, That for *Gazara* and *Joppa* he was willing to pay the king an hundred talents; but, as to the other places, they originally belonged to *Judæa*, and had been unjuſtly taken from the *Jewiſh* nation; wherefore, ſince he had now re-taken them, he was reſolved not to part with them. *Athenobius* was highly offended at this anſwer, and, on his return to the king's camp, inſpired him with the ſame rage and hatred to the *Jews* which he had conceived. Hereupon *Cendebæus*, one of the chief commanders of the *Syrian* troops, was immediately detached with one part of the army againſt *Simon*, while the king in perſon, with the other, purſued the ſiege
d of *Dora*. When the city was reduced to the laſt extremity, *Tryphon* found means to make his eſcape from thence to *Orthoſia*, another maritime town of *Phœnice*, and from *Orthoſia* to *Apamea*, his native city. *Frontinus* tells us, that all the way he ſcattered money on the road, in order to keep the purſuers employed, and by that means retarded the troops of *Antiochus*, and got ſafe into *Apamea*; but the city being taken by aſſault, as *Joſephus* informs us, *Tryphon* was killed in the third year of the captivity of *Demetrius*. *Appian* tells us, that he was taken after a moſt gallant reſiſtance, and put to death by *Antiochus*. *Strabo* ſays, that he ſhut himſelf up in a ſtrong caſtle, where he was reduced to ſuch ſtraits, that, out of deſpair, he laid
e violent hands on himſelf; and laſtly, *Syncellus* writes, that the city of *Orthoſia* being ſet on fire, he leaped into the flames, and there periſhed. Thus *Tryphon* ended his days, after he had raiſed great diſturbances in *Syria*, dethroned one of her kings, put his ward to death, poſſeſſed himſelf of the crown, and moſt grievouſly oppreſſed both his friends and enemies (Q). His death having put an end to the inteſtine broils, *Antiochus* aſcended his father's throne without any further oppoſition, and enjoyed it nine years. Having now no rival to contend with, for his brother was ſtill a captive in *Parthia*, he, in the firſt place, reduced all the cities of *Syria*, which, taking advantage of the late troubles, had ſhaken off the yoke, and made themſelves independent. He then turned his arms againſt *Judæa*, and was attended
f in this expedition with far better ſucceſs than *Cendebæus* one of his generals had been; for he laid ſiege to *Jeruſalem* itſelf, and reduced it to ſuch ſtraits, that *John Hyrcanus*,

[a] MACCAB. l. i. c. 15. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 12. APPIAN. in Syriac. p. 132. STRABO. l. xiv. p. 668.

(Q) There are ſtill ſome medals to be ſeen, repreſenting *Tryphon* with a diadem on his head, and on the reverſe a helmet, the ſymbol of war, which he had declared againſt his lawful ſovereign. On theſe medals he is honoured with the title of *king Tryphon*, and *Tryphon the powerful king*. His former name, which was *Diodotus*, he changed, as ſoon as he aſcended the throne, for that of *Tryphon*. *Joſephus* ſays, that he reigned only three years; but others will have him to have reigned ſix years complete; that is, from the beginning of the ſecond year of *Simon*'s high-prieſthood, to the end of the ſeventh, when the uſurper died. According to this computation, he died in the one hundred and ſeventy-ſixth year of the kingdom of the *Greeks*, or the æra of the *Seleucidæ*.

who

who had ſucceeded his father *Simon* in the office of high-prieſt, was obliged to capi- a
tulate, and deliver up the city. But as to the war which he made upon the *Jews*, firſt by *Cendebæus*, and afterwards in perſon, we ſhall relate them at length in the hiſtory of that people. As the *Jews* were at that time under the protection of the *Romans*, ſince the treaties made by them with *Simon* ſtill ſubſiſted under his ſon and ſucceſſor in the high-prieſthood, *Sidetes* fearing the reſentment of that powerful republic, on account of the devaſtations he had committed in *Judæa*, ſent embaſſadors to *Scipio Africanus*, who was then in *Spain*, with magnificent preſents, hoping, by this means, to appeaſe the wrath of the ſenate, and obtain the protection of *Rome*, without which he did not think himſelf well ſettled on the throne. *Scipio*, who had known *Antiochus* in *Aſia*, received his embaſſadors in a very polite and b
obliging manner, aſſured them of the eſteem and affection he had for their maſter, and accepted of the valuable jewels which they had brought ſo far; but immediately diſtributed them among his ſoldiers, generouſly rewarding the valour of thoſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the ſiege of *Numantia*, which he was then carrying on [w].

Antiochus having, as he thought, gained himſelf a powerful protector among the *Romans*, and concluded a peace with the *Jews*, prepared to march with a powerful army into the eaſt, againſt *Phrahates* king of *Parthia*, under pretence of delivering his brother *Demetrius Nicator*, who had been detained ſeveral years a priſoner in *Hyrcania*. The captive prince had all the honours paid him that were due to a c
crowned head. He had married *Rhodogune* the ſiſter of *Phrahates*, as we have related above, and ſeemed to live very happily with that princeſs, being plentifully ſupplied by his brother-in-law with all the pleaſures and diverſions he could wiſh for; but all this did not make him amends for the loſs of a throne. In the midſt of all his pomp and ſhew, he ſtill conſidered himſelf as a captive, and a dethroned king, and had ſeveral times attempted to make his eſcape, but without ſucceſs, having been purſued, taken, and, for ſome time, more cloſely confined. Under the plauſible pretence of delivering him, but, in reality, with a deſign to recover ſome provinces lately uſurped by the *Parthians*, *Antiochus* marched with a numerous army againſt *Phrahates*. He is ſaid to have had in that expedition above fourſcore thouſand men well armed d
and diſciplined; but the train of luxury, as *Juſtin* ſtiles it, conſiſting of ſuttlers, cooks, confectioners, actors, ſingers, lewd women, *&c.* whoſe only buſineſs was to promote luxury and effeminacy, was four times as numerous as the army; for they are ſaid by *Athenæus* to have amounted to three hundred thouſand perſons, and upwards; however, fortune favoured *Antiochus* in his firſt enterprizes. Upon the report of his march, the *Aſſyrians* and *Babylonians* flocked to him from all parts, acknowledging him for their lawful ſovereign. As they had been accuſtomed to live under the government of the ſucceſſors of *Alexander the Great*, they could not brook a foreign yoke. *Antiochus*, depending upon the affection of thoſe who came daily to join him, advanced into *Babylonia* and *Media*, and being met by *Indates* the e
Parthian general, on the banks of the *Lycus*, intirely defeated him, as he did afterwards *Phrahates* himſelf in three ſucceſſive battles; by which means he recovered all the provinces which had formerly belonged to the *Syrian* empire, except *Parthia* alone, where *Phrahates* was reduced within the narrow bounds of the ancient *Parthian* kingdom. *John*, the high-prieſt of the *Jews*, followed *Antiochus* in this expedition, and is ſaid by *Euſebius* and *Sulpitius Severus* to have penetrated as far as *Hyrcania*, and to have taken the ſurname of *Hyrcanus* from the victories he gained over that people. Be that as it will, he certainly had a great ſhare in all the victories gained by *Antiochus*, and, at the end of the campaign, returned to *Jeruſalem*, loaded with glory and rich ſpoils [x]. f

THE reſt of the army wintered in the eaſt, and, on account of the prodigious number of the ſoldiers and their attendants, amounting in all to four hundred thouſand perſons, were obliged to ſeparate, and quarter at ſuch a diſtance from each other, that they could not, in caſe of any ſudden attack, join in one body for their mutual defence. The inhabitants, whom they had moſt tyrannically oppreſſed in all the places where they were quartered, taking advantage of their being thus ſeparated, conſpired with the *Parthians* to rid themſelves of their troubleſome gueſts, and maſſacre them all in one day in their ſeveral quarters, before they could come to the

[w] LIV. Epit. l. lvii. [x] JUSTIN. l. xxxviii. c. 2 & 10. & l. xlii. c. 1. LIV. l. lix. ATHENÆUS l. x. c. 12. & l. xii. c. 19. APPIAN. in Syriac. p. 132. JOSEPH. l. xiii. c. 16. VAL. MAX. l. ix. c. 1. OROS. l. v. c. 10.

aſſiſtance

a aſſiſtance of one another; and this they executed accordingly. *Antiochus*, who had kept a body of troops about his perſon, marched to aſſiſt the quarters neareſt him; but was overpowered by numbers, and killed, with all thoſe who attended him. The reſt of the army underwent the ſame fate, and the ſlaughter was ſo general, that out of ſuch a prodigious number of perſons, ſcarce one had the good fortune to return into *Syria*, and carry thither the ſad news of this dreadful overthrow [f]. This is the account which *Juſtin*, *Joſephus*, *Euſebius* and *Oroſius* give of this prince's death. *Euſebius* adds, that *Phraates* killed him with his own hand; but *Appian* tells us, that *Antiochus* having loſt a battle, killed himſelf in a fit of deſpair; and *Ælian*, that the unfortunate prince, after the loſs of a battle, threw himſelf headlong from the top of a high place, that he might not fall alive into the enemy's hands [g].

b Some modern writers are of opinion, that this was the *Antiochus*, of whom mention is made in the epiſtle of the *Jews* at *Jeruſalem*, to their countrymen in *Egypt*, as we read in the beginning of the ſecond book of the *Maccabees*. Upon the authority of that hiſtory, they tell us, that *Antiochus* having a mind to plunder the temple of *Nanea*, a goddeſs worſhipped by the *Parthians* (R), declared, that he would marry her, and entering her temple, demanded the treaſures of the goddeſs to be delivered up to him by way of dowry. This ſacrilegious proceeding provoked the prieſts, who, to revenge the affront offered to their deity, killed *Antiochus* with ſtones thrown from the roof of the temple, cut his body in pieces, and threw them out of the temple, which he had profaned. This is what we read of one of the *Antiochus's*

c of *Syria* in the hiſtory of the *Maccabees* [h]. And indeed neither the time, nor the circumſtances of his death, allow us to apply what is ſaid there to any other; but whether the authority of that writer ought to be preferred in this particular to that of the profane hiſtorians, is what we leave to the deciſion of our readers. We have already obſerved, that there is a great diſagreement among hiſtorians with relation to the death of this prince; which is a ſtrong proof, that herein they were deſtitute of authentic records. *Juſtin* and *Joſephus*, who tell us that he was killed in battle, add, that *Phraates* would have the pleaſure of ſeeing the dead body of his conquered enemy, which he afterwards cauſed to be put in a ſilver coffin, and ſent into *Syria*, to be there interred among his anceſtors [i]. *Athenæus*, upon the credit of *Poſidonius*

d of *Apamea*, an ancient hiſtorian, writes, that *Phraates*, in beholding the dead body of his enemy, reproached him with his raſhneſs and debaucheries in the following words: *Your wine, O* Antiochus, *and your too great confidence have brought you to this untimely end; you thought you could have ſwallowed the kingdom of* Arſaces *in your great cups* [k]. Among the many captives that fell into the hands of the *Parthians*, were ſome young princeſſes of the blood of the *Seleucidæ*. One of theſe being carried to *Phraates*, that prince was ſo taken with her charms, that he married her. This princeſs was not the daughter of *Antiochus*, as a modern writer tells us, but of *Demetrius Nicator*, and had attended her uncle *Antiochus* in this expedition, as we read in *Juſtin* [l]. The death of *Antiochus* was univerſally lamented all over the *Syrian*

e empire, he being a prince endowed with ſome excellent qualities. He was a great lover of juſtice, always ready to forgive, and greatly inclined to mercy. *Diodorus Siculus* [m], and *Joſephus* himſelf [n] tell us, it was wholly owing to the generoſity and good-nature of *Antiochus* that the *Jewiſh* nation was not intirely cut off, and utterly deſtroyed; for after he had reduced the city of *Jeruſalem* to the laſt extremity, he granted the inhabitants a peace upon very reaſonable terms, contrary to the opinion of all his officers, and inclination of the whole army; for they all preſſed him to lay hold of that opportunity, and extirpate the whole nation. They urged againſt them, that they had been driven out of *Egypt*, as an impious people hated by the gods, and abhorred by all mankind; that they looked upon the reſt of human race

f as enemies, and therefore would have no communication with them, nor eat, drink,

[f] Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 10. Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. Valeſii, p. 374. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 16. Oros. l. v. c. 10. Appian. ibid. Athen. l. x. p. 439. [g] Appian. Justin. Joseph. ibid. Ælian. de animal. l. x. c. 34. [h] Maccab. l. i. c. 1. [i] Justin. Joseph. Appian. ibid. [k] Athen. l. i. c. 12. [l] Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 10. [m] Diodor. Sicul. l. xxxiv. apud Phot. cod. 244. p. 1150. [n] Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 16.

(R) Moſt of the interpreters of the ſcripture are of opinion, that the goddeſs, which the *Medes* and *Perſians* called in their language *Nanea*, was the ſame with the *Diana* of the *Greeks* and *Latins*. Of this *Luther* and *Melanchthon* were ſo fully convinced, that, in the verſion of the bible which they publiſhed, they put *Diana* inſtead of *Nanea*.

or freely converſe with any except thoſe of their own ſect; that they did not adore a
the ſame gods, but had laws, cuſtoms, and a religion quite different from that of all
other nations; on which conſiderations they well deſerved to be treated with the utmoſt
contempt, to be hated and abhorred by all nations, and utterly extirpated as declared
enemies to all mankind. But, notwithſtanding theſe ill-natured inſinuations, *Antio-*
chus being touched with a generous compaſſion for the unhappy city, granted the
inhabitants more favourable terms than they could ever have expected; nay, he
would not even inſiſt upon rebuilding the fortreſs at *Jeruſalem*, finding *Hyrcanus* un-
willing to comply with this article, though he might at that time have impoſed upon
him and the whole nation what conditions he pleaſed. During the ſiege of *Jeruſalem*,
he gave another remarkable inſtance not only of good-nature, but even of piety. b
For *John Hyrcanus* having ſent a herald to him, as the feaſt of the tabernacles ap-
proached, begging a truce during the feſtival, he not only complied with his requeſt,
but moreover ſent victims and other things neceſſary for the ſacrifices that were to be
offered at that ſolemnity [g]. *Plutarch* relates of this prince, that having one day loſt
his way in the purſuit of a wild beaſt, he was obliged to paſs a night without any
of his attendants, who had taken another rout, in a ſmall cottage, where he met with
a poor, but hearty entertainment. At ſupper he ſhewed himſelf very free and eaſy,
and as he was deſirous to know the real ſentiments of his ſubjects with reſpect to his
conduct, he dextrouſly touched upon that topic; when the maſter of the houſe, not
ſuſpecting who he was, told him, that the king, as was commonly believed, meant c
well, but his immoderate love for the chace made him lay the weight of affairs on
others, and repoſe too great a confidence in his miniſters, whoſe actions did not always
anſwer the goodneſs of his intentions. This the prince took in good part, and next
morning, when the lords of his court arrived at the cottage, he thanked his land-
lord in their preſence for his kindneſs, but more eſpecially for having told him the
truth, which none of theſe, ſaid he, has honeſty enough to do, though I have taken
them into my ſervice for that purpoſe. A prince, ſays *Plutarch* in this place, muſt
not expect to hear a word of truth at court, or to know what his ſubjects think of him,
while he is ſurrounded by courtiers, whoſe chief buſineſs it is to deceive, and per-
ſuade their ſovereign that his ſubjects are well pleaſed with his conduct, that he in d
like manner may be ſatisfied with theirs [h]. But to reſume the thread of our hiſtory.

Phraates upon his being defeated in three ſucceſſive battles by *Antiochus*, had at
laſt ſet his brother *Demetrius* at liberty, and ſent him with a body of troops into *Syria*
with a deſign to raiſe diſturbances there, and by that means oblige *Antiochus* to aban-
don *Parthia*, and haſten home to the defence of his own kingdom. But upon the
news of the maſſacre, he detached a party of horſe after him with orders to bring
him back. *Demetrius* had been apprehenſive of ſome order of this nature, and there-
fore had marched with ſuch expedition, that he was got over the *Euphrates* into *Syria*,
before the party ſent after him could reach the frontiers of that country. In this man-
ner he recovered his kingdom, and made great rejoicings on that occaſion, while e
all *Syria* was in tears for the loſs of the army in the eaſt, there being ſcarce a family
in the whole country, which had not a ſhare in that common calamity [i]. The *Par-*
thian king being fluſhed with the late ſucceſs, and victory over *Antiochus*, reſolved
to carry the war into *Syria*, and revenge the invaſion the *Syrians* had made into his
dominions. But while he was making the neceſſary preparations for this expedition,
the *Scythians*, whom he had diſobliged, forced him to keep at home, and employ the
forces he had raiſed againſt *Syria*, in the defence of his own dominions, as we ſhall
relate in the hiſtory of the *Parthians*. Upon the death of *Antiochus*, *Hyrcanus* revolted
from the *Macedonians*, and made himſelf abſolute, and wholly independent, neither
he, nor any of his deſcendants paying thenceforth to the kings of *Syria* any tribute or f
homage.

IN the mean time a civil war breaking out in *Egypt* between *Ptolemy Phyſcon*, and
Cleopatra his divorced queen, the latter being greatly diſtreſſed by the loſs of a bat-
tle, ſent embaſſadors to *Demetrius*, who had married her eldeſt daughter by *Ptolemy*
Philometor, to implore his aſſiſtance, and promiſe him the crown of *Egypt* for his
reward. *Demetrius* without heſitation accepted the propoſal, marched into *Egypt*
with all his forces, and there laid ſiege to *Peluſium*. As *Demetrius* had made himſelf
very odious to all his ſubjects by his tyrannical government, and vicious manners, the

[g] DIODOR. SICUL. & JOSEPH. ibid. [h] PLUT. in Apophthegm. p. 184. [i] JUSTIN. l. xxxix. c. 1.

inhabitants

a inhabitants of *Antioch*, *Apamea*, and other cities, taking advantage of his abſence, raiſed a rebellion againſt him. This forced *Demetrius* to abandon the ſiege, and return by long marches to his own dominions; ſo that *Cleopatra*, being deſtitute of all aſſiſtance, was forced to leave *Egypt*. Upon her flight *Phyſcon*, having without much trouble ſettled his affairs at home, reſolved to revenge the late invaſion of *Demetrius*, his declared enemy. The *Syrians* were quite tired out with the tyranny of a prince, whom a nine years captivity had rendered ſtill more wild and inſupportable. *Phyſcon* therefore, taking advantage of this general averſion, ſet up an impoſtor againſt him, called *Alexander Zebina*. He was the ſon of a pawn-broker of *Alexandria*; but pretending to be the ſon of *Alexander Balas*, under that title laid claim to
b the crown of *Syria*, *Phyſcon* furniſhing him with an army to take poſſeſſion of it (S). On his arrival in *Syria* multitudes flocked to him without examining the juſtice of his pretenſions, or caring whom they had for king, provided they got rid of *Demetrius*, whoſe tyranny they could no longer bear [k]. That prince, though deſerted by moſt of his ſubjects, ſtill ſupported himſelf with a ſmall army. At length the two rivals came to a battle in the neighbourhood of *Damaſcus* in *Cœle-Syria*, in which *Demetrius* was intirely defeated, and moſt of his army cut in pieces. The fugitive king made the beſt of his way with a ſmall number of faithful ſervants to *Ptolemais*, where his wife *Cleopatra* then was. But ſhe ſtill retaining her former reſentment againſt him for his marrying *Rhodaguna*, ordered the gates to be ſhut againſt
c him. Whereupon the unhappy prince having now no reſource in his misfortunes, but the city of *Tyre*, where was a temple which his brother *Antiochus* had made a place of refuge, he imbarqued at *Ptolemais*, and ſailed thither, thinking that under the protection of a place ſanctified by religion, he might ſafely wait for a turn of fortune. But he was ſcarce landed, when the traitor, to whom he had committed the government of that city, cauſed him to be put to death, in the beginning of the fourth year of his reign after his return from *Parthia* (T) [l]. Upon his death *Cleopatra* retained a ſmall part of the kingdom, and *Zebina* reigned over all the reſt; and for the better ſecuring himſelf in the poſſeſſion of the crown, he entered into a ſtrict alliance with *John Hyrcanus* prince of the *Jews*, who, as an able ſtateſman, taking advantage of
d theſe diviſions, greatly increaſed the power of the nation, which he governed [m] (U).

Seleucus,

[k] Justin. ibid. [l] Justin. ibid. [m] Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 17.

(S) *Joſephus* tells us (106), that the *Syrians*, not being any longer able to bear the tyrannical oppreſſions of *Demetrius*, deſired *Ptolemy Phyſcon* to give them another king of the race of the *Seleucidæ*; and that *Phyſcon* laying hold of this opportunity to be revenged on *Demetrius*, ſent *Zebina* into *Egypt* at the head of a formidable army. This *Zebina* was, according to *Juſtin*, the ſon of one *Protarchus*, a pawn-broker of *Alexandria*; but to conceal the meanneſs of his extraction, he gave out that *Antiochus Sidetes* had adopted him, and that in virtue of this adoption he had an unqueſtionable right to the crown. This fable was with great care and induſtry ſpread by *Ptolemy*, and credited by the populace, who only wanted a pretence to authorize their revolt. While all things ſeemed to favour the new king, the body of *Antiochus* incloſed in a ſilver coffin was brought to *Antioch* by order of *Phraates*; and the grief *Zebina* expreſſed, with the artful tears he ſhed at the ſight of the dead body, confirmed the people in their belief of his pretended adoption. This is the account which *Juſtin* gives us of this impoſtor. But *Porphyrius* ſays, that he was ſent into *Syria* by *Phyſcon* as the ſon of *Alexander Balas*, and that he was from him called *Alexander*, though the *Syrians* gave him the ſurname of *Zebina*, becauſe he was generally believed to be one of *Ptolemy*'s ſlaves, that word in the *Syriac* tongue ſignifying *bought* or *redeemed* (107).

(T) There is a great diſagreement among authors as to the manner of his death. *Porphyrius* ſays, that he was killed at *Tyre*, while he was going on board a ſhip with a deſign to ſeek for ſhelter ſomewhere elſe; *Joſephus*, that he was taken priſoner by his rival, and that the hardſhips he ſuffered in his captivity put an end to his life; *Livy* and *Appian*, that he was killed by the expreſs command of his wife *Cleopatra*. That he was killed at *Tyre* is certain, and that the *Tyrians* were acceſſary to his death, is very probable; for from this very year they began a new epoch, as appears from *Euſebius* (108); whence ſome have concluded, that for killing *Demetrius* they obtained either of *Cleopatra* or *Zebina* their freedom and liberty to live according to their own laws. In the ſeveral ancient inſcriptions mentioned by *Grotius* (109) the city of *Tyre* is honoured with the epithets of *religious*, *ſacred*, and *independent*. Since therefore the epoch of their liberty and independency began in the very year that *Demetrius Nicator* was killed in or near their city, ſome writers have, not without good grounds, conjectured that their liberty was owing to the hand they had in the death of *Demetrius* (110).

(U) We cannot help obſerving in this place, that in the troubles of *Syria* the *Jewiſh* high-prieſts, though men of unqueſtioned piety, and ſtrict juſtice, never failed to ſide with ſuch princes as offered the moſt advantageous terms for them and their nation, without ever examining whether thoſe who offered them, had any title to the crown or no. It was not hereditary right they minded, but the good of their country; the latter had great weight in their councils, the former none at all; in their opinion, if we may be allowed to judge of their ſentiments from their conduct, that prince alone had right to govern,

(106) *Joſeph. l.* xiii. *c.* 17. (107) *In Grat. Euſeb. Scalig. p.* 227. (108) *Euſeb. in Chron.* (109) *Grotius, p.* 1105. (110) *Vide Uſher ad Ann. Mundi* 3878.

Seleucus, the eldeſt ſon of *Demetrius Nicator* by *Cleopatra*, being now in the twentieth year of his age, took upon him the title of king, and by the aſſiſtance of ſome of his friends, cauſed himſelf to be acknowledged in the provinces, which lay next to that part of *Syria*, that was held by his mother. This raiſed no ſmall jealouſy in the breaſt of that ambitious woman, who was for reigning alone; and beſides feared leſt *Seleucus* ſhould in time revenge his father's death, which was generally aſcribed to her. To free herſelf therefore from this double uneaſineſs, having invited her ſon to a conference, ſhe killed him with her own hand by plunging a dart into his breaſt, after he had reigned, or rather bore the title of king one year [n]. a

NOTWITHSTANDING this barbarous and horrid murder, which raiſed an univerſal indignation all over *Syria*, three of *Zebina*'s captains, *viz. Antipater*, *Clonius*, and *Æropus* revolted from him to *Cleopatra*; and having ſeized on *Laodicea*, reſolved to annoy from thence, and by degrees reduce the neighbouring country. But *Zebina*, who was of a mild temper, and unwilling to uſe ſeverity or violence, till all other means had proved unſucceſsful, invited them to return to their duty, promiſing not only to pardon them, but to reſtore them to their former rank. Upon his parole they put themſelves into his hands, and he not only generouſly forgave them, but even repoſed the ſame confidence in them he had done before, without once reproaching them with their deſertion. All authors agree, that this prince was endowed with many excellent and truly princely qualities. He received all who approached him, in a moſt affable and engaging manner, was ſlow to puniſh, and always ready to pardon, even his moſt inveterate enemies. In ſhort, the good-nature he ſhewed on all occaſions, and the great deſire he had to pleaſe all, gained him the affections of the *Syrians* to ſuch a degree, that even thoſe who abhorred the impoſture, by which he had got poſſeſſion of the crown, could not help wiſhing he might long enjoy it [o]. b c

IN the mean time *Cleopatra*, thinking it neceſſary for her intereſt to have one, at leaſt, with the name of king to give countenance to the authority, by which ſhe governed, recalled her other ſon, by name *Antiochus*, from *Athens*, whither ſhe had ſent him for the benefit of his education. He no ſooner arrived, then ſhe declared him king of *Syria*, but allowed him no more than the bare title; all the authority ſhe kept for herſelf, the prince, as he was then quite unexperienced, and under twenty years of age, ſuffering her for ſome time to rule without controul. To diſtinguiſh this from other *Syrian* princes of the ſame name, he is generally called *Grypus*, a ſurname taken from his aquiline noſe. *Joſephus* and *Porphyrius* ſtile him *Philometor*, but on his medals he bears the name of *Epiphanes* [p]. d

As *Zebina* had been put in poſſeſſion of the greater part of *Syria* by troops ſent him out of *Egypt*, *Phyſcon* inſiſted upon his doing him homage for his new dominions, and paying an annual tribute to the crown of *Egypt*, as an acknowledgment of his dependence; which *Zebina* refuſing to comply with, *Phyſcon*, coming to an agreement

[n] LIV. Epiſt. l. lx. OROSIUS, l. v. c. 2. APPIAN. in Syriac. p. 132. JUSTIN. ibid. PORPHYR. ibid. p. 227. [o] DIODOR. SICUL. in excerpt. Valeſii, p. 377. [p] JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 20. in Græc. Euſeb. Scalig. p. 277.

govern, who governed well. For in what other manner can we account for the conduct of *Jonathan*, *Simon*, and *John Hyrcanus*? *Jonathan* ſupported to the utmoſt of his power *Alexander Balas*, a notorious impoſtor and uſurper, againſt *Demetrius Soter*, who was undoubtedly veſted with all the right which birth can give to a crown. But *Balas* was like to govern better, and therefore in the opinion of the virtuous high-prieſt had a better title to govern. If *Jonathan* believed the claim of *Demetrius* better grounded, he was guilty of the greateſt injuſtice and diſhoneſty in aſſiſting his rival to drive him from the throne, and in putting many thouſands to the ſword for no other reaſon, but becauſe they refuſed to abandon that prince, and join his competitor. On the other hand, if *Balas* had, in the opinion of *Jonathan*, a more juſt title to the crown, as he muſt have had in whatever it was grounded, we muſt own there is ſome right which takes place of hereditary right. Nay, the whole conduct of *Jonathan*, of his brother *Simon*, and of *John Hyrcanus*, ſon to the latter, plainly ſhews that theſe three great luminaries of the *Jewiſh* church and nation acknowledged no ſuch right; but were altogether ſtrangers to a certain doctrine, which generally obtains abroad, and has not been without its patrons even among us. For *Jonathan* not only eſpouſed with great warmth the cauſe of *Balas* againſt *Demetrius Suter*, but with the ſame zeal ſupported *Antiochus Theus*, the ſon of *Balas*, in oppoſition to *Demetrius Nicator*, the ſon of *Demetrius Soter*. *Simon*, who ſucceeded his brother in the office of high-prieſt, was no leſs ſanguine in the cauſe of *Demetrius Nicator* againſt *Antiochus Theus*, than his brother had been in that of *Antiochus Theus* againſt *Demetrius Nicator*. Laſtly, *John Hyrcanus*, when raiſed, upon his father's death, to the high-prieſthood, did not ſcruple to enter into an offenſive and defenſive league with *Alexander Zebina*, another uſurper and impoſtor, againſt *Antiochus Grypus* the ſon of *Demetrius Nicator*, and conſequently by birth the lawful heir to the crown. Is it not manifeſt from hence beyond diſpute, that the heads of the *Jewiſh* nation either acted with the utmoſt injuſtice, or were quite unacquainted with what we call hereditary right?

with

a with *Cleopatra* his niece, gave his daughter *Tryphæna* in marriage to her ſon *Grypus*; and ſent a conſiderable army into *Syria* to drive from the throne the perſon he had a few years before placed on it. One battle determined the diſpute: *Zebina*'s army was defeated, and he forced to ſave himſelf by flight in *Antioch*. There, as he was in great want of money, he allowed his ſoldiers to ſeize on the rich furniture of the temple of *Jupiter*, having no other means to pay them their arrears; the ſtatue of victory, which was of maſſy gold, he took for himſelf, ſaying that *Jupiter* had promiſed him victory. Hereupon the citizens, taking up arms in defence of their temples, fell upon him unexpectedly, and drove him with great ſlaughter of his men out of the city. In the mean time the united forces of *Grypus* and *Phyſcon* coming up, his army diſperſed,
b not being in a condition to venture a ſecond engagement. *Zebina* himſelf embarqued on a ſmall veſſel, which he found ready to ſet ſail for *Greece*; but being taken in his paſſage by a pirate, he was delivered up to *Grypus*, and by him put to death in the fourth year of his reign [q]. *Joſephus* ſays, that he was killed in battle [r]; and *Porphyrius*, that upon the loſs of his army he put an end to his life by poiſon in the fourth year of the hundred and ſixty-fourth olympiad [s].

Grypus being thus delivered from a troubleſome rival, began to take on him the authority, as well as the name of king. *Cleopatra* could not brook this diminution of her power and grandeur; and therefore reſolved to cut off *Antiochus*, as ſhe had before done *Seleucus*, and call to the crown another ſon ſhe had by *An-*
c *tiochus Sidetes*; under whom, he being an infant, ſhe hoped to rule, without controul, for many years, and thereby fix herſelf ſo on the throne, that her ſon ſhould be intirely dependent on her. With this view the wicked woman, having prepared a poiſonous potion, offered it to *Grypus* one day as he returned hot and weary from ſome exerciſe. But that prince having been forewarned of her deſign, pretending reſpect to his mother, deſired her to drink firſt; which ſhe refuſing to do, he called in ſome of the chief lords of his court, and in their preſence told her, that ſhe had been charged with a deſign of poiſoning him, and that the only means ſhe had to clear herſelf from all ſuſpicion of ſo black a crime, was to drink herſelf what ſhe had offered to him. The unhappy woman, having no other evaſion or reſource, was
d forced to yield. The poiſon had its full operation on her, and in a few minutes put an end to the life of a moſt wicked and ambitious woman, who had been, by her unheard-of crimes, for many years the ſcourge of *Syria*. She had been the wife of three kings of *Syria*, viz. of *Demetrius Nicator*, *Alexander Balas*, and *Antiochus Sidetes*, and the mother of four, *viz.* of *Antiochus* by *Alexander Balas*, of *Seleucus* and *Antiochus Grypus* by *Demetrius Nicator*, and of *Antiochus*, ſurnamed the *Cyzicenian*, by *Antiochus Sidetes*. She had been acceſſary to the death of two of her husbands; and as to her children, ſhe had murdered one with her own hand, and would have in like manner diſpatched another, had he not made her wicked deſign fall upon her
e own head [t].

Upon her death *Antiochus Grypus* enjoyed the kingdom of *Syria* eight years without the leaſt diſturbance; at the end of which a new competitor appeared, and contended with him for the ſovereignty of *Syria*. This was *Antiochus Cyzicenus* his half-brother. For he was the ſon of *Cleopatra* by *Antiochus Sidetes*, and born while *Demetrius* her former husband was priſoner among the *Parthians*. When *Demetrius* returned, and recovered his dominions, after the death of *Sidetes*, *Cleopatra* fearing leſt her ſon *Antiochus* ſhould fall a ſacrifice to his jealouſy, ſent him to *Cyzicus*, a city lying on the *Propontis* in *Myſia Minor*, where he was brought up under the care and tuition of *Craterus*, a faithful eunuch, and from thence called *Cyzicenus* or the *Cyzi-*
f *cenian*. *Grypus*, to whom he gave umbrage, ordered him to be poiſoned; but *Antiochus* being informed of his deſign, took up arms in his own defence, and at the ſame time laid claim to the crown of *Syria* [u]. Hereupon *Grypus*, who was then preparing to invade *Judæa*, droped that enterprize, and raiſed what troops he could to ſuppreſs in the firſt place his new rival. *Cleopatra*, the daughter of *Phyſcon*, the late king of *Egypt*, had married her brother *Lathurus*; but that prince, though paſſionately fond of her, being obliged by his mother to divorce her, and marry his younger ſiſter *Selene*; the divorced queen, being at her own diſpoſal, married *Cyzicenus*, and having raiſed an army in the iſland of *Cyprus*, or, as ſome will have it,

[q] Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. Valeſii, p. 378. Justin. l. xxxix. c. 2. [r] Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 17. [s] In Græc. Euseb. Scalig. p. 227. [t] Justin. ibid. Appian. in Syriac. p. 132. [u] Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 2. Appian. in Syriac. p. 132. Porphyr. ibid. p. 227. Joseph. l. xiii. c. 17.

gained over the army, which *Grypus* had there, brought it inſtead of a dowry to her new husband. By this means the forces of the two competitors being very near equal, they came to a battle, in which *Cyzicenus*, having the misfortune to be routed, was forced to quit the field, and ſhut himſelf up in *Antioch*, which had declared for him. The *Antiochians* ſeemed diſpoſed to ſtand by him to the laſt, and therefore leaving his wife there, as in a place of ſafety, he privately eſcaped from thence with a deſign to raiſe new forces in other parts, and return with them againſt *Grypus*. But before he could levy the neceſſary troops, *Grypus* made himſelf maſter of *Antioch*, where he found *Cleopatra* wife to *Cyzicenus*. *Tryphæna*, her ſiſter, and wife to *Grypus*, no ſooner heard that ſhe was taken, but ſhe earneſtly preſſed her husband to deliver the captive up to her, that ſhe might have the ſatisfaction of putting her to death; to ſuch a degree was ſhe inraged againſt her, though her own ſiſter both by father and mother, for having married her husband's enemy, and furniſhed him with an army to invade *Syria*. As *Cleopatra* had taken ſanctuary in one of the temples of *Antioch*, *Grypus* could not by any means be prevailed upon to comply with his wife's requeſt; nay, he did all that lay in his power to inſpire her with more religious and humane ſentiments. He urged againſt her revengeful temper the ſanctity of the aſylum, where her ſiſter had taken refuge; and told her, that the death of her ſiſter would be of no advantage to them, or prejudice to *Cyzicenus*; that in all the wars, whether domeſtic or foreign, which he or his anceſtors had ever been engaged in, no ſort of cruelty had been practiſed after victory upon women, eſpecially on ſo near relations; that *Cleopatra* was her ſiſter, and likewiſe nearly related to himſelf; and therefore he deſired her to ſpeak no more to him on that ſubject, ſince he could by no means conſent to her being uſed with any ſeverity, or even touched, while ſhe was in a place of refuge. But *Tryphæna*, inſtead of yielding to his reaſons, became more inraged, imagining that he was not prompted to take the part of that unhappy princeſs by motives of compaſſion, but of love; and therefore adding jealouſy to revenge, one day in a violent fit of this double paſſion, ſhe ſent a party of ſoldiers into the temple with orders to kill the unhappy *Cleopatra* in the ſacred place. At the ſight of the aſſaſſins ſhe fled to the altar, and there the ſoldiers, not being able to tear her from the ſtatue of the God, which ſhe embraced, cut off her arms, and then with a thouſand wounds put an end to her life, while ſhe was imploring the god, whoſe temple they profaned, and uttering with her laſt breath curſes upon the authors of ſo barbarous a murder [w]. And truly her death did not remain long unrevenged; for *Cyzicenus*, having drawn together another army, came to a ſecond battle with his brother, put his army to the rout, and in the purſuit took the cruel *Tryphæna*, whom he immediately ſacrificed to the manes of his murdered wife by a death which her cruelty well deſerved. By this overthrow *Grypus* being driven out of *Syria* retired to *Aſpendus*, a city of *Pamphylia*, whence he had the ſurname of *Aſpendius* [x]. But the next year he returned with a great army, recovered *Syria*, and to put an end to the inteſtine broils, which weakened both parties, conſented to a diviſion of the empire, in virtue of which *Cyzicenus* reigned at *Damaſcus* over *Cœle-Syria* and *Phœnice*, and *Grypus* at *Antioch* over all the other provinces [y]. In this peaceful interval both brothers abandoned themſelves to a moſt idle, indolent, and debauched manner of life, wallowing in all ſorts of pleaſures, and ſpending the greateſt part of their time with lewd women. *Cyzicenus*'s chief delight was to converſe with ſtage-players, rope-dancers, pantomimes, and above all with jugglers, applying himſelf with great care and aſſiduity to the practice of their tricks, and intirely neglecting the government of his kingdom, and welfare of his ſubjects [z].

a b c d e

While the two brothers were thus exhauſting their ſtrength in war, or abandoning themſelves to the ſloth and luxury of peace, *John Hyrcanus*, prince of the *Jews*, increaſed his power and wealth to ſuch a degree, that he became one of the moſt powerful princes of his age, being maſter of all *Judæa*, *Galilee*, and *Samaria*, and beſides of many frontier places in the neighbouring countries. *Cyzicenus* indeed, at the requeſt of the inhabitants of *Samaria*, which city *Hyrcanus* had beſieged, attempted to put a ſtop to his conqueſts, but was intirely defeated by *Ariſtobulus* and *Antigonus*, the two ſons of *Hyrcanus*. *Samaria* after this overthrow, and the delivering up of *Scythopolis*, which *Epicrates* the *Syrian* general baſely betrayed to *Hyrcanus* for a

f

[w] Justin. l. xxxix. c. 3. [x] Justin. ibid. Porphyr. in Græc. Euseb. Scalig. p. 62. [y] Porphyr. ibid. [z] Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. Valeſii, l. xxxv. p. 385.

ſum

a ſum of money, being deſtitute of all hopes of relief, was obliged to ſurrender after having ſuſtained a year's ſiege [a]. Thus was the *Syrian* empire curtailed by degrees, and ſoon brought within very narrow bounds by the inteſtine troubles and diviſions which reigned among the *Seleucidæ*, and occaſioned at laſt the loſs of the empire, as we ſhall ſee anon.

THE peace between the two brothers, *Antiochus Grypus*, and *Antiochus Cyzicenus*, was not of long continuance; neither of them being ſatisfied with their ſhare of the empire, they began a new war; of which ſeveral cities taking advantage, ſhook off the *Syrian* yoke, and made themſelves free and independent; theſe were *Tyre*, *Sidon*, *Ptolemais*, and *Gaza*; in others tyrants ſtarted up, uſurping a ſovereign power,
b whi e the two kings were waſting their ſtrength againſt each other; thus *Theodorus* cauſed himſelf to be acknowledged the ſovereign lord of *Gadara* and *Amathus*; *Zoilus* poſſeſſed himſelf of *Dora*, and *Straton*'s tower; and others of other places [b].

DURING theſe diſtractions *Grypus* was aſſaſſinated by *Heracleon* one of his own ſubjects in the forty-fifth year of his age, after having reigned, according to *Joſephus*, twenty-nine, according to *Porphyrius* twenty-ſix years [c]. He left behind him five ſons, viz. *Seleucus*, *Antiochus* and *Philip*, twins, *Demetrius Euchæres*, and *Antiochus Dionyſius*. *Seleucus* the eldeſt ſucceeded his father, and the reſt all reigned, or attempted to reign in their turns. On the death of *Grypus Antiochus Cyzicenus* ſeized *Antioch*, and uſed his utmoſt efforts to make himſelf maſter of the whole empire. But
c *Seleucus*, having drawn together a conſiderable army, marched againſt his uncle, and gained a complete victory over him. *Joſephus* tells us, that *Cyzicenus* was taken in the purſuit, and put to death by *Seleucus* [d]; *Trogus* writes that he was killed in the engagement [e], and *Porphyrius*, that he killed himſelf to avoid falling into the enemy's hands [f], after he had reigned eighteen years. Upon his death *Seleucus* made himſelf maſter of *Antioch*, and the whole *Syrian* empire; but did not hold it long. *Antiochus*, ſurnamed *Euſebes* from his piety, the ſon of *Cyzicenus*, having made his eſcape out of *Antioch* by the aſſiſtance of a courtezan, when that city was taken by *Seleucus*, fled to *Aradus*, where he cauſed himſelf to be crowned king of *Syria*. From thence he marched at the head of a great army, made up of the ſoldiers who
d had ſerved under his father, engaged *Seleucus*, and having cut great part of his troops in pieces, obliged that prince to ſhut himſelf up in *Mopſueſtia*, a city of *Cilicia*, and abandon all the reſt to the mercy of the conqueror [g]. The *Mopſueſtians* at firſt eſpouſed the cauſe of the fugitive prince with great zeal; but ſoon after being provoked by the exorbitant taxes, with which he loaded them, they turned their affection into hatred, roſe up in arms, and inveſting the palace, in which he reſided, ſet fire to it, the king and all his attendants periſhing in the flames [h]. *Porphyrius* ſays, he ſaved himſelf from the violence of the flames by a voluntary death [i], after a ſhort reign of ſeven months. *Antiochus* and *Philip*, the twin ſons of *Grypus*, to revenge the death of their brother *Seleucus*, led all the troops they could raiſe againſt *Mopſueſtia*;
e and having taken the city by aſſault, raſed it to the ground, after having put all the inhabitants to the ſword. But on their return being charged by *Euſebes* on the banks of the *Orontes*, and their forces defeated, *Antiochus* was drowned in attempting to ſwim over that river on horſeback. But *Philip*, having made a judicious retreat, and kept his forces together, was thereby enabled to diſpute the empire with *Euſebes*. As both maintained on foot great armies, the country was haraſſed in a miſerable manner, and the inhabitants reduced almoſt to beggary [k].

Euſebes to eſtabliſh himſelf the better on the throne, had married *Selene* the widow of *Grypus*, that politic princeſs having, on the death of her husband, taken poſſeſſion of ſome provinces of the *Syrian* empire, and provided herſelf with good troops.
f *Euſebes* therefore, to join her intereſt with his own, married her; which giving offence to *Lathurus* king of *Egypt*, whoſe wife ſhe had been, till his mother, obliging him to divorce her, gave her in marriage to *Grypus*; that prince ſent to *Cnidus* for *Demetrius Euchæres*, the fourth ſon of *Grypus*, who had been brought up in that city, and made him king of *Damaſcus*. As *Euſebes* and *Philip* were engaged in war againſt each other, neither of them was at liberty to oppoſe the new king. For though *Euſebes* had well retrieved his affairs, and conſiderably increaſed his power by his mar-

[a] JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 17. [b] JOSEPH. l. xiii. c. 20. JUSTIN. l. xxxix. APPIAN. in Syriac. [c] JOSEPH. l. xiii. c. 21. PORPHYR. ibid. [d] JOSEPH. l. xiii. c. 21. [e] TROGUS, l. xl. in Prolog. [f] PORPHYR. in Græc. EUSEB. Scalig. p. 227 [g] JOSEPH. TROG. ibid. & APPIAN. p. 133. [h] JOSEPH. TROG. & EUSEB. ibid. [i] PORPHYR. ibid. [k] PORPHYR. & JOSEPH. ibid.

riage,

riage, yet *Philip* made his party good againſt him, and at length having drawn him to a battle, gained a complete victory over him, and obliged him to quit *Syria*, and take refuge among the *Parthians*. By this means the whole *Syrian* empire was divided between *Philip* and *Demetrius* [l]. Theſe two brothers might have long continued in peaceable poſſeſſion of the kingdom, none of the neighbouring princes daring to attack them ſo long as they were united. But the ambition of *Demetrius* ſoon put an end to that good intelligence; he fell on that part of *Syria* which *Philip* poſſeſſed, and having driven him out of *Antioch*, and taken that city, purſued him as far as *Beræa*, now *Aleppo*, which he cloſely beſieged, in hopes of getting his brother into his power. But *Straton*, who was lord of the place, and greatly attached to the intereſt of *Philip*, called to his aſſiſtance *Zizus*, an *Arabian* king, and *Mithridates*, a *Parthian* commander; who falling upon *Demetrius* with their united forces, put his army to flight, and having taken him priſoner, ſent him as a preſent to the king of *Parthia*, where he fell into a lingering diſtemper, of which he died. After this victory *Philip* ſent home without ranſom all the *Antiochians*, who had been taken either in the battle, or in the purſuit; which was ſo pleaſing to the inhabitants of that great metropolis, that they welcomed the conqueror on his return with loud acclamations, and conducted him in triumph into the city [m].

Philip had ſcarce got rid of *Euchæres*, when *Euſebes* appeared anew in *Syria*, ſupported in all likelihood by the *Parthian* king, in whoſe dominions he had taken refuge, as we have related above: for he over-ran with great rapidity the *Syrian* provinces bordering on *Parthia*, which he could not have done without the aid of ſome powerful prince, and in thoſe quarters none but the king of *Parthia* could lend him any aſſiſtance. *Philip* haſtened to ſuppreſs him; but while he was engaged in the north of *Syria* againſt one rival, another unexpectedly ſtarted up in the ſouth. This was *Antiochus Dionyſius* his brother, the youngeſt of the five ſons of *Grypus*, who, taking advantage of *Philip*'s abſence, ſeized on *Cœle-Syria*, and choſe *Damaſcus* for the capital of his new kingdom [n]. He was ſcarce ſeated on the throne, when he engaged very imprudently in a war with *Aretas* king of *Arabia Petræa*, leaving his dominions at the mercy of his brother *Philip*, who in his abſence made himſelf maſter of *Damaſcus* by the treachery of *Mileſius*, who commanded in the caſtle. But that prince not rewarding the traitor as he expected, the firſt time *Philip* went abroad, *Mileſius* on his return ſhut the gates againſt him, and kept the place for *Dionyſius*, and delivered it up to him on his return out of *Arabia*. Hereupon *Philip* retired, and on his retreat *Antiochus* returned into *Arabia* to renew the war there. In this ſecond expedition he took his rout through *Judæa*, which giving umbrage to *Alexander Jannæus*, prince of the *Jews*, he endeavoured to ſtop his march by drawing lines between *Joppa* and *Antipatris*, that being the only way he could march his army. Theſe lines were twenty miles in length, and fortified with a wall and wooden towers at proper diſtances. But all this was to no effect; for *Antiochus*, having ſet fire to the towers, and obliged the *Jews* to retire, broke through the lines, and purſued his march without farther moleſtation into *Arabia*, where he was ſurprized in a diſadvantageous poſt by *Aretas*, and cut off with the greateſt part of his army. Thoſe who eſcaped the ſlaughter had no better fate; for having retired after the battle to the village of *Cana*, they all periſhed there for want of proviſions. Upon the death of *Antiochus*, *Ptolemy* the ſon of *Mennæus*, prince of *Chalcis*, a city in that neighbourhood, attempted to make himſelf maſter of *Damaſcus*. But the inhabitants bearing an utter averſion to him, choſe rather to call in *Aretas*, by whom their king and their army had been lately cut off, than to ſubject themſelves to *Ptolemy*. Accordingly having no other reſource, for they hated *Philip* more than *Ptolemy* himſelf, they ſent for *Aretas*, and made him their king. This prince was no ſooner ſettled in the ſovereignty, but he undertook an expedition againſt the *Jews*, and defeated *Alexander Jannæus* in a pitched battle near *Addida*. But ſoon after this victory a peace concluded between the contending parties, put a ſtop to all further hoſtilities [o].

THE *Syrians* being quite exhauſted, and tired out with the continual wars carried on in their country by the ambitious and turbulent princes of the race of *Seleucus*, and ſeeing no end of the devaſtations, ſlaughters, and other calamities which attended

[l] JOSEPH. l. xiii. c. 21. PORPHYR. ibid. [m] JOSEPH. ibid. & de Bello Judaic. l. i. c. 3. [n] JUSTIN. l. xl. c. 1. APPIAN. in Syriac. & Mithridatic. JOSEPH. Antiquit. ibid. [o] JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 23. & de Bell. Judaic. l. i. c. 1.

their

a their inteſtine diviſions, reſolved at laſt to exclude them all, and ſubmit to a foreign prince, who might deliver them from the miſeries of a civil war, and reſtore tranquillity to their country. They firſt caſt their eyes on *Mithridates the Great*, king of *Pontus*; but it was feared his quarrels with *Rome* might bring a new war upon *Syria*. Some propoſed *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*; but this propoſal was rejected, by reaſon the *Egyptians* had always been declared enemies to the *Syrians*. They therefore pitched on *Tigranes* king of *Armenia*, and ſent embaſſadors to acquaint him with the reſolution they had taken. *Tigranes* agreed to it, came into *Syria*, took poſſeſſion of that kingdom, and reigned there eighteen years in great tranquillity; the firſt fourteen of which he governed it by *Megdates* his lieutenant, till he was obliged to
b recall him, with the troops he had under his command, to make head againſt the *Romans* [p], as we ſhall relate in the hiſtory of *Armenia*. *Tigranes* no ſooner entered *Syria*, but *Euſebes*, abandoning his dominions, fled into *Cilicia*, where he paſſed the reſt of his life in obſcurity [q]. What became of *Philip* is not known. *Porphyrius* indeed mentions both theſe princes as living near thirty years after *Tigranes* had taken poſſeſſion of *Syria* [r]; but herein that writer was certainly miſtaken, as we ſhall ſhew in a more proper place. *Selene*, the wife of *Euſebes*, retained *Ptolemais* with part of *Phœnice* and *Cœle-Syria*, and reigned there many years without moleſtation, which enabled her to give her two ſons an education ſuitable to their birth. Theſe were *Antiochus*, ſurnamed *Aſiaticus*, becauſe brought up in *Aſia*, and *Seleucus Cybio-*
c *ſactes* [s]. While *Selene* reigned at *Ptolemais*, ſome diſturbances happening in *Egypt*, on account of the averſion which the people had conceived againſt *Alexander* their king, that princeſs put in her claim to the crown, as being ſiſter to *Lutburns*; and ſent her two ſons to *Rome* to ſollicit the ſenate in her behalf. The *Romans* kept them there two years, giving them all the time hopes of ſucceſs in their negotiation; but with no other view than to oblige *Alexander* by this means to buy at a dearer rate the favour and protection of the ſenators. And accordingly, when he had ſpent all the treaſures he was maſter of in bribing the ſenate, he was at laſt confirmed in the kingdom, and the young princes ordered to return home [t]. *Antiochus* the eldeſt reſolved to paſs through *Sicily*, being deſirous to ſee the curioſities of that celebrated
d iſland, and eſpecially the city of *Syracuſe*. While he ſtaid there, he met with an inſult, which ſhews how much *Rome* was corrupted in the times we are writing of, and what rapines and depredations were committed in the ſight of the world by the magiſtrates ſent by the republic to govern the unhappy provinces. The misfortune of young *Antiochus* is related at length, and ſet out in its proper light by *Cicero* [u]. *Verres*, ſays he, who was at that time prætor in *Sicily*, hearing that *Antiochus* was at *Syracuſe*, and being at the ſame time informed that he had along with him a great deal of gold and ſilver plate, many valuable jewels, and rich moveables, was tranſported with joy, as if ſome rich inheritance had unexpectedly fallen to him. Upon the prince's arrival he ſent him a preſent of wine, oil, flour, *&c.* for the uſe of his
e numerous retinue, and ſome days after invited him to an entertainment; on which occaſion the prætor diſplayed all his coſtly furniture, his palace being magnificently adorned, and the tables ſet off with veſſels of moſt exquiſite workmanſhip; for of theſe *Verres* had great ſtore. The banquet was truly noble, and worthy of ſo great a gueſt, the prætor having ſpared no expences on ſuch an extraordinary occaſion. The prince was greatly taken with the elegancy and politeneſs of the *Roman* governor, and highly pleaſed to ſee himſelf honoured by an officer of the republic in ſo eminent a manner. To ſhew his acceptance, he invited *Verres* to an entertainment in his turn, expoſing to public view an incredible number of gold and ſilver veſſels, cups richly ſet with jewels, moveables of all ſorts of an ineſtimable value, and amongſt
f other things a wine-veſſel cut out of one precious ſtone, and of ſuch a ſize, that nothing like it had ever been ſeen. *Verres*, greatly ſurprized at ſuch a pompous and magnificent appearance, took each of the veſſels into his hand, viewed, praiſed, and admired them, the king expreſſing great joy that the prætor of the *Roman* people ſhould be ſo well pleaſed with his entertainment. *Verres* returning home, ſent next morning two of his domeſtics to the prince, deſiring he would let him have for a day or two ſome of the fineſt veſſels he had ſeen at his houſe, under pretence of ſhewing them to his workmen. *Antiochus* without the leaſt difficulty or diſtruſt complied with his

[p] Justin. l. xl. c. 1. Appian. in Syriac. p. 118, 119. [q] Justin. l. xl. c. 2. Appian. in Mithridatic. p. 243. [r] Porphyr. in Græc Euseb. Scalig. [s] Cic. in Verr. Act. 4. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 24. Strab. l. xvii. p. 796. [t] Cic. ibid. [u] Cic. ibid.

requeſt; and then the prætor ſent again, begging he would truſt him only for a few a
hours with the large veſſel made of a ſingle precious ſtone, that he might examine it
more exactly, and ſatisfy his curioſity more at leiſure. The prince at his requeſt ſent
that alſo. *Verres*, whoſe avarice had no bounds, ſeeing young *Antiochus* ſo pliant
and complaiſant, did not ſtop here. The two princes had carried with them to
Rome a branched candleſtick of maſſy gold, no leſs valuable for the exquiſiteneſs of
the workmanſhip, than for the many rich jewels, and precious ſtones, with which it
was adorned. With this they intended to preſent *Jupiter Capitolinus*; but his tem-
ple, which had been burnt in the civil wars between *Marius* and *Sylla*, being then
rebuilding, and not finiſhed when they left *Rome*, they carried the preſent back with
them without allowing any one to ſee it, that it might the more ſurprize the city, b
when it ſhould firſt appear in the temple of *Jupiter*; for they deſigned to ſend embaſ-
ſadors with this magnificent preſent as ſoon as they heard that the ſtatue of the god
was ſet up in his new temple. *Verres* by ſome means or other being informed of all
this, earneſtly begged the prince to ſend him it, expreſſing a great deſire to ſee it,
and promiſing to conceal it even from thoſe of his own family. *Antiochus* was very
unwilling to comply with the prætor's requeſt, not out of any jealouſy or diſtruſt,
but becauſe he did not care it ſhould be ſeen by any, till it appeared in the capitol.
However, not to diſoblige *Verres*, he commanded his ſervants to carry it to his
houſe well covered, and with all poſſible ſecrecy. The prætor, when he firſt beheld
it, could not help crying out in the greateſt ſurprize, This is truly a preſent worthy c
of a prince, worthy of a king of *Syria*, worthy of the capitol. For in that inimi-
table performance, ſays *Tully*, art ſeemed to vie with the precious materials, and the
ſpectators were not more charmed with the number of the jewels, than with the variety
of the workmanſhip. Beſides, it was of ſuch an extraordinary ſize, continues the
ſame author, as plainly diſcovered that it was not intended for the palace of a man,
but for a ſtately temple of ſome god. The officers of *Antiochus*, having given the
prætor full time to conſider it, were preparing to carry it back, when he deſired them
to leave it with him, that he might examine it more at his leiſure, which they did
accordingly. The prince was not at firſt alarmed, nor entertained the leaſt ſuſpicion
of *Verres*; but having for three ſucceſſive days ſent to demand it, and the prætor d
always promiſing to return it the next day, he began to be uneaſy, and at laſt applied
to him in perſon. *Verres* received the prince with great marks of eſteem and affec-
tion, and was not even aſhamed to beg of him the preſent, which, as he had known
from *Antiochus* himſelf, was deſigned for the great *Jupiter*, and the *Roman* people.
Antiochus, ſtruck with amazement at this unexpected demand, could not for ſome
time return any anſwer; but at length recovering from the ſurprize he was in, he told
Verres with great politeneſs, that he was ſorry he could not gratify him, ſince he was
bound by a vow he had made, to conſecrate the candleſtic to *Jupiter Capitolinus*.
Verres did not acquieſce to this anſwer, but with an unparallelled impudence replied,
that *Jupiter* would be as well pleaſed with ſuch another, which might be finiſhed be- e
fore the temple could be in a condition to receive ſo valuable an ornament. But the
prince begged *Verres* anew to excuſe him, alledging the judgment, which the many
nations that had been concerned in the workmanſhip of that gift, and knew for
whom it was deſigned, would paſs upon ſuch an action; they would look upon
us both, ſaid he, as guilty of ſacrilege, and conſider us in the ſame light, as if we
had plundered the temple of *Jupiter*. Hereupon *Verres* began to abuſe and threaten
him even with death, ſince he had him in his power, if he did not immediately make
over to him both the golden candleſtick, and the other precious veſſels which he had
ſent to his houſe. But his menaces being of no more weight with *Antiochus* than his
intreaties, the rapacious prætor commanded him to depart the iſland before ſun-ſet. f
Hereupon the prince, withdrawing to the market-place, acquainted with tears in his
eyes the multitude that flocked to hear him, with the unjuſt and ſcandalous treatment
he had met with from the prætor; he declared, calling the gods to witneſs, that
Verres had robbed him of a golden candleſtick of an ineſtimable value, which was
deſigned for the capitol, as a laſting monument in that auguſt temple of his alliance
and amity with the *Roman* people; he proteſted, that he was not concerned for the loſs
of many gold and ſilver veſſels, ſet with precious ſtones, and of other valuable
effects, which the avaricious prætor detained with the moſt flagrant injuſtice; but to
ſee himſelf thus by violence deprived of a preſent which he had deſigned for the
great *Jupiter* of the capitol, was a misfortune, and an affront, which he could not

well

a well brook, *&c.* In the cloſe of his ſpeech calling upon the *Roman* citizens, who were there preſent, and *Jupiter* himſelf, to witneſs the ſincerity of his heart, and the piety of his intentions, he offered and conſecrated anew the preſent which the prætor had in his cuſtody, to the great *Jupiter* of the *Romans* [w]. Thus was a prince with the moſt crying injuſtice abuſed, a gueſt plundered, and an ally and friend of the *Roman* people with the higheſt indignity expelled the province by the chief magiſtrate ſent thither by the republic to adminiſter juſtice. This ſcandalous behaviour of *Verres* was publicly known, not only in *Sicily*, and all over *Aſia*, but even at *Rome*; and nevertheleſs the injured prince could never receive the leaſt ſatisfaction for the affront, or reparation for the loſs he had ſuffered, *Verres* having gained by his rich preſents
b many powerful protectors at *Rome*, who were not aſhamed to patronize ſo notorious a robber, and ſcreen him againſt the juſt proſecution of their plundered ally. But to return to our ſubject:

Selene finding on the return of her two ſons from *Rome*, that her ſollicitations for the kingdom of *Egypt* had proved unſucceſsful, attempted to inlarge her dominions in *Syria*, and prevailed upon many cities to revolt from *Tigranes*, and ſide with her. This brought the king of *Armenia* upon her with all his forces; he entered *Syria* at the head of five hundred thouſand men, and having obliged *Selene* to ſhut herſelf up in *Ptolemais*, laid ſiege to that place, reduced it, and having got the princeſs into his power, cauſed her to be put to death at *Seleucia* in *Meſopotamia*, whither he had
c carried her on his return into *Armenia* [x]. She was the daughter of *Ptolemy Phyſcon* king of *Egypt*, and had been at firſt married to *Ptolemy Lathurus* her brother, but taken from him by her mother, and given to *Antiochus Grypus*; upon whoſe death ſhe married *Antiochus Euſebes* the ſon of *Antiochus Cyzicenus*, and had by him her two ſons, *Antiochus Aſiaticus*, and *Seleucus Cybioſactes*. *Appian* tells us, that ſhe married *Cyzicenus* himſelf, and after his death *Euſebes* his ſon, and looks upon all the misfortunes, which afterwards befel *Euſebes*, as a juſt judgment of heaven upon him for this inceſt [y]. But we find no ſuch marriage mentioned by any other hiſtorian, whereas all the ancients ſpeak of her marriage with the other three princes. Upon the death of *Selene Tigranes* governed *Syria* without any diſturbance, till he was obliged to recal
d *Megdates* with all the troops he had in that country to aſſiſt him againſt *Lucullus*, who had given him a dreadful overthrow before *Tigranocerta*, as we ſhall relate in the hiſtory of *Armenia*. *Syria* being by the retreat of *Megdates* left naked, *Antiochus Aſiaticus*, to whom, as the next heir of the *Seleucian* family, that kingdom belonged, took poſſeſſion of ſome provinces of it, and there quietly reigned four years without the leaſt moleſtation either from *Lucullus* or *Tigranes*. But theſe four years are comprehended in the eighteen aſſigned to *Tigranes*; for that prince retained ſome part of *Syria* while *Antiochus* reigned in the other, till the whole was reduced to a *Roman* province. And hence it is that ſome authors have not ranked *Antiochus Aſiaticus* among the kings of *Syria*. However he ruled over part of that kingdom till *Pompey* having
e conquered *Tigranes* impoſed on him the hard condition of returning into *Armenia*, and confining his ambition to the ancient inheritance of his forefathers. As *Syria* was then without a governor, and no body had more right to rule there than *Antiochus Aſiaticus*, that prince appeared before *Pompey*, repreſented to him the misfortunes of his family, urged the juſtice of his claim, and intreated the *Roman* not to exclude him from a crown, which his anceſtors had long wore with great glory. But as the *Romans* in the age we are writing of had the bare appearance and outſide of virtue, and did not ſcruple committing the moſt flagrant acts of injuſtice to promote the intereſt of their republic, *Pompey* gave *Antiochus* this haughty and diſobliging anſwer: Don't imagine you ſhall be put in poſſeſſion of a kingdom, which you have
f abandoned. The *Syrians* deſpiſe you, and will not ſuffer you to reign over them. Why did you not wreſt the ſceptre out of the hands of *Tigranes?* You have lived eighteen years in dread of the enemy, whom I have conquered. What pretence then have you to deprive us conquerors of the right we have acquired by our victory? The kingdom of *Syria* belonged to *Tigranes*, and now that he is conquered, all his rights devolve upon us. The *Syrian* empire therefore now appertains to *Rome*, and our republic can defend it better than you from the incurſions of the *Jews* and *Arabians* [z]. Thus *Pompey* made uſe of his victories to oppreſs an unfortunate prince,

[w] Cic. in Verr. Act. 6. n. 61—67. [x] Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 24. Plut. in Lucullo. Strab. l. xvi. p. 743. [y] Appian. in Syriac. [z] Appian. in Syriac. & Mithridat. Dion. Cass. l. xxxv. Justin. l. xl. c. 2. Porphyr. in Græc. Euseb. Scalig.

rob

rob him of his inheritance, and by the moſt notorious piece of injuſtice reduce *Syria* a
to a *Roman* province. *Antiochus*, thus ſtript of his dominions, ſpent the reſt of his life in obſcurity. Some writers tell us, that *Pompey* gave him *Commagena*; but theſe confound *Antiochus Aſiaticus* with *Antiochus Commagenus*, as is manifeſt from *Strabo*, *Appian*, *Dion Caſſius*, *Juſtin*, &c. As for *Seleucus Cybioſactes*, or, as others write it, *Cybiotates*, he outlived his brother; for *Dion Caſſius* [a], *Strabo* [b], and *Porphyrius* [c] tell us, that the *Alexandrians*, having placed on the throne of *Egypt Berenice*, the daughter of *Ptolemy Auletes*, ſent an embaſſy into *Syria*, inviting *Antiochus Aſiaticus*, who by his mother *Selene* was the next male-heir to that crown, to come into *Egypt*, and marrying *Berenice* to reign in conjunction with her. But the embaſſadors finding that he was dead, and thereupon returning home, the *Alexandrians* ſent another embaſſy to b
Seleucus his brother with the ſame propoſal; which he readily accepting reigned in *Egypt*, till *Berenice* growing weary of him cauſed him to be put to death (W). In him

[a] DION. CASS. l. xxxix. [b] STRAB. l. xvii. p. 796. [c] PORPHYR. ibid.

(W) *Porphyry*, as quoted by *Euſebius*, tells us, that *Philip* the ſon of *Grypus* was invited by this ſecond embaſſy into *Egypt*. But as no mention has been made of him in hiſtory ſince his ſeizing on *Damaſcus*, which happened ſix and twenty years before the time we are now writing of, he was in all likelihood dead when the *Egyptian* embaſſadors arrived in *Syria*. Beſides, if he had been now alive, he would have been too far advanced in years for the propoſed marriage, it being now forty years ſince he ſucceeded his father in the kingdom of *Syria*. The perſon therefore, whom this ſecond embaſſy called out of *Syria* into *Egypt* after the death of *Aſiaticus*, muſt have been his younger brother; for he was invited thither as the next heir to the crown, and this the brother of *Aſiaticus* alone could be. Frequent mention is made by the writers of thoſe times of this younger brother of *Aſiaticus*; but none of them acquaint us with his name. However what *Strabo* relates of *Seleucus Cybroſactes* or *Cybioſactes* evidently ſhews that he was the perſon we are ſpeaking of. For that writer tells us (111), that *Seleucus Cybioſactes* was invited into *Egypt* to marry *Berenice*, and that he was of the *Seleucian* family; both which things put it beyond doubt, that this *Seleucus* was the younger brother of *Aſiaticus*, ſince upon the death of the latter his younger brother was the only ſurviving perſon of the *Seleucian* family; and therefore in him ended, as we have related, the illuſtrious race of *Seleucus Nicator*.

That nothing may be wanting which can give us any light into the hiſtory of *Syria*, before we diſmiſs this ſubject, we ſhall give our readers a ſuccinct account of the *Syrian* coins, which have been tranſmitted to us, and repreſent the princes, who have reigned in *Syria*, according to the order of their ſucceſſion to the crown. And to begin with thoſe of *Seleucus Nicator*, founder of the *Syro-Macedonian* empire; two different coins of that prince have reached us, whereof the firſt repreſents him with a lion's skin on his head, and the ſecond with the ſame skin, and the wing of ſome bird covering his ear. The *Macedonian* kings, eſpecially *Amyntas*, *Philip*, and *Alexander the Great*, are commonly repreſented with the skin of a lion on their heads, imitating therein *Hercules*, from whom they pretended to derive their pedigree. The captains of *Alexander*, when they uſurped the ſovereign power in their reſpective governments, aſſumed, in their coins, the ſame enſigns and ornaments which that conqueror had uſed, as if they had been his lawful heirs and ſucceſſors. The wing, which we ſee in the ſecond medal, is a ſymbol of diſpatch, quickneſs, and expedition, without which no great exploits can be atchieved. On the reverſe of the firſt medal *Jupiter* is repreſented ſitting, and holding in his right hand a victory, and in his left a ſpear reverſed, to ſhew that after victory clemency is to be uſed towards the conquered, and not arms or ſeverity. The reverſe of the ſecond medal exhibits a butting ox, and no no doubt alludes to what *Appian* relates of *Seleucus Nicator*, viz. that he once ſeized by the horns, and ſtopt in his full career a wild ox, which *Alexander* was about to ſacrifice, after he had broken the ropes by which he was held by many perſons, and made his eſcape. Both medals bear this inſcription, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ, that is, *of king Seleucus*, as does alſo a third of the ſame prince, repreſenting the head of *Jupiter* crowned with laurel, and on the reverſe a chariot drawn by four elephants, and drove by *Pallas* darting with her right hand a javelin, and holding a ſhield in her left. *Jupiter* is frequently expreſſed on the *Macedonian* and *Syrian* coins, as being the pretended father of *Alexander*, from whom the kings of *Syria* derived all their power. *Pallas* was the tutelary goddeſs of *Macedon*; and as to the elephants, *Seleucus* far excelled all the princes of his age in the number he conſtantly kept of thoſe warlike animals; for he brought four hundred and eighty with him againſt *Antigonus*, and had received five hundred from *Sandrocottus* king of *India* before he engaged in that war.

Antiochus Soter, the ſon and ſucceſſor of *Seleucus Nicator*, is repreſented with a diadem on his head, and a wing above his ear; on the reverſe is *Apollo* holding in his right hand an arrow, and bow in his left with this inſcription, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ; that is, *of king Antiochus*. *Seleucus Nicator* pretended to be the ſon of *Apollo*, as we have related in the hiſtory of that prince's reign, and hence it is that we meet with the figure of *Apollo* in moſt of the *Syrian* coins.

The medals of *Antiochus Theus* repreſent that prince with the diadem on his head, and on the reverſe *Apollo* with what the medaliſts call his attributes, *viz.* a bow, and an arrow, as in the former coin. Perhaps the medals bearing the figure of *Apollo* were ſtruck by the inhabitants of *Antioch*, who paid a particular worſhip to that god in the neighbouring city or village of *Daphne*.

Seleucus Callinicus, brother to *Antiochus Theus*, is repreſented in the ſame manner, *viz.* with the diadem or royal fillet; on the reverſe is *Apollo* holding in his right hand an arrow, and leaning with his left arm upon his tripos with a laurel crown upon it. We have two other medals of this prince with *Apollo* on the reverſe of one, and a horſe on that of the other: *Apollo* holds an arrow in his right hand, and with his left leans upon his bow; the kings of *Syria* took great delight in horſes, and their cavalry, generally ſpeaking, behaved with great gallantry. Beſides, a horſe is a ſymbol of war, and denotes a warlike

(111) *Strab. l. xvii. p. 796.*

a him ended the whole race of *Seleucus*, no one of that illuſtrious family being left to ſurvive the loſs of the empire, which they had held, according to *Appian*, two hundred and ſeventy years, according to *Euſebius*, from the hundred and ſeventeenth olympiad, the third after the death of *Alexander*, to the third year of the hundred and twenty-fourth, that is, two hundred and fifty-one years [d].

[d] Euseb. in Chron.

warlike people. Over the horſe is a ſtar, which was, as we are told by the antiquaries, the arms of the city of *Aradus*, where this medal perhaps was ſtruck. The medals of *Seleucus Ceraunus* are in every reſpect like thoſe of *Seleucus Callinicus*.

The medals of *Antiochus*, ſurnamed *the Great*, exhibit the head of that prince with the uſual enſigns of royalty, and on the reverſe the figure of a galley, by which ſymbol the *Syrians* repreſented the city of *Tyre*. *Antiochus* made himſelf maſter of that ſtrong and important place at the ſame time that *Ptolemais* was delivered up to him, with forty ſhips that were in the harbour, by *Theodotus* commander in chief of the forces of *Ptolemy Philopator* king of *Egypt*. The letters which are to be ſeen over the galley, are arithmetical characters, and anſwer our numbers 117; whence we learn, that this medal was ſtruck in the 117th year of the *Seleucian* æra, which was, according to ſome, the 28th, according to others, the 30th year of *Antiochus*'s reign. *Vaillant* ſeems to look upon thoſe medals of *Antiochus the Great* as ſpurious, which bear this inſcription, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ, that is, *of king Antiochus the Great*, ſince the *Syrian* kings appear to have been averſe from aſſuming on their coins ſuch pompous titles.

Seleucus Philopator, the ſon and ſucceſſor of *Antiochus*, is repreſented with the ſame ſymbols as his father. The letters ΣΑΡ denote the 136th year of the æra of the *Seleucida*, which was the 11th of his reign.

Antiochus Epiphanes, ſo famous in the hiſtory of the *Maccabees*, is repreſented with the uſual enſigns of royalty; on the reverſe of ſome of his medals we ſee *Apollo* taking with his right hand an arrow out of his quiver, and holding a bow in his left; in others the image of *Jupiter*, armed with a thunderbolt, and a ſpear; on all his medals is the following inſcription, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ, that is, *of king* Antiochus *the appearing god*, or, *of king* Antiochus, *who appears to be a god*. This impious and haughty title was firſt given him, according to *Joſephus* (112), by the *Samaritans*, who wrote a letter to him with this direction.

The medals of *Antiochus Eupator*, the ſon of *Epiphanes*, have on the reverſe a *Jupiter* ſitting, and holding a winged victory in his right, and a ſpear in his left, with this inſcription, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΕΥΠΑΤΩΡΟΣ, that is, *of king* Antiochus Eupator. The youthful look of this prince proves that he was very young when he aſcended the throne, as we have ſhewn in the hiſtory of his reign.

We have no fewer than eight medals of *Demetrius Soter*, the ſon of *Seleucus Philopator*, all bearing the head of that prince, but different ſymbols on the reverſes. On the firſt is a *Jupiter* ſitting with a victory in his right hand, and a ſpear in his left, with this inſcription; ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ, that is, *of king* Demetrius Theus Philopator Soter: We have ſpoke of the ſurname of *Soter* in the hiſtory of his reign; but the other appellations are not mentioned by any hiſtorian. On the ſecond is repreſented a victory ſtretching out her right hand, and holding in her left the branch of a palm-tree. The figure of victory on the coins of this prince, allude, in all likelihood, to the advantages he gained over *Eupator*, and his governor *Lyſias*. On the third is expreſſed a *Mercury*, with the branch of a palm-tree in his right hand, and his caduce in the left. Theſe three coins bear the ſame inſcription, and without them we ſhould never have known that *Demetrius* aſſumed the appellations of *Theus* and *Philopator*; the firſt he probably took in imitation of his uncle *Antiochus*, and the other of his father *Seleucus*. *Mercury* is a ſymbol of peace, and in all likelihood alludes here to the tranquillity which reigned ſome time all over *Syria*, after *Demetrius* had conquered and put to death *Eupator* and his governor *Lyſias*. The reverſe of the fourth medal exhibits a galley, the ſymbol of the city of *Tyre*, with this inſcription, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ L. ΔΝΡ. ΤΤΡΙΩΝ, that is, *of king* Demetrius *in the year* (of the *Seleucian* æra) 154. *By the* Tyrians. On the fifth we ſee an *Apollo* ſitting in the apparel of a woman, and holding in his right hand an arrow, and a cornucopia in his left, with this inſcription, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ, and the letters ΗΝΡ, that is, of king *Demetrius Soter*, in the year of the *Seleucida* 158. The ſixth medal bears on the reverſe a galley, with the characters ΘΝΡ and ΣΙΔΩΝΙΩΝ, that is, *in the year* 153. *By the* Sidonians. As *Demetrius* ſent his ſon to *Rome* this year, *Vaillant* conjectures that the *Sidonians* conveyed him thither with their gallies, and on that occaſion ſtruck this medal. Perhaps a galley was the ſymbol of *Sidon* as well as of *Tyre*, the firſt galley, if *Clemens Alexandrinus* is to be credited, having been built in that city. On the reverſe of the ſeventh medal is a cornucopia with the name of *Demetrius Soter*, and the characters ΑΞΡ, denoting the 161ſt year of the *Seleucida*, that is, the year in which *Demetrius* defeated *Alexander Balas*; for that uſurper firſt appeared, according to the hiſtory of the *Maccabees*, in the 160th year of the kingdom of the *Greeks*, and was defeated by *Demetrius*, as we read in the profane hiſtorians, the year following. The eighth and laſt medal of this prince has on the reverſe an *Apollo* with an arrow in his right, and a cornucopia in his left, with the name of *Demetrius Soter*, and the letters ΒΞΡ, that is, in the 162d year of the *Seleucian* æra. We read in the hiſtory of the *Maccabees*, that *Demetrius* began his reign in the 151ſt year of the kingdom of the *Greeks*, and from this medal it appears that he was ſtill alive, in the 162d of the ſame æra; hence we have preferred the authority of *Polybius* (113), who was contemporary with this prince, and writes that he reigned twelve years, to the teſtimony of *Torniellus*, *Bucholcerus*, *Funccius*, *Vignerius* and *Gordon*, of whom the three firſt will have him to have reigned only ten years, and the two latter but nine. *Euſebius* (114), *Sulpitius Severus* (115), and *Joſephus* (116), agree with *Polybius*.

The medals of *Alexander Balas* have on one ſide the head of that prince with the diadem, and on the other either *Jupiter*, *Apollo*, *Pallas*, or *Neptune*. *Jupiter* is repreſented ſitting with a victory in his hand; *Apollo* with an arrow in one hand, and a bow in

(112) *Joſeph. l.* xii. (113) *Polyb. l.* iii. *in fine.* (114) *Euſeb. in Chron.* (115) *Sulpitius Sever. Hiſt. ſacr. l.* ii. (116) *Joſeph. Antiq. l.* xiii. *c.* 5.

in the other; *Pallas* with an helmet on her head, a victory in her right hand, and her left leaning on her ſhield; *Neptune* holding in his right a dolphin, and his trident in the left. Moſt of the medals of this prince bear this inſcription, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΟΥ ΘΕΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ, ΒΞΡ, that is, *of king Alexander Theopator Euergetes* in the year 162. He aſſumed the ſurname of *Theopator*, as pretending to be the ſon of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, ſurnamed *Theos* or *God*. One of the medals of this prince repreſents his head, together with that of his queen *Cleopatra*, the daughter of *Ptolemy Philometor*. On the queen's head is a buſhel after the manner of *Iſis* and *Serapis*, two *Egyptian* deities. This buſhel with the cornucopia hard by it, is a ſymbol of the happineſs which the people promiſed themſelves from the marriage of the king of *Syria* with the daughter of the king of *Egypt*. The dates which theſe medals bear, are 162, 163, 164, 165, 166. The following year, that is in 167, *Demetrius Nicator*, according to the hiſtory of the *Maccabees*, began his reign; ſo that our chronology agrees exactly with that of the medals, and of the hiſtory of the *Maccabees*, it being manifeſt from both that *Balas* was killed in the ſixth year of his reign. *Euſebius* was therefore certainly miſtaken when he allowed him in his chronology ten years and ſeven months.

Some of the medals of *Demetrius Nicator*, the ſon of *Demetrius Soter*, bear on the reverſe an eagle, ſome an anchor, the arms of the *Seleucian* family, others a galley, and ſome the figure of a woman, commonly believed to be *Aſtarte*, the goddeſs of the *Sidonians*; the medals with that figure having been ſtruck by the *Sidonians*, as ſome conjecture from the legend in *Phœnician* characters. The inſcription on the medals of this prince is, *of king Demetrius*, and on one, *of king Demetrius Theus Philadelphus Nicator*. The ſurname of *Theus* he took in imitation of his father; that of *Philadelphus* was given him for the great affection he had, or rather pretended to have, for his brother *Antiochus*; the appellation of *Nicator* was beſtowed upon him by his ſubjects for having conquered *Alexander Balas*, who was not of the *Seleucian* family. The medals of this prince are dated 167, 168.

Antiochus Theus, the ſon of *Balas* by *Cleopatra*, is not ranked by ſome writers among the kings of *Syria*; but on the ancient coins he is repreſented like the others with the diadem, and honoured with the titles of king *Antiochus*, *Theus*, *Epiphanes*, *Nicephorus*; the ſurnames of *Theus* and *Epiphanes* he took in imitation of *Antiochus*, the fifth of that name, whoſe grandſon he pretended to be; that of *Nicephorus* or the victorious was given him after his victory over *Demetrius*. Some writers exclude him from the number of the *Syrian* kings, becauſe during the ſhort time he lived, *Demetrius*, his rival, kept poſſeſſion of the greateſt part of the empire. The medals repreſent him very young, and he indeed was not above five years old when he aſcended the throne, and was put to death by *Tryphon*'s orders after he had reigned two years. *Funccius* and *Vignerius* will have him to have reigned three years complete, *Gordon*, *Mercator*, and *Temporarius* four, and *Joſephus* writes, that he was put to death in the ſixth year of his reign.

Tryphon, having on the death of his pupil uſurped the crown, cauſed ſome medals to be ſtruck, wherein he ſtiled himſelf *king Tryphon*, and *Tryphon the powerful king*; ſome of theſe medals have reached our times, and bear on the reverſe an helmet, the ſymbol of war, to which is faſtened a large horn, among the ancients a mark of power; near the helmet is a ſtar, the arms of the city of *Aradus*, which ſhews that the medal was ſtruck there; for the cities, where ſuch medals were coined, are generally expreſſed either by the initial letters of their names, or by ſome other mark. Thus a cornucopia ſtands for *Antioch*, a galley for *Tyre*, the branch of an olive-tree for *Laodicea*, a mitre for *Tripolis*, &c.

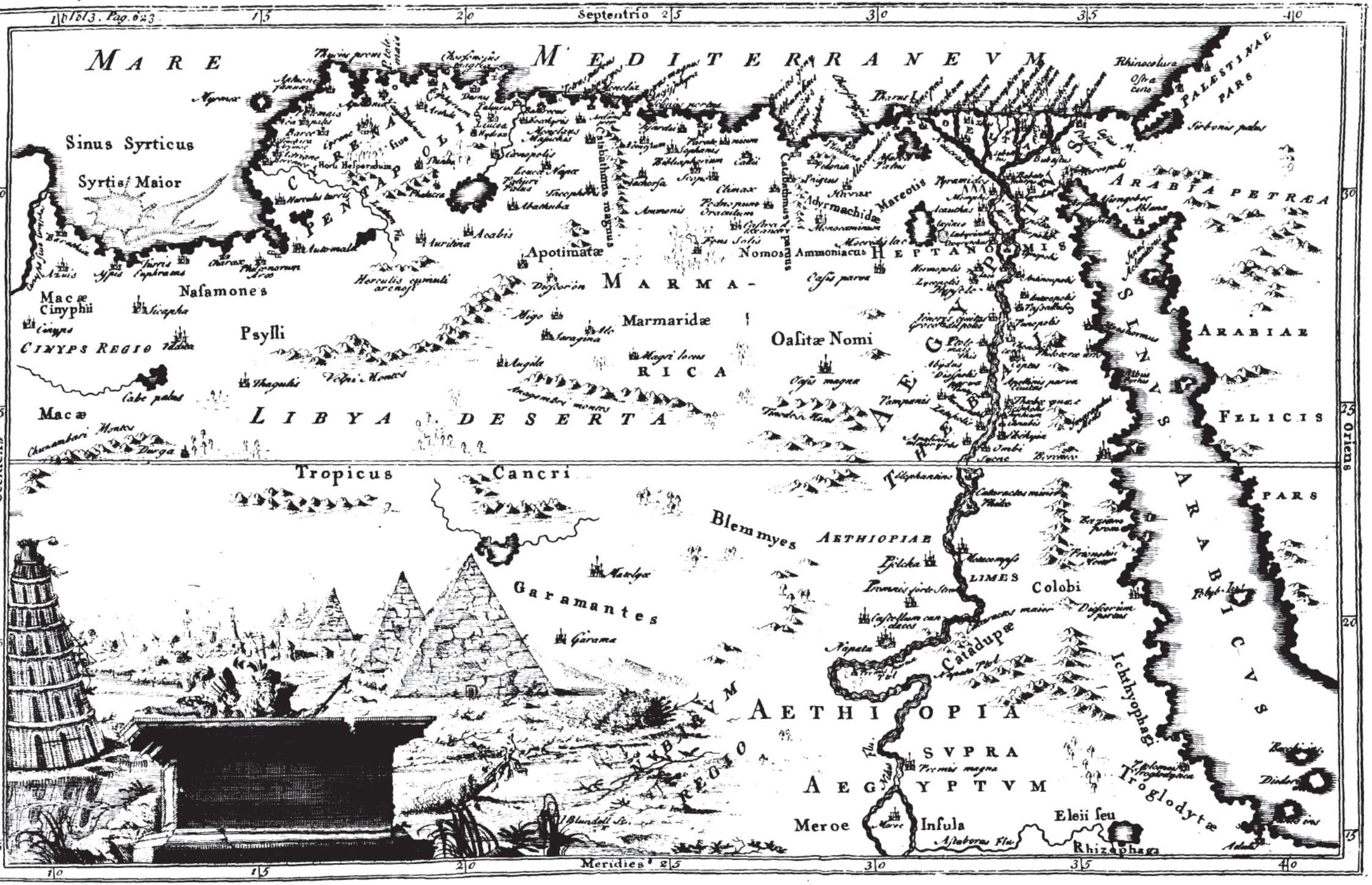
The medals of *Antiochus Sidetes*, the brother of *Demetrius Nicator*, expreſs the head of that prince with the uſual diadem, and on the reverſe an eagle with the branch of a palm-tree, and the following legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΔΟΥ. ΙΕΡ. ΑΣΥ. that is, *of king* Antiochus, *in* 174 *at* Tyre *a ſacred aſylum*. We have mentioned in our hiſtory the famous aſylum that was at *Tyre*. *Euſebius* tells us, that the privilege of an aſylum was granted to the *Tyrians* in the 187th year of the *Seleucian* æra: but this medal, which was ſtruck in the 174th year of that æra, plainly ſhews that he was therein greatly miſtaken. *Sidetes* bears on all his medals the name of *Euergetes*; that of *Sidetes*, or the *hunter*, by which he is generally diſtinguiſhed in hiſtory from the other *Antiochus's*, not ſeeming to him worthy of being tranſmitted to poſterity. *Patinus* in his account of the medals of the *Syrian* kings is greatly at a loſs about thoſe of *Antiochus Euergetes*; *to which of the many* Antiochus's, ſays he, *theſe medals belong, I leave others to gueſs*; *for my part, I find no mention made by the ancients of any ſuch king as* Antiochus Euergetes. *Patinus*, it ſeems, had never read *Euſebius*; for *Porphyry*, as quoted by that writer, tells us in expreſs terms, that *Antiochus* the brother of *Demetrius Nicator* was known by the name of *Antiochus Euergetes* (118). The medals of this prince bear different dates, *viz.* 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 181, 182. *Buchaierus* and *Famianarius* had not ſeen theſe medals, when they wrote that *Sidetes* reigned only ſeven years.

Demetrius Nicator, being ſet at liberty by the *Parthian* king, returned into *Syria*, and reaſcended the throne upon the death of his brother *Sidetes*, who was cut off with his army by the *Parthians*. All the medals that were ſtruck after the return of *Nicator*, repreſent him with a long beard after the *Parthian* manner, and are dated the 184th, 185th, 186th years of the *Seleucian* æra.

Alexander Zebina is repreſented on the medals with the diadem, as the other kings of *Syria*, tho' by few of the ancients placed in that number. Moſt of the coins of this prince were ſtruck at *Damaſcus*, and bear the following dates, 184, 185, 186; ſome of them have on the reverſe an eagle, ſome a *Bacchus* with his attributes, ſome a *Jupiter*, and ſome a *Pallas* armed with a ſhield and ſpear. They all bear the ſame inſcription, *viz. of king Alexander*, without any of thoſe pompous titles which the other princes aſſumed.

Seleucus, the eldeſt ſon of *Demetrius Nicator* by *Cleopatra*, was ſcarce ſeated on the throne, when he was killed by his own mother; hence we have not reckoned him among the *Syrian* kings; neither do we find any mention made of him on ancient coins. His brother *Antiochus*, ſurnamed *Grypus*, the ſecond ſon of *Demetrius Nicator*, and *Cleopatra*, ſucceeded him, as we have related. On the medals of this prince, ſtruck in the beginning of his reign, that is, in the 187th, and 190th years of the *Seleucida*, we find the heads of *Antiochus* and *Cleopatra* joined together with this inſcription, ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ ΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΑΣ ΘΕΑΣ, ΚΑΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ, that *is*, *of queen* Cleopatra Thea, *and of king* Antiochus. That ambitious woman aſſumed the title of goddeſs or *Thea*, and even placed her own name before that of the king her ſon. The medals that were coined after the 190th year of the æra we are ſpeaking of, are ſtamped with the head of *Antiochus* alone, and this inſcription, of *Antiochus Epiphanes*; the name, or rather nick-name of *Grypus*, which is common among authors, is not to be met with on the medals of this prince. The medals of the

(118) *Euſeb. in Chron.*


Septentrio
Oriens
Meridies
MARE MEDITERRANEVM
Sinus Syrticus
Syrtis Maior
CYRENAICA PENTAPOLIS
Apotimatæ
Nomos Ammoniacus
Mareotis
Adyrmachidæ
HEPTANOMIS
ÆGYPTVS
ARABIA PETRÆA
PALÆSTINÆ PARS
Nasamones
Macæ Cinyphii
CINYPS REGIO
Psylli
MARMARICA
Marmaridæ
Oasitæ Nomi
LIBYA DESERTA
Macæ
ARABIAE FELICIS
Tropicus Cancri
Blemmyes
AETHIOPIAE
Garamantes
LIMES
Colobi
Cataclupæ
Ichthyophagi
AETHIOPIA SVPRA ÆGYPTVM
Meroe Insula
Eleii seu Troglodytæ
Rhizophagi
ARABICVS SINVS
PARS

the other princes, *viz.* of *Antiochus Cyzicenus*, *Antiochus Euſebes*, *Demetrius Eucherus*, *Antiochus Dionyſius*, and *Antiochus Aſiaticus*, contain nothing remarkable, which we have not already taken notice of; and therefore, not to trouble the reader with tedious repetitions, we ſhall here put an end to this note and hiſtory, referring thoſe, who deſire to have a more particular account of the *Syrian* coins, to *Foy-Vaillant*'s elaborate hiſtory of the kings of *Syria*, whence we have borrowed what we have ſaid relating to this ſubject.

SECT. V.

The Hiſtory of Egypt *from the foundation of that monarchy by* Ptolemy Soter *to its being made a* Roman *province.*

[a] BEFORE we proceed to the hiſtory of *Egypt* under the *Macedonians*, it will be neceſſary to exhibit a ſeries of their kings with the years of their reſpective reigns according to various ſyſtems, there being a great diſagreement among authors in their chronological accounts of theſe princes.

Ptolemy's *Canon of the* Macedonian *kings who reigned in* Egypt.

	Years.		Years.
[b] *Ptolemy Lagus*	20	*Ptolemy Philometor*	35
Ptolemy Philadelphus	38	*Ptolemy Euergetes* II.	29
Ptolemy Euergetes	25	*Ptolemy Soter*	36
Ptolemy Philopater	17	*Ptolemy Dionyſius*	29
Ptolemy Epiphanes	24	*Cleopatra*	22

A Table *of the* Macedonian *kings who reigned in* Egypt, *with the years of their reigns according to* Euſebius.

[c] *Ptolemy Lagus*	40	*Ptolemy Alexander*	10
Ptolemy Philadelphus	38	*Ptolemy Lathurus* reſtored	8
Ptolemy Euergetes	26	*Cleopatra* alone, 6 months.	
Ptolemy Philopator	17	*Ptolemy Alexander* II.	15
Ptolemy Epiphanes	24	*Ptolemy Auletes*	30
Ptolemy Philometor	35	*Ptolemy Dionyſius* and *Cleopatra*	4
Ptolemy Euergetes or *Phyſcon*	} 29	*Cleopatra* alone	22
Ptolemy Lathurus before his baniſhment	} 17		

[d] wanting ſome months.

There is no ſmall diſagreement among the eccleſiaſtic writers with reſpect to the years of theſe princes reigns, as appears from the following table.

a

A TABLE *of the* Ptolemies *of* Egypt, *with the years of their reigns, according to* Clemens *of* Alexandria [a], Epiphanius [b], *and* Nicephorus.

	Acc. to Clem.	Acc. to Epiph.	Acc. to Niceph.
Ptolemy Lagus	40	40	40
Ptolemy Philadelphus	27	38	38
Ptolemy Euergetes	25	24	25
Ptolemy Philopator	17	21	17
Ptolemy Epiphanes	24	22	26
Philometor	35	34	35
Ptolemy Physcon	29	29	17 and six months.
Ptolemy Lathurus	36	35	18
Ptolemy Dionysius	29	31	30
Cleopatra	22	32	22

b

We shall now proceed to the history of these princes reigns, where we shall have occasion to examine which of the various tables we have exhibited deserves the preference.

c

Ptolemy Soter *his extraction.*

Ptolemy, the first of the *Macedonian* race who reigned in *Egypt* after *Alexander the Great*, was, according to *Arrian* [c], a native of *Eordæa*, a small place in the province of *Mygdonia* in *Macedon*, and called *Lagides*, or the son of *Lagus*, but commonly believed to be the son of king *Philip*; that prince as *Curtius* [d] and *Pausanias* [e] inform us, having given *Arsinoe*, the daughter of *Meleager*, and mother of *Ptolemy*, in marriage, while she was big with child by him, to *Lagus* a *Macedonian* of a mean descent. *Lagus*, unwilling to father another man's child, as soon as his wife was brought to bed, exposed the new-born infant, according to the barbarous custom of those times, to be devoured by wild beasts, or to perish with famine. But an eagle, says *Suidas* [f], touched with that compassion, which found no room in the breast of *Lagus*, performed with wonderful care and assiduity all the duties of a fond parent, sheltering the helpless infant with his wings against the inclemency of the weather, and nourishing it with the blood of his prey instead of milk. *Lagus* being greatly affected with this miraculous adventure, which, no doubt, was invented and divulged for that end, and looking upon it as an infallible prognostic of some extraordinary rise, and good fortune, acknowledged the child for his son, and as such brought him up with great care. *Theophylus Antiochenus*, disagreeing with the above-mentioned authors, tells us, that *Ptolemy* was of the royal family of *Macedon*, not by the father, but by his mother *Arsinoe*, who was nearly related to *Philip* the father of *Alexander* [g]. *Lagus*, according to this writer, must have been a man of rank, since he matched into the royal family, and not an obscure or ignoble *Macedonian*, as *Curtius* and *Pausanias* call him [h]. *Theocritus*, in speaking of *Ptolemy*'s family, says [i], that *Alexander the Great* and he were of the same race, being both descended from *Hercules* and *Hyllus*; but does not tell us, whether by the father's side, or the mother's. On the other hand *Justin*, without taking any notice of his pedigree, writes, that he served first under *Philip*, and afterwards under *Alexander*, in the capacity of a common soldier, and was raised by the latter for his gallant behaviour to a chief command in the army [k]. It appears also from what we read in *Plutarch* [l], that *Ptolemy* was commonly believed to be of a mean descent. For that writer, in speaking of his great moderation, and the mildness of his temper, tells us, that one day, after he had heard for a long time an empty and trifling grammarian bragging of his great skill in antiquity, he at length interrupted him with this question, well suited to the erudition of a shallow pedant: *Since you are so well versed in the learning of the ancients, pray tell me, grammarian, off-hand, who was the father of* Peleus. The grammarian answered without hesitation, *Pray, tell me first, O king, if you can, who was the father of* Lagus. This reproachful reflection on the meanness of *Ptolemy*'s extraction raised no small indignation in the courtiers;

d e f

[a] CLEMENS Alexandrin. Stromat. l. i. [b] EPIPHAN. de Mensur. & ponder. [c] ARRIAN. l. i. [d] QUINT. CURT. l. iv. [e] PAUSAN. in Atticis. [f] SUIDAS in voce Lagus. [g] THEOPHYL. Antioch. l. ii. [h] CURT. & PAUSAN. ibid. [i] THEOCRITUS Idyll. 17. [k] JUSTIN. l. xiii. [l] PLUTARCH. de ira cohibenda.

but

a but *Ptolemy*, applauding the humour, and pleaſed with the freedom of the grammarian, told them, that if it was beneath the dignity of a king to bear a joke, it did not by any means become him to joke upon others; that he had been the aggreſſor, and therefore had no more right to reſent the anſwer of the grammarian, with whom he had put himſelf thereby on a level, than the grammarian had to be offended at his queſtion. As for *Ptolemy* himſelf, he ſeems to have preferred the name of *Lagides*, or the ſon of *Lagus*, to all other appellations, ſince he tranſmitted it with his own to all his deſcendants, who from him are called *Ptolemæi Lagides*, or the *Ptolemies* deſcended from *Lagus*. Nay *Epiphanius* tells us [m], that in honour of his father he inſtituted a military order, calling it from his name *Lageion*. This, if true, proves
b the inſtitution of military orders to be of a more ancient date than is commonly believed. But whatever was *Ptolemy*'s deſcent, all the ancients, who write of thoſe times, give him a moſt extraordinary character. He was one of *Alexander*'s chief favourites, that conqueror repoſing in him the greateſt truſt, and relying intirely on his wiſdom, conduct, and courage, in the execution of his moſt important projects; for he attended him in all his expeditions, and in moſt of them diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a very eminent manner. He was no leſs dear to the ſoldiers than to the king, being at the ſame time the prince's favourite, and the darling of the army. At the ſiege of *Harmatelia* among the *Brachmans* he had the misfortune to be wounded with a poiſoned arrow, and muſt have died of his wound, had not providence intervened in a
c very extraordinary manner, after all human remedies had proved unſucceſsful. For while *Alexander* was one night bemoaning with himſelf the loſs which he had reaſon to apprehend of ſo great a commander, he fell aſleep, and had ſcarce ſhut his eyes, when a vaſt dragon, if *Diodorus* is to be credited [n], appeared to him in a dream, carrying a plant in his mouth, acquainted him with the nature and virtue of that vegetable, ſhewed him the place where it grew, and inſtructed him in what manner he ſhould apply it to *Ptolemy*'s wound. The viſion no ſooner diſappeared, but *Alexander* awaking, went to the place which the dragon had pointed out to him, found the plant, and having applied it to the wound, as he had been directed, cured it in a ſhort time, and reſtored *Ptolemy* in perfect health to the army, who looked upon his
d death as the greateſt misfortune that could befal them. *Strabo*, who ſpeaks of this adventure as happening in the country of the *Orites*, ſays, that *Alexander* learnt the remedy of the natives, and that either he or his flatterers gave out that it had been revealed to him by the gods [o].

Greatly favoured by Alexander, and loved by the army.

AFTER the death of *Alexander* he was appointed governor of *Egypt*, *Libya*, and that part of *Arabia* which borders upon *Egypt*; and theſe provinces he held to his death, and tranſmitted them with many new acquiſitions as an hereditary kingdom to his deſcendants. But as we have already given a particular account of his wars with *Perdiccas*, *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* [p], we ſhall not treſpaſs on the reader's patience with tedious repetitions, but only take notice in this place of ſome particulars relating
e to the reign of this prince, which we have not mentioned elſewhere. He is commonly diſtinguiſhed from the other *Ptolemies* his ſucceſſors by the ſurname of *Soter* or *Saviour*, which was firſt given him by the *Rhodians* on the following occaſion: *Antigonus* having formed a deſign of ſeizing on the iſland of *Cyprus*, which was then held by *Ptolemy*, demanded of the *Rhodians* a ſquadron of their beſt ſhips for the carrying on of that enterprize; but as thoſe iſlanders drew great advantages from their trade with *Egypt*, they could by no means be prevailed upon to enter into any meaſures prejudicial to the intereſt of *Ptolemy*. This gave no ſmall offence to *Antigonus*, who, to be revenged on the *Rhodians*, ſent his ſon *Demetrius* with a mighty fleet, and a powerful army, to reduce their iſland. But *Demetrius*, after having ſpent a whole year in the
f ſiege of *Rhodes*, the metropolis of the iſland, without being able to maſter it, was obliged to conclude a peace with the *Rhodians* upon honourable terms, and leave them in full poſſeſſion of their liberties. As they had been enabled by the timely ſuccours ſent them by *Ptolemy* to ſuſtain ſo long a ſiege, and by his friendly offices happily delivered from it, as ſoon as the enemy withdrew, to teſtify their gratitude to their deliverer, they conſecrated a grove to him, ſurrounded it with a ſtately portico, which from him they called the *Ptolemæum*; and after having conſulted the oracle of *Jupiter Hammon*, to give the action an air of ſolemnity, decreed, according

Appointed governor of Egypt.

Whence called Soter.

[m] EPIPHANIUS de menſur. & ponder. [n] DIODOR. SICUL. l. xvii. p. 617. [o] STRAB. l. 14. [p] See p. 417, 421, 422, 433, 435, 436, of this volume.

to the impious flattery of thoſe times, that divine honours ſhould be paid him in that place, and the name of *Soter* or *Saviour* given him for having delivered them from the calamities of ſo dangerous a war [q]. a

Peoples Alexandria.

Ptolemy, upon his firſt being appointed governor of *Egypt*, choſe the city of *Alexandria* for the uſual place of his reſidence, as did likewiſe the other kings, who ſucceeded him; by which means that city became one of the moſt wealthy and populous of the world. *Ptolemy* granted great privileges to all who ſettled there, whether *Greeks*, *Jews*, or *Egyptians*, which drew ſuch crowds of new inhabitants out of *Judæa*, that their quarter was one of the largeſt in the place. For the uſe of theſe, as they came by degrees to forget their own language, was made that *Greek* verſion of the ſacred books, which has ſince been called the *Septuagint*, as we ſhall ſee in a more proper place. All the ancients ſpeak of *Alexandria* as the next in beauty, wealth, extent, &c. to *Rome*, ſome calling it the ſecond metropolis of the world, others the city of cities, the queen of the eaſt, a ſecond *Rome*, &c. [r]. b

Aſſumes the title of king. Year of the flood 2695. *Before Chriſt* 304.

Tho' *Ptolemy* had, from the time he was firſt veſted with the government of *Egypt*, exerciſed the regal authority, yet he did not aſſume the title of king till he ſaw himſelf firmly ſettled in his new kingdom, which happened after the retreat of *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*, who had attempted, without ſucceſs, to invade *Egypt*, that is, nineteen years after the death of *Alexander*. From this time *Ptolemy* in his chronological canon begins to reckon the years of his reign, having hitherto computed by thoſe of *Philip* and *Alexander Ægus*, though the latter had been killed five years before. But this fortunate turn in favour of *Ptolemy*, and his being thereby firmly eſtabliſhed on the throne, gave the chronologer a new epoch to reckon by, which took its beginning from the ſeventh day of our *November*. From this time *Soter* reigned twenty years, agreeable to *Ptolemy*'s canon; and theſe with the nineteen aſcribed by that writer to *Philip* and *Alexander Ægus*, make up the thirty-nine, which authors commonly allow *Ptolemy Soter* to have reigned alone. For in the thirtieth year of his reign, being fourſcore and upwards, he placed *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, one of his ſons by *Berenice*, on the throne, declaring him his partner in the empire, and ſucceſſor to the crown after his death. He had ſeveral ſons by his other wives, and among theſe *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, or the *Thunderer*; who being the ſon of *Euridice*, the daughter of *Antipater*, and the eldeſt of the male iſſue, looked upon the crown as his birth-right after his father's demiſe. But *Berenice*, who came into *Egypt* merely as a companion to *Euridice*, when ſhe firſt married *Ptolemy*, ſo charmed that prince with her beauty, that he likewiſe married her, and in all affairs of importance was intirely governed by her advice. The crafty princeſs, taking advantage of the aſcendant ſhe had gained over her husband, prevailed upon him to ſettle the crown upon her iſſue, and exclude *Ceraunus*, to whom, according to the order of ſucceſſion, it belonged. To prevent therefore the wars which might enſue after his death between the two brothers, he reſolved to place the crown on the head of *Philadelphus* in his life-time, and reign in partnerſhip with him. Hereupon *Ceraunus*, quitting the court, retired to *Lyſimachus*, whoſe ſon *Agathocles* had married *Lyſandra* the ſiſter of *Ceraunus* both by father and mother. After the death of *Agathocles* he fled to the court of *Seleucus*, who received him in the moſt obliging manner, for which he was afterwards repaid with the blackeſt ingratitude [s]. c d e

Makes his ſon Philadelphus *his partner in the empire.*

In this year, which was the firſt of the hundred and twenty-fourth olympiad, the fortieth of *Ptolemy Soter*'s reign, and the firſt of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, was finiſhed the famous watch-tower in the iſland of *Pharos* over-againſt *Alexandria*, which had been begun by *Ptolemy Soter* ſome years before. It is commonly called the tower of *Pharos*, and was counted by the ancients among the wonders of the world. It was a large ſquare ſtructure of white marble, on the top of which fires were kept conſtantly burning for the direction of ſailors. It coſt eight hundred talents, which, if they were *Attic* talents, amounts to one hundred ſixty-five thouſand pounds ſterling and upwards; if *Alexandrian*, to twice that ſum. The architect employed by *Ptolemy* in this wonderful ſtructure, was *Soſtratus* of *Cnidus*, who by the following crafty device attempted to uſurp the whole glory of it to himſelf. He was ordered to ingrave on it the following inſcription; *King* Ptolemy *to the gods the ſaviours for the benefit of ſailors*; but inſtead of *Ptolemy*'s name he cut out his own in the ſolid marble, and then filling f

[q] Diodor. Sicul. l. xx. Plut. in Demet. Pausan. in Atticis. [r] Vide Diodor. Sicul. l. xvii. Strab. l. xvii. Marcellin. l. xxii. Hegesipp. l. iv. c. 27. [s] Pausan. in Atticis. Justin. l. xvi. c. 2. Diogen. Laert. in Demet. Phaler. Theocryt. Idyll. 17. Appian. in Syriac. 128.

up

a up the hollow of the letters with mortar, wrote on it the abovementioned inſcription. In proceſs of time the mortar with *Ptolemy*'s name being wore off, the following inſcription appeared; Soſtratus *the* Cnidian, *the ſon of* Dexiphanes, *to the gods the ſaviours for the benefit of ſailors*. This, as it was engraved on the ſolid marble, laſted as long as the tower itſelf [t] (A). This wonderful work has been demoliſhed ſome ages ſince; and now in its place ſtands a caſtle, as our modern travellers inform us [u], called *Farillon*, where a gariſon is kept to defend the harbour. *Pharos* was originally an iſland about ſeven furlongs diſtant from the continent, to which it was afterwards joined by a cauſey, like that of *Tyre*, and commonly called the *Heptaſtadium*, or the ſeven furlong cauſey, it being ſeven furlongs in length. This was the work of *Dexiphanes*,
b the father of *Soſtratus*, who compleated it at the ſame time that his ſon put the laſt hand to the tower. As they were both celebrated architects, *Ptolemy* employed them in theſe and many other works, which he undertook for the adorning and ſtrengthening of *Alexandria*, the metropolis of his kingdom [w]. *Ammianus Marcellinus* aſcribes the heptaſtadium to queen *Cleopatra* [x]; but as he contradicts therein *Cæſar* in his commentaries, and all the ancients who ſpeak of that great work, his authority is of no weight with us.

THE ſame year that the tower of *Pharos*, and the heptaſtadium were finiſhed, the image of *Serapis* was brought out of *Pontus* to *Alexandria*, after *Ptolemy* had for three years together ſolicited in vain *Scydrothemis* king of *Pontus* to ſend him it. Of this
c deity we have the following account from *Tacitus* [y], *Plutarch* [z], and *Clement* of *Alexandria* [a]. While *Ptolemy*, the firſt of that name, was employed in fortifying *Alexandria* with walls, and adorning it with temples, and other ſtately buildings, there appeared to him in his ſleep a young man of extraordinary beauty, and of a ſtature more than human, admoniſhing him to diſpatch into *Pontus* ſome of his moſt truſty friends to bring from thence his ſtatue, and aſſuring him that the city and kingdom, which entertained it, ſhould prove happy, glorious, and powerful; the young man, having thus ſpoke, diſappeared, mounting up into heaven in a huge blaze of fire. *Ptolemy*, ſtruck with the augury and miraculous apparition, diſcovered his viſion to the *Egyptian* prieſts, whoſe profeſſion it was to be ſkilled in things of this nature. But
d as they appeared to be quite ignorant of *Pontus*, and all foreign countries, he had recourſe to one *Timotheus* an *Athenian*, of the race of the *Eumolpides*, who at that time had the adminiſtration of ſacred things in *Alexandria*. From him he learnt that in *Pontus* ſtood a city called *Sinope*, and not far from it a temple greatly reſorted to by the natives, and conſecrated to the *Infernal Jupiter*, near whoſe ſtatue ſtood that of a woman commonly believed to be *Proſerpine*. But *Ptolemy* in the mean time applying his mind to other things, intirely neglected the heavenly admonition, till the ſame viſion, appearing to him anew in a more terrible manner, threatened him and his kingdom with certain deſtruction, if he neglected to put in execution the orders that

The image of Serapis *conveyed to* Alexandria. *Year of the flood* 2716. *Before Chriſt* 283.

[t] PLIN. l. xxxvi. c. 12. STRAB. l. xvii. p. 791. MEMNON. excerpt. c. 9. & 13. APPIAN. in Syriac. p. 128. [u] THEVENOT. part 1. l. ii. c. 1. [w] STRAB. l. xvii. p. 792. PLIN. l. v. c. 31. & l. xiii. c. 11. CÆSAR. comment. de bell. civil. l. iii. POMPON. MEL. l. ii. c. 7. [x] AMMIAN. MARCELL. l. xxii. c. 16. [y] TACIT. hiſtor. l. iv. c. 83, 84. [z] PLUTARCH. de Iſide & Oſiride. [a] CLEM. ALEXANDRIN. in Protreptic.

(A) *Nicolas Lloyd* tells us out of a manuſcript copy of the *Greek* ſcholiaſt on *Lucian*, whoſe very words he quotes, that this tower was a ſquare ſtructure of a furlong, or ſix hundred foot on each ſide, and ſo high, that it was ſeen at the diſtance of an hundred miles (1). *Eben Adris*, an *Arabic* writer, in his book, which the *Latin* tranſlator ſtiles *Geographia Nubienſis*, ſays, that this tower was three hundred cubits, or four hundred and fifty foot high. But both theſe accounts are altogether incredible, and generally looked upon as mere hyperboles. The firſt indeed is contradicted by *Joſephus* (2), who, in ſpeaking of the tower of *Phaſelus* at *Jeruſalem*, deſcribes it as a ſquare building of forty cubits, or ſixty foot on each ſide, and ninety cubits, or an hundred and thirty-five foot high, and adds, that it was like the tower of *Pharos* near *Alexandria*; *but as to its circumference much larger*. *Joſephus* had often ſeen both theſe towers, ſay ſome writers, and could not be miſtaken herein. Some writers lay great ſtreſs on the teſtimony of *Joſephus* in this place; but in our opinion he depreſſes that wonderful work as much as the others raiſe it; for if the tower of *Pharos* was much leſs than that of *Phaſelus* at *Jeruſalem*, how came the former, and not the latter, to be ſo much celebrated by all the ancients, and even ranked among the ſeven wonders of the world? We are therefore apt to believe that ſome miſtake has crept into the copy of *Joſephus*; perhaps inſtead of μείων we ſhould read μείζων. However that be, the two former accounts are in our opinion very improbable, ſince allowing it four hundred and fifty foot in height, and ſix hundred in breadth on each ſide, it would have been a far more wonderful work than the great pyramid, which we can hardly believe.

(1) *Vide Nic. Lloyd in Lexic. Geographic. ad vocem Pharus. p.* 914.

(2) *Joſeph. de Bell. Judaic. l.* vi.

had

to the impious flattery of thoſe tim
place, and the name of *Soter* or *S*
the calamities of ſo dangerous a war

Peoples Alexandria.

Ptolemy, upon his firſt being ap
andria for the uſual place of his re
ceeded him; by which means tha
lous of the world. *Ptolemy* grant
Greeks, *Jews*, or *Egyptians*, whic
that their quarter was one of the
came by degrees to forget thei
ſacred books, which has ſince l
proper place. All the ancients
extent, *&c.* to *Rome*, ſome ca
city of cities, the queen of th

Aſſumes the title of king. Year of the flood 2695. *Before Chriſt* 304.

THO' *Ptolemy* had, from th
exerciſed the regal authority,
firmly ſettled in his new king
Demetrius, who had attemp
years after the death of *Alexa*
begins to reckon the years of
and *Alexander Ægus*, thou
fortunate turn in favour of
throne, gave the chronolo
from the ſeventh day of o
agreeable to *Ptolemy*'s cano
Philip and *Alexander Ægu*

Makes his ſon Philadelphus *his partner in the empire.*

Ptolemy Soter to have reig
fourſcore and upwards, h
on the throne, declaring
after his death. He had
Ceraunus, or the *Thunder*
and the eldeſt of the m
father's demiſe. But *B*
dice, when ſhe firſt mar
he likewiſe married her,
her advice. The crafty
over her husband, prev
Ceraunus, to whom, acc
therefore the wars whic
ſolved to place the cr
in partnerſhip with h
machus, whoſe ſon *A*
father and mother.
who received him i
with the blackeſt in

IN this year, w
fortieth of *Ptolemy*
the famous watch-t
been begun by *P*
of *Pharos*, and w
was a large ſquare
conſtantly burnin
if they were *Att*
ling and upwards
lemy in this wond
vice attempted
on it the follow
but inſtead of

[9] DIODOR. Sic. STRAB. l. xvii. c. 2. DIOGE

...emple was a library, which in after-ages became very ...ue of the books it contained. *Ptolemy Soter*, being a ...his hiſtory of the life of *Alexander*, which was greatly ...as not reached our times, to encourage and improve the ...ounded an *Academy* at *Alexandria*, or a ſociety of learned ...to the ſtudy of philoſophy, and all other ſciences. For ...ction of choice books, which by degrees grew under his ..., and was reckoned the fineſt library in the world. His ...n it at his death an hundred thouſand volumes; and the ...e inlarged it ſtill more, till at length the books lodged ...r of ſeven hundred thouſand volumes [c]. The method ...them was this: They ſeized all the books that were by ...ers brought into *Egypt*, and ſent them to the academy ...re tranſcribed by perſons employed for that purpoſe; the ...red to the proprietors, and the originals laid up in the ..., for inſtance, borrowed of the *Athenians* the works of ...*Eſchylus*, and only returned them the copies, which he ...as beautiful a manner as poſſible; the originals he retained ...the *Athenians* with fifteen talents for the exchange [d], that ...unds ſterling and upwards. As the muſeum was at firſt in ...which was called *Bruchion*, near the royal palace, the library ...; but when it was filled with books to the number of four ...s, another library within the *Serapeum* was erected by way ...l on that account called the daughter of the former. The ...re in proceſs of time increaſed to the number of three hun...; and theſe two put together made up the number of ſeven ...nes, of which the royal libraries of the *Ptolemies* were ſaid ...r which *Julius Cæſar* waged with the inhabitants of *Alexan...uchion* was unfortunately burnt, and the four hundred thou...ch it was ſtocked, reduced to aſhes. But the library in *Sera...*nd there it was, without all doubt, that *Cleopatra* depoſited the ...volumes of the *Pergamean* library, which *Marc Antony* pre...e, and others added to them from time to time, rendered the new ... more numerous and conſiderable than the former [e]; and tho' ...ranſacked more than once, during the troubles and revolutions ...e *Roman* empire, yet it was again and again repaired, and filled ...er of books, and continued for many ages to be of great fame ...rts, till it was at length burnt by the *Saracens*, on their making ...of *Alexandria* in the 642d year of the chriſtian æra. The man... was effected, is too remarkable to be paſſed over in ſilence. We ... account of it from *Abul-Pharagius*, in his hiſtory of the tenth dy..., ſurnamed *the grammarian*, a famous *Peripatetic* philoſopher, being

The celebrated library and academy of Alexandria.

...p. 791. EUSEB. in chron. AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. ibid. TERTULL. in apologetic. c. 18. ...d AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. ibid. GELLIUS, l. 6. c. 17. ISIDOR. Origin. l. vi. ...ommentar. 2. in tertium libr. Hippocrat. de Morb. vulgar. [e] STRAB. ibid. EPI... de menſur. TERTULL. ibid. c. 18. [f] PLUT. in Jul. Cæſar. AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. ...ON. CASSIUS, l. xlii. p. 202. LIV. apud Senecam de tranquill. OROSS. l. vi. c. 15.

...up at *Alexandria*, *Nicocreon*, who ...*ſtus*, ſent to inquire what god he ...would not have done, had he been ...worſhiped by the *Egyptians*; for ...the above-mentioned author informs ...t great learning, and well verſed in ...mythology. *Origen*, who was himſelf ...peaks of *Serapis* as a god brought into ...g before his time (8). From all we ...is manifeſt, that *Serapis* was not ori...ptian deity, and conſequently could not ...ch *Joſeph*.

...author here quoted was a native of *Ma...* in *Armenia* near the ſprings of the *Eu...*nd flouriſhed in the thirteenth century. He wrote an abridgment of the hiſtory of the world, from *Adam* to his own times, which he divided into ten parts or dynaſties; *viz.* 1ſt, The hiſtory of the ancient patriarchs from *Adam* to *Moſes*; 2. Of *Joſhua* and the other judges of *Iſrael*; 3. Of their kings; 4. Of the *Chaldean* kings; 5. Of the magi or *Perſians*; 6. Of the *Greek* kings; 7. Of the *Romans*; 8. Of the *Greek* emperors of *Conſtantinople*; 9. Of the *Arabian* commanders, and here he is more diffuſe than in all the reſt put together; 10. Of the *Moguls*. He is more to be depended upon in his hiſtory of the *Saracens* and *Tartars* than in his accounts of other nations. The learned *Edward Pocock* tranſlated this work into *Latin*, and publiſhed his tranſlation in 1663; he had obliged the

(8) *Origen. contra Celſum, l.* v.

had been given him. Hereupon *Ptolemy* immediately diſpatched embaſſadors with a rich preſents to *Scydrothemis*, who then reigned in *Sinope*, to try whether they could prevail upon him to part with the image. They were ordered to take *Delphos* in their way, and there to conſult the oracle of the *Pythian Apollo*; which they did accordingly, and received an anſwer from the god void of ambiguity, viz. *that they ſhould proceed, and carry home with them the image of his father, but leave behind that of his ſiſter.* Upon their arrival at *Sinope* they acquainted *Scydrothemis* with their errand, and at the ſame time preſented to him rich gifts in their maſter's name. The king accepted the preſents, and was inclined to comply with their requeſt, but deterred from following his inclination by the menaces of the people oppoſing the removal of the ſtatue. In this negotiation three years were ſpent, *Ptolemy* ſparing no intreaties b nor charges, but ſending continually new embaſſadors, loaded with freſh preſents both for the king and his favourites. However *Scydrothemis* continued ſtill irreſolute and wavering, till he was warned by a dreadful ſpectre, which appeared to him in the dead of the night, no longer to retard what the deity had determined. Hereupon having aſſembled the people, he acquainted them with the injunctions of the god, with his own viſion, and with that of *Ptolemy*, and aſſured them that, unleſs they readily complied with the orders of heaven, many dreadful calamities would ſoon fall upon them. His ſpeech made no impreſſion on the minds of the populace; they envied *Egypt* ſuch a bleſſing, and ſurrounding the temple in a tumultuous manner, threatened to put any one to death who ſhould offer to remove their god. Here- c upon the god, as ſome authors write, of his own motion, and without help, conveyed himſelf into the embaſſadors ſhip, which lay cloſe to the ſhore; and the veſſel, traverſing an immenſe tract of ſea, arrived the third day after ſafe at *Alexandria*. Other writers tell us, that the inhabitants of *Sinope* being reduced to great ſtraits by a famine, which made a dreadful havock in the city, conſented at laſt to part with their god for a ſupply of corn, which *Ptolemy* ſent them. The ſtatue of *Serapis*, being thus brought to *Alexandria*, was ſet up in one of the ſuburbs of that city called *Rhacotis*, where a temple was afterwards erected in his honour, ſuitable to the greatneſs of that ſtately metropolis, and called from the god worſhipped there *Serapeum* (B). This ſtructure, according to *Ammianus Marcellinus*, ſurpaſſed in beauty d and magnificence all other edifices in the world, except the capitol at *Rome* [b].

WITHIN

[b] AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. l. xxii. c. 16.

(B) *Julius Firmicus* (3), *Ruffinus* (4), and other eccleſiaſtic writers are of opinion, that the patriarch *Joſeph* was worſhipped in *Egypt* under this name. But they can give no other reaſon for this ſtrange conceit, than that *Serapis* was generally repreſented with a buſhel on his head, which, they think, denotes the buſhel, with which *Joſeph* meaſured out his corn to the *Egyptians* in the time of the famine; whereas it may as well repreſent the buſhel, with which *Ptolemy* meaſured out to the inhabitants of *Sinope* the corn which he ſent them for their god. This opinion, ridiculous and ill-grounded as it is, has been embraced by *Voſſius*, *Ouzellus*, *Spencer*, and many other modern writers of no mean character (5). Theſe will have *Serapis* to be an ancient *Egyptian* god, the ſame with *Apis*, and derive his name from *Apis* and the *Greek* word Σορὸς, ſignifying a *coffin*; ſo that according to them *Serapis* is the ſame as *Apis* ἐν Σορῷ, or *Apis* in his coffin. Their meaning is, that the ſacred bull, worſhipped by the *Egyptians*, when alive, was called *Apis*, when dead, *Serapis*, or *Apis in Soro*; for from theſe words *Apis* and *Soro*, they derive the name of *Serapis*, which according to them was at firſt *Soroapis*, and by corruption came to be *Serapis*. For this etymology they quote *Nymphiodorus*, *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, *Euſebius* and *Ruffinus*, but ſeem not to be aware of a very obvious objection againſt this derivation; which is, that the ancient *Egyptians* were unacquainted with the *Greek* tongue, that language having been introduced into *Egypt* by the *Ptolemies*; and therefore, had *Serapis* been an ancient *Egyptian* deity, his name could not have had a *Greek* etymology. But not to dwell on an argument which ſufficiently confutes itſelf, being intirely founded on a forced, unnatural, and falſe etymology, it is certain, if the ancients are to be credited, that *Serapis* was not originally an *Egyptian* deity, nor worſhipped by the inhabitants of that country in ancient times, as he muſt have been, had the patriarch *Joſeph* been worſhipped under that name. For *Polybius* tells us (6), that *Serapis* was firſt worſhipped as a god on the coaſt of the *Propontis* on the *Thracian* ſide over-againſt *Hierus*, and that there *Jaſon* ſacrificed to him when he went on the *Argonautic* expedition. From thence, in all likelihood, the worſhip of that deity was introduced among the inhabitants of *Sinope*, and from *Sinope* brought into *Egypt* in the manner we have related. For till the reign of *Ptolemy* the firſt no mention is made by any writer of *Serapis* as an *Egyptian* god. *Herodotus*, who is ſo diffuſe and particular in his account of the *Egyptian* gods, takes no notice of this; which is a plain proof, that in his time no ſuch deity was known in *Egypt*. Several authors have wrote after him of the gods, religious ceremonies, and different manners of worſhip in uſe among the *Egyptians*, who were of all people the moſt ſuperſtitious, and yet none of them ever once mentions the name of *Serapis*, till they come to the time of the *Ptolemies*. *Macrobius* tells us (7), that when the ſtatue of *Serapis*

(3) *Julius Firmic. in lib. de error. prophanar. Religion.* (4) *Ruffin. hiſtor. l.* ii. *c.* 23. (5) *Vide Voſſ. de theolog. gent. l.* i. *c.* 91. *& Spencer. de legib. Ritual. Hebr. diſſert.* v. *c.* 3. (6) *Polyb. l.* iv. *p.* 307. (7) *Macrob. Saturnal. l.* i. *c.* 20.

The celebrated library and academy of Alexandria.

a WITHIN the verge of this temple was a library, which in after-ages became very famous for the number and value of the books it contained. *Ptolemy Soter*, being a learned prince, as appears from his hiſtory of the life of *Alexander*, which was greatly eſteemed by the ancients, but has not reached our times, to encourage and improve the liberal arts in his dominions, founded an *Academy* at *Alexandria*, or a ſociety of learned men, who devoted themſelves to the ſtudy of philoſophy, and all other ſciences. For the uſe of theſe he made a collection of choice books, which by degrees grew under his ſucceſſors to a prodigious bulk, and was reckoned the fineſt library in the world. His ſon *Ptolemy Philadelphus* left in it at his death an hundred thouſand volumes; and the ſucceeding princes of that race inlarged it ſtill more, till at length the books lodged b in it amounted to the number of ſeven hundred thouſand volumes [c]. The method they followed in collecting them was this: They ſeized all the books that were by the *Greeks* or other foreigners brought into *Egypt*, and ſent them to the academy or muſeum, where they were tranſcribed by perſons employed for that purpoſe; the tranſcripts were then delivered to the proprietors, and the originals laid up in the library. *Ptolemy Euergetes*, for inſtance, borrowed of the *Athenians* the works of *Sophocles*, *Euripides*, and *Æſchylus*, and only returned them the copies, which he cauſed to be tranſcribed in as beautiful a manner as poſſible; the originals he retained for his library, preſenting the *Athenians* with fifteen talents for the exchange [d], that is, with three thouſand pounds ſterling and upwards. As the muſeum was at firſt in c that quarter of the city, which was called *Bruchion*, near the royal palace, the library was placed there likewiſe; but when it was filled with books to the number of four hundred thouſand volumes, another library within the *Serapeum* was erected by way of ſupplement to it, and on that account called the daughter of the former. The books lodged in this were in proceſs of time increaſed to the number of three hundred thouſand volumes; and theſe two put together made up the number of ſeven hundred thouſand volumes, of which the royal libraries of the *Ptolemies* were ſaid to conſiſt [e]. In the war which *Julius Cæſar* waged with the inhabitants of *Alexandria*, the library in *Bruchion* was unfortunately burnt, and the four hundred thouſand volumes, with which it was ſtocked, reduced to aſhes. But the library in *Sera-* d *peum* ſtill remained, and there it was, without all doubt, that *Cleopatra* depoſited the two hundred thouſand volumes of the *Pergamean* library, which *Marc Antony* preſented her with. Theſe, and others added to them from time to time, rendered the new library of *Alexandria* more numerous and conſiderable than the former [f]; and tho' it was plundered and ranſacked more than once, during the troubles and revolutions which happened in the *Roman* empire, yet it was again and again repaired, and filled with the ſame number of books, and continued for many ages to be of great fame and uſe in thoſe parts, till it was at length burnt by the *Saracens*, on their making themſelves maſters of *Alexandria* in the 642d year of the chriſtian æra. The manner in which this was effected, is too remarkable to be paſſed over in ſilence. We e have the following account of it from *Abul-Pharagius*, in his hiſtory of the tenth dynaſty (C). *John*, ſurnamed *the grammarian*, a famous *Peripatetic* philoſopher, being

[c] STRAB. l. xvii. p. 791. EUSEB. in chron. AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. ibid. TERTULL. in apologetic. c. 18. PLUT. in Epicurum. [d] AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. ibid. GELLIUS, l. 6. c. 17. ISIDOR. Origin. l. vi. c. 3. GALEN. in comment. 2. in tertium libr. Hippocrat. de Morb. vulgar. [e] STRAB. ibid. EPIPHAN. de ponder. & menſur. TERTULL. ibid. c. 18. [f] PLUT. in Jul. Cæſar. AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. l. xxii. c. 16. DION. CASSIUS, l. xlii. p. 202. LIV. apud Senecam de tranquill. OROSS. l. vi. c. 15.

rapis was firſt ſet up at *Alexandria*, *Nicocreon*, who then reigned in *Cyprus*, ſent to inquire what god he was, which he would not have done, had he been a deity anciently worſhiped by the *Egyptians*; for *Nicocreon* was, as the above-mentioned author informs us, a prince of great learning, and well verſed in the *Egyptian* mythology. *Origen*, who was himſelf an *Egyptian*, ſpeaks of *Serapis* as a god brought into *Egypt* not long before his time (8). From all we have ſaid, it is manifeſt, that *Serapis* was not originally an *Egyptian* deity, and conſequently could not be the patriarch *Joſeph*.

(C) The author here quoted was a native of *Malatia*, a city in *Armenia* near the ſprings of the *Euphrates*, and flouriſhed in the thirteenth century. He wrote an abridgment of the hiſtory of the world, from *Adam* to his own times, which he divided into ten parts or dynaſties; *viz.* 1ſt, The hiſtory of the ancient patriarchs from *Adam* to *Moſes*; 2. Of *Joſhua* and the other judges of *Iſrael*; 3. Of their kings; 4. Of the *Chaldean* kings; 5. Of the magi or *Perſians*; 6. Of the *Greek* kings; 7. Of the *Romans*; 8. Of the *Greek* emperors of *Conſtantinople*; 9. Of the *Arabian* commanders, and here he is more diffuſe than in all the reſt put together; 10. Of the *Moguls*. He is more to be depended upon in his hiſtory of the *Saracens* and *Tartars* than in his accounts of other nations. The learned *Edward Porock* tranſlated this work into *Latin*, and publiſhed his tranſlation in 1663; he had obliged the

(8) *Origen. contra Celſum, l.* v.

at *Alexandria*, when that city was taken by the *Saracens*, and in great favour with *Amri-Ebnol-As* their general, he begged of him the royal library. *Amri* replied, that it was not in his power to grant ſuch a requeſt; but that he would write to the *khalif* or emperor on that head, ſince, without knowing his pleaſure, he dared not diſpoſe of one ſingle book. He accordingly wrote to *Omar*, who was then khalif, acquainting him with the requeſt of his friend; and the emperor's anſwer was, that thoſe books, if they contained the ſame doctrine with the *Coran*, could be of no uſe, becauſe the *Coran* comprehended all neceſſary truths; but if they contained what was contrary to that book, they ought not to be ſuffered; and therefore he ordered, that, whatever their contents were, they ſhould be all deſtroyed. Purſuant to this order, they were diſtributed among the public baths, where, for the ſpace of ſix months, they ſerved to ſupply the fires of thoſe public places, whereof there was an incredible number at *Alexandria*. We may, from hence, form a juſt idea of the prodigious multitude of books lodged in that celebrated library. Thus this ineſtimable treaſure of knowledge, which had been founded by a *Macedonian* prince, a great encourager of learning, was utterly deſtroyed by an enthuſiaſtic tyrant, who, by his religion, founded in ignorance, and made up of inconſiſtent fables, was inſpired with a brutiſh and irreconcileable hatred to all truth, learning and politeneſs. The muſeum in the quarter called *Bruchion*, ſtood after the library adjoining to it was conſumed, and laſted till that whole part of the city was deſtroyed by the emperor *Aurelian* in his war with the *Alexandrians*; for *Ammianus Marcellinus* tells us, that, till the reign of *Aurelian*, it continued to be the habitation of excellent men, meaning the members of that ſociety, which had been founded by *Ptolemy Soter*, for the improvement of all uſeful ſciences [g]. *Strabo*, in his deſcription of this muſeum, ſays [h], that it was a large ſtructure, adjoining to the palace, and fronting the harbour; that it was ſurrounded with a portico, where the philoſophers walked and converſed together; that the members of the ſociety were under the government of a preſident, whoſe ſtation was ſo honourable, that, under the *Ptolemies*, he was always nominated by thoſe princes, and in the *Roman* times by the emperors; and finally, that within the muſeum was a very large hall, where they all met at their meals; for they were ſupplied very plentifully with all ſorts of proviſions, the muſeum having been endowed, when firſt founded, with large revenues. Hence *Timon* the *Phliaſian*, who was contemporary with *Ptolemy Soter* the founder of it, uſed to call it the *talaron*, or the *coop*, denoting thereby, that the philoſophers were fed in the muſeum, and fattened like birds in a coop [i]. The muſeum, as the reader muſt have obſerved from the account which the ancients give of it, was an inſtitution of the ſame nature with the colleges of the preſent times; and as to theſe, the kingdoms where they flouriſh, and above all our own, are indebted for the great men they have given to the world, ſo *Alexandria* owed to its muſeum the many eminent writers it produced. Among theſe we may reckon *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Origen*, *Anatolius* and *Athanaſius*, who had their education in that city.

The celebrated *Demetrius Phalereus* was the firſt preſident of this ſeat of learning, and as the library was a part of it, he had, in all likelihod, the books likewiſe under his care. We do not hereby mean what *Ariſteas* ſeems to inſinuate, *viz.* that *Demetrius* was librarian to *Ptolemy Soter*; for this was too mean an employment for a man of his rank. He had been prince of *Athens*, and governed that ſtate with abſolute authority for the ſpace of ten years, was a great law-giver, an eminent philoſopher, and the moſt able politician in the age he lived in. The emperor *Antoninus* ranks him with the greateſt princes of thoſe times, and even puts him upon the level with *Philip* of *Macedon*, and his ſon *Alexander the Great* [k]. To ſay therefore that he was library-keeper to *Ptolemy*, would be degrading, beyond meaſure, a perſon of his merit and reputation. Beſides, we find another in this employment under *Soter*, and likewiſe under his ſon *Philadelphus*, viz. *Zenodotus* of *Epheſus*, who,

[g] Ammian. Marcel. l. xxii. c. 16. p. 343. [h] Strabo, l. xvii. p. 793. [i] Athen. l. i. p. 22. [k] Antonin. l. ix. c. 24. de ſeipſo.

the public in 1650 with an abridgement of the hiſtory of the tenth dynaſty, under the following title, *Specimen hiſtoriæ Arabum; ſive Gregorii Abul-Faragii Malatienſis de origine & moribus Arabum ſuccincta narratio.* The epitomizer's learned obſervations are worthy peruſing. We cannot imagine what induced *Abraham Ecchellenſis* to give our author the name of *Gregorius Bar Hebræus Syrus* (9).

(9) *Vide Pocock, Simon, Bayle's Dict. Critiq.*

being

a being by profeſſion a grammarian, was very proper to take care of a library, ſuch perſons being generally choſen in thoſe times for this employment; however, it was not below *Demetrius* to aſſiſt *Ptolemy* in what he had ſo much at heart, that is, in founding a muſeum, and making a collection of choice books for the uſe of the learned men who were to live in it; nay, *Plutarch* tells us, that *Demetrius* was the firſt who propoſed to the king the founding both of the muſeum and library; and that the king readily embraced the propoſal, as being ſuggeſted by a man, who was equally eminent for his learning and other extraordinary qualifications [l]. The ſame author adds, that *Demetrius* at firſt adviſed the king to collect only ſuch books as treated of civil polity and government, telling him, that he would find in them
b better advice and counſels than any of his friends dared to give him. And indeed this is almoſt the only means of conveying truth to princes, and ſhewing them, under borrowed names, their duties as well as their faults. When the king had once approved of this excellent advice, and taken proper meaſures for the procuring of all ſuch books as anſwered his firſt deſign, it is very natural to ſuppoſe, that he was thereby led to collect all other ſorts of books, and fill with them the library we have mentioned. *Demetrius* was charged with the care of collecting theſe books, which was no-ways an employment unworthy of ſo great a man, ſince the king himſelf placed therein all his pleaſure and diverſion; a diverſion ſuitable to the taſte of a prince, who was himſelf a man of eminent learning, and an encourager of it in
c others (D).

Ptolemy Soter *dies.*

TOWARDS the cloſe of this year died *Ptolemy Soter*, in the eighty-fourth year of his age, and forty-firſt of his reign, counting the two years he held the empire in partnerſhip with his ſon. Thoſe writers, who will have him to have reigned only thirty-nine years, follow therein *Juſtin*, who tells us, that he reſigned his crown to his ſon, and diveſting himſelf of all power and authority, attended on the new king as one of his guards, ſaying, that he thought it a more glorious thing to be the father of a king, than to have a kingdom [m]. Theſe authors, as they do not reckon the two years he lived after his reſignation, allow him to have reigned only thirty-nine years. *Lucian* [n] and *Macrobius* [o] tell us, that, in the thirty-eighth year of his reign,
d he admitted his ſon to ſit on the throne with him, and that the father and ſon reigned jointly two years. According to theſe he reigned in all but forty years. The learned *Uſher*, whom we have followed, obſerves out of *Dionyſius* the aſtronomer, that *Ptolemy Philadelphus* was admitted to reign with his father thirty-nine years after the death of *Alexander*; and that the ſon, in the ſecond year of their common reign, as *Dionyſius* ſtiles it, by the death of his father, became the ſole maſter of the *Egyptian* empire: Whence it is plain, that *Ptolemy*, according to *Dionyſius*, who formed a new æra, beginning with the reign of *Philadelphus*, died in the forty-firſt year after the death of *Alexander*, and conſequently of his own reign [p]. He was the beſt prince of his race, and left behind him an example of prudence, juſtice and clemency,
e which none of his ſucceſſors cared to follow. He retained on the throne the ſame ſimplicity of manners, and averſion to all pomp and oſtentation, which he had ſhewn while in a private ſtation. His ſubjects had at all hours a free acceſs to him, and were ſure to find, in recurring to him, a ſpeedy redreſs of all their grievances. He did not think it below the majeſty of a king to converſe familiarly with the meaneſt of his ſubjects, calling them his true friends, ſince they often told him truths which his courtiers endeavoured to diſguiſe, without any regard to his or their own

[l] PLUT. apophthegm. regum. [m] JUSTIN. l. xvi. c. 2. [n] LUCIAN. in Macrob. [o] PORPHYR. in Græc. EUSEB. SCALIG. [p] Vide CLAUD. PTOLEM. in magna ſyntax.

(D) *Livy*, in ſpeaking of this library, ſtiles it a noble monument of the wealth of the *Egyptian* kings, and of their commendable attention in propagating knowledge among their ſubjects; but *Seneca*, with all the ſourneſs of a *Cynic*, finds fault with *Livy* for commending it, and even blames the kings who were concerned in that great work. *Let* Livy, ſays he, *and other writers beſtow their elogiums on that great collection of books, and on the princes who promoted it; for my part, I look upon it as a laſting monument of the pride and vanity of thoſe monarchs, who amaſſed ſuch a prodigious number of volumes, not for their uſe, but merely for pomp and oſtentation. Let every one purchaſe ſuch books only as he intends to peruſe; for others ſerve to feed our vanity, without improving our knowledge* (10). But, with *Seneca*'s leave, are not public libraries of great uſe? and who but princes can bear the charges that attend them? Public libraries, ſays *Clemens* of *Alexandria*, are common treaſures, and thoſe who found them, whether princes or private men, deſerve the greateſt commendation, ſince they deliver, as far as in them lies, their country from one of the greateſt evils, ignorance (11).

(10) *Seneca de tranquil. anim. c.* 9.

(11) *Clem. Alexand. in Stromat.* 6.

repu-

reputation. He frequently made public entertainments, on which occaſion he thought it no diſparagement, as *Plutarch* informs us [q], to borrow his friends plate, having no more of his own than what was neceſſary for his common uſe. When one of his favourites repreſented to him, that a ſovereign ought to be better provided, his anſwer was, That the true grandeur of a king conſiſted in enriching others, and not himſelf. In the general diviſion of *Alexander*'s empire, *Egypt*, *Libya*, and that part of *Arabia* which borders upon *Egypt*, were allotted to *Ptolemy*, as we have ſaid elſewhere; but that prince held, at the time of his death, the following countries, which we find enumerated by *Theocritus* [r], viz. *Egypt*, *Phœnice*, *Arabia*, *Syria*, *Libya*, *Æthiopia*, *Pamphylia*, *Cilicia*, *Lycia*, *Caria*, and ſome of the *Cyclades*. By *Syria* is to be underſtood here *Cæle-Syria*; for all the reſt of that country was then in the poſſeſſion of *Seleucus Nicator*. a b

His iſſue.

Ptolemy had four wives, *viz.* 1. *Artonis*, the daughter of *Artabazus*, who brought him no children. 2. *Thais*, who had been formerly one of *Alexander*'s concubines, by whom *Ptolemy* had *Leontiſcus*, or, as *Juſtin* calls him, *Lenticus*, *Lagus*, and *Irene*. *Irene* married, as *Athenæus* informs us [s], *Solon* king of *Cyprus*. 3. *Eurydice*, the daughter of *Antipater*, who bore him two ſons, *viz.* *Ptolemy*, ſurnamed *Ceraunus*, and another, whoſe name has not been tranſmitted to us, and as many daughters, *viz.* *Ptolemais* and *Lyſandra*. *Ceraunus*, being excluded by his father from the ſucceſſion, fled to the court of *Seleucus Nicator*, who received him in a very friendly manner, and entertained him and his numerous retinue at a vaſt charge; but the wicked wretch, having no ſenſe of gratitude for the many favours conferred on him by *Seleucus*, conſpired againſt his benefactor, and treacherouſly murdered him, as we have related in the hiſtory of *Syria* [t]. On the death of *Seleucus* he ſeized the kingdom of *Macedon*, which that prince had won a few months before from *Lyſimachus*, who had been killed in the battle of *Cruſtodion* in *Phrygia*; but as *Ceraunus* did not expect to enjoy the dominions of *Lyſimachus* in peace, ſo long as his children and *Arſinoe* his queen were alive, he reſolved to put them to death, and thereby free himſelf from the apprehenſions they gave him. That princeſs was half-ſiſter to *Ceraunus*, being the daughter of *Ptolemy Soter* by *Berenice*; but nevertheleſs, as ſhe was well acquainted with the cruel, ambitious and treacherous temper of her brother, ſhe had, on the death of *Seleucus*, conveyed both herſelf and her children out of his reach. Hereupon *Ceraunus*, feigning a paſſion for his ſiſter, offered to marry her, ſuch inceſtous marriages being allowed in *Egypt*, and to adopt the two ſons ſhe had by *Lyſimachus*. *Arſinoe* rejected at firſt the propoſal, fearing it might prove fatal both to herſelf and children; but *Ceraunus*, to remove all ſuſpicion, repaired to a temple, which the *Macedonians* held in the greateſt veneration, and there, in the preſence of one of her intimate friends, called the tutelary gods of the country to witneſs the ſincerity of his intentions, and at the ſame time embracing their ſtatues, proteſted with the moſt dreadful oaths and imprecations, that he had nothing in view but the welfare of his ſiſter and her children. Theſe proteſtations made before the altars, and ratified with the awful ſeal of religion, prevailed upon *Arſinoe* to conſent to the marriage, which was accordingly celebrated with the greateſt magnificence, and all poſſible marks of an unaffected joy and tenderneſs. *Ceraunus* placed the diadem on his ſiſter's head, and declared her queen in the preſence of the whole army. *Arſinoe*, overjoyed to ſee herſelf ſo glorioufly reſtored to the high ſtation, from which ſhe had fallen by the death of *Lyſimachus* her firſt husband, invited *Ceraunus* to reſide with her in her own city of *Caſſandria*, repairing thither herſelf the firſt, to make the neceſſary preparations for his reception. *Ceraunus* made the moſt pompous and ſolemn entry that had ever been ſeen in thoſe parts, the public and private houſes being very magnificently adorned, and the ſtreets thronged with incredible multitudes of people in their beſt apparel, who had flocked from all parts to congratulate their new king on his acceſſion to the crown. The two ſons of *Arſinoe*, viz. *Lyſimachus* and *Philip*, the one ſixteen years of age, and the other thirteen, marched out of the city with crowns on their heads to meet their father-in-law, who received and embraced them with all the ſeeming tenderneſs that could be ſhewn by the fondeſt of fathers. They conducted him into the city, among the loud acclamations of the multitude, and, together with their mother *Arſinoe*, put him in poſſeſſion of the citadel; and then the perjured traitor, having nothing to

Ptolemy Ceraunus *aſſaſſinates* Seleucus Nicator, *and ſeizes the kingdom of* Macedon. c

Marries his ſiſter Arſinoe. e

d f

[q] PLUT. apophtheg. p. 181. [r] THEOCRIT. Idyll. 17. [s] ATHEN. l. xiii. c. 13. [t] Vide p. 521.

fear,

a fear, cauſed the two young princes to be murdered in the very boſom of their mother, to whom they had fled for refuge; and ſtripping her of all ſhe poſſeſſed, cauſed her to be dragged out of the city, and then baniſhed her into *Samothrace*, allowing her only two women to attend her [a]; but providence did not ſuffer ſuch enormous crimes to go long unpuniſhed; for the very next year he was taken priſoner by the *Gauls*, who had invaded *Macedon*, and, on his being known, tore in pieces, a death which his wickedneſs and treachery well deſerved [w]; for it is plain from what we have related of him, that he was a man of a moſt wicked and perfidious temper, and his behaviour ſufficiently juſtifies his father *Ptolemy Soter* for having excluded him from the crown, that prince having, without all doubt, been well acquainted with his brutal diſpoſition. *Murders her children by* Lyſimachus. *His death.*

b THE brother of *Ceraunus* by *Eurydice* was put to death by *Philadelphus*, for ſtirring up the inhabitants of *Cyprus* to rebellion [x]; and his two ſiſters, *Ptolemais* and *Lyſandra* were married, the former to *Demetrius Poliorcetes*, and the other to *Agathocles* the ſon of *Lyſimachus*. *Ptolemy Soter*'s fourth wife was *Berenice*, by whom he had *Ptolemy* ſurnamed *Philadelphus*, and *Argæus*, with two daughters, *Arſinoe*, whom we have mentioned above, and *Philotera*. *Philadelphus* ſucceeded his father, and reigned in *Egypt*. *Argæus* was put to death by *Philadelphus*, for having formed a conſpiracy againſt him. Of *Arſinoe* we have ſpoke already, and ſhall have occaſion to mention her anon. All we know of *Philotera* is, that ſhe gave her name to a city built in *Troglodytis* by one *Satyrus*, whom *Philadelphus* had ſent thither to take care
c of his elephants [y].

Ptolemy Philadelphus became, by the death of his father, ſole maſter of *Egypt*, and the many countries we have mentioned above; and then it was that he vented his rage againſt *Demetrius Phalereus*, which he had carefully concealed during his father's life-time. We have obſerved above, that *Ptolemy Soter* was prevailed upon by his wife *Berenice* to diſinherit the ſons of *Eurydice*, who were the firſt-born, and place the crown on the head of *Philadelphus* her ſon. When *Ptolemy* propoſed this to *Demetrius*, and asked his advice about the choice of a ſucceſſor, that unbiaſſed counſellor is ſaid to have, in the firſt place, diſſuaded him from parting with the crown in his life-time, telling him, that if he once gave it away, he would never be able to
d recover it, but be obliged to live, like other ſubjects, in an intire dependence on the capricious humours of his children, which, he ſaid, would prove inſupportable to a man of his years, who had been ſo long accuſtomed to command. This ſeaſonable advice made him change his mind, and reſolve to take one of his ſons for his partner, inſtead of diveſting himſelf of the whole power; and in this choice he adviſed again with *Demetrius*, who earneſtly preſſed him to prefer the children of *Eurydice* to thoſe of *Berenice*, being moved thereunto both by his love to juſtice, the children of *Eurydice* being the firſt-born, and by the affection which he bore to them for the ſake of *Caſſander* his deceaſed friend, whoſe ſiſter *Eurydice* was [z]; but *Soter*, tho' in all other things he willingly followed the advice of *Demetrius*, was
e prevailed upon, by the great aſcendant *Berenice* had gained over him, not to hearken to his counſels in this important affair; but, contrary to his opinion, to appoint *Philadelphus* his partner in the kingdom, and ſucceſſor to the crown after his death. The advice given by *Demetrius* greatly provoked *Berenice* and her ſon; but neither of them expreſſed any diſpleaſure againſt him till *Soter* was dead; and then the king commanded him to be ſeized, and carried, under a ſtrong guard, to a remote fortreſs, to be kept there under cloſe confinement, till he ſhould determine what further puniſhment to inflict upon him; but, in the mean time, the accidental bite of an aſp put an end to the life of this great man, whoſe extraordinary learning and other qualifications deſerved a far better fate [a]. Ptolemy Philadelphus. *Death of* Demetrius Phalereus.

f AFTER the death of *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, *Arſinoe*, whom he had confined to *Samothrace*, left the place of her baniſhment, and retired into *Egypt* to *Ptolemy Philadelphus* her brother, who falling in love with her, married her, after he had divorced another *Arſinoe*, the daughter of *Lyſimachus*, whom he had married on his acceſſion to the crown [b]. The reaſon why *Ptolemy* parted with his firſt wife, was her being convicted of entering into a conſpiracy againſt him; for *Arſinoe* the wife, finding that Ptolemy Philadelphus *marries his ſiſter* Arſinoe.

[a] JUSTIN. l. xxiv. c. 2—4. MEMNON. excerpt. apud Phot. c. 15. [w] JUSTIN. l. xxiv. c. 5. [x] PAUS. in Attic. [y] STRABO, l. xvi. p. 132. [z] DIOG. LAERT. in Demet. Cic. de Finib. l. v. ÆLIAN. Hiſt. Var. l. iii. c. 7. [a] JUSTIN. l. xvii. Cic. in orat. pro C. Rabir. [b] THEOCRIT. Scholiaſt. PAUS. in Atticis.

he was in love with his ſiſter, and, on that account, neglected her, entered into a a
plot with *Chryſippus* her phyſician, and ſeveral others, to cut him off; but the treaſon being diſcovered, all the others, who had any hand in it, were put to death, and *Arſinoe* confined to a province of the *Upper Egypt* bordering upon *Æthiopia*, there to end her days, after ſhe had brought to *Philadelphus* two ſons and a daughter, of whom the eldeſt ſucceeded his father, and was known by the name of *Euergetes*. *Arſinoe* being thus removed, *Ptolemy* married the other *Arſinoe* his ſiſter, who, tho' now paſt child-bearing, had ſuch charms to engage his affections, that he never married any other. In the epiſtle which *Eleazar* the high-prieſt of the *Jews* wrote, according to *Ariſteas*, to *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, ſhe is honoured with the title of queen, and, at the ſame time, called the king's ſiſter. b

Sends embaſſadors to Rome.

THE *Romans* having obliged *Pyrrhus* king of *Epirus*, after a ſix years war, to abandon *Italy*, and return with diſgrace into his own country, their name began to be of great fame among foreign nations; whereupon *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, deſiring to enter into an alliance with them, ſent an embaſſy to *Rome* for that purpoſe. This was the firſt time that any *Egyptians* had appeared at *Rome*; whence the ſenate was overjoyed to ſee foreigners come ſo far to court the friendſhip of their republic, whoſe dominions were yet confined within a narrow compaſs. As they had then ſcarce any thing to recommend them but their virtue, and an obliging behaviour to their allies, they did not ſuffer themſelves to be outdone in politeneſs and civility; but immediately diſpatched into *Egypt* four embaſſadors, choſen with the utmoſt circumſpection c
by the ſenate, whoſe chief point in view was to maintain the reputation they had gained in a foreign court. Q. *Fabius Gurges* was at the head of the embaſſy, and ſo far from being of an avaricious temper, that, in his youth, he had been greatly blamed for his prodigality. His three companions were Q. *Ogulinus*, and two brothers of the *Fabian* family, being deſcended from that *Fabius* who was ſurnamed *Pictor*, or the *Painter*, becauſe he had painted the temple of the goddeſs of health. *Ogulinus* indeed was a plebeian, but had enjoyed great employments. At *Ptolemy*'s court they met with a reception ſuitable to their rank, and worthy of ſo great a prince. He gave them a ſplendid entertainment, and took that opportunity to preſent each of them with a crown of gold, which they accepted, being unwilling to d
diſoblige him by declining the honour which he intended to confer upon them; but the very next morning they crowned with them the ſtatues of the king, which were erected in the public places of the city. This contempt of riches gained the *Romans* great reputation in *Egypt*; however, the king would not ſuffer the embaſſadors to depart without new preſents, both for their republic and themſelves; but they ſhewed the ſame diſintereſtedneſs at *Rome*, depoſiting all their preſents in the public treaſury, before they appeared in the ſenate to give an account of their embaſſy, declaring thereby, that they deſired no other advantage from the ſervice of the public than the honour and ſatisfaction of diſcharging it well[c]. *Ptolemy*, remembering twenty years after the alliance he had made with the *Romans*, returned the following anſwer to e
the *Carthaginian* embaſſadors, when they deſired him to lend their republic two thouſand talents, which they promiſed to return after the war was ended which they were then engaged in with the *Romans*; *I will aſſiſt you againſt enemies, or indifferent perſons; but cannot, without breach of fidelity, lend one friend any aid againſt another*[d]. Hence it appears, that he had made alliances with *Carthage* and *Rome*.

Enters into an alliance with the Lacedæmonians *and* Athenians *againſt* Antigonus Gonatus.

AFTER the death of *Pyrrhus*, *Antigonus Gonatus* king of *Macedon* having made himſelf very formidable to the ſtates of *Greece*, the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* entered into a confederacy againſt him, and prevailed upon *Ptolemy* to accede to it. Whereupon *Antigonus* laid ſiege to *Athens*; for the relief of which city *Ptolemy* immediately ſent a fleet under the command of *Patroclus*, who, not being able to perſuade f
Areus king of *Lacedæmon* to attack the enemy with their united forces, was obliged, for want of proviſions, to ſail back with his fleet to *Egypt*, without even attempting to relieve the city. By this miſunderſtanding between the two commanders, the city of *Athens* fell into the hands of *Antigonus*, as we have related in the hiſtory of *Greece*. *Patroclus* having, on his return into *Egypt*, touched at *Caunus*, a maritime city of *Caria*, found there the poet *Sotades*, famous for the unbounded licence both of his muſe and manners. He had wrote a virulent ſatire againſt *Ptolemy*, full of cutting reflections on his marriage with *Arſinoe* his own ſiſter, and fled from *Alexan-*

[c] LIV. l. xiv. VAL. MAX. l. iv. c. 3. DIO in excerpt. Urſini. EUTROP. l. ii. JUSTIN. l. xviii. c. 2. ZONAR. l. vii. c. 6. [d] EUTROP. l. ii. OROS. l. iv. c. 9.

dria

a *dria* to avoid the indignation of the provoked prince; but *Patroclus* having thus met him in his flight, thought he could not better recommend himſelf to his maſter's favour, than by making an example of a wretch who had abuſed him in ſuch an inſolent manner; accordingly he cauſed him to be wrapped up in a ſheet of lead, and thrown into the ſea, a puniſhment which he well deſerved [e] (E).

The revolt of Magas. *Year of the flood* 2736. *Year before Chriſt* 265.

THE long peace and tranquillity which *Ptolemy* had enjoyed, was unexpectedly diſturbed by the revolt of *Magas*, whom the king had ever looked upon as one of his beſt and moſt truſty friends. He was half-brother to him, being the ſon of *Berenice* by one *Philip* a *Macedonian* officer, who had been her husband before ſhe married *Ptolemy Soter*. As *Berenice* had a great aſcendant over the king her husband, ſhe b prevailed upon him to give the government of *Libya* and *Cyrene* to her ſon *Magas*, who having ſtrengthened himſelf in thoſe provinces by long poſſeſſion, and likewiſe by his marriage with *Apamea* the daughter of *Antiochus Soter* king of *Syria*, not only endeavoured to render himſelf independent in his government, but even to diſpoſſeſs his brother of the kingdom of *Egypt*. With this view he advanced, at the head of a numerous army, towards *Alexandria*, and made himſelf maſter of *Paretonion* on his march thither; but, as he was proceeding farther, he was obliged to drop the enterprize, and return home, upon certain intelligence, that the *Marmarides*, a people of *Libya*, had revolted from him. *Ptolemy*, who was then with a great body of troops on the frontiers of *Egypt*, had a favourable opportunity of falling upon him c in his retreat, and utterly deſtroying his army; but was, by a like revolt at home, prevented from laying hold of it; for having taken into his ſervice four thouſand *Gauls*, he was informed that they had entered into a conſpiracy, intending nothing leſs than to drive him out of *Egppt*, and ſeize it for themſelves. To prevent this, he haſtened back into *Egypt*, and having drawn the conſpirators into an iſland in the *Nile*, he there ſhut them up ſo effectually, that they all periſhed, either with famine, or with one another's ſwords, to avoid that lingering kind of death [f]. *Magas* had no ſooner quelled the troubles which had obliged him to return home, but he renewed his deſigns upon *Egypt*, and in order to ſucceed therein more effectually, he engaged in the ſame war *Antiochus Soter* his father-in-law. The meaſures agreed upon between d them were, that *Antiochus* ſhould invade the territories of *Ptolemy* on one ſide, and *Magas* on the other; but while the king of *Syria* was making the neceſſary preparations for this invaſion, *Ptolemy*, who had private intelligence of his deſigns, ſent forces into all the maritime provinces of *Syria*, which committed every-where ſuch ravages and devaſtations, as obliged that prince to keep at home, for the defence of his own dominions; and *Magas*, without his aſſiſtance, did not think it adviſeable to make any further attempts [g].

The advantageous meaſures taken by Ptolemy *for the improvement of trade.*

Ptolemy, being thus delivered from the apprehenſion of a war, bent his mind on advancing the riches of his kingdom, by drawing to it all the trade of the eaſt, which the *Tyrians* had to this time carried on by ſea to *Elath*, and from thence, by the e way of *Rhinocorura*, to *Tyre*. Theſe were both ſea-port towns, *Elath* on the eaſt-ſide of the *Red-ſea*, and *Rhinocorura* at the bottom of the *Mediterranean*, between *Egypt* and *Paleſtine*; ſo that through them all the wares of *Perſia*, *India*, *Africa* and *Arabia* centred at *Tyre*, and were from thence carried into all the weſtern countries. By this means the *Tyrians* were grown exceeding rich, having engroſſed, while ſubject to the *Perſian* kings, this whole trade. To draw it into *Egypt*, *Ptolemy* built a city on the weſt-ſide of the *Red-ſea*, from whence he ſent out fleets into all thoſe countries to which the *Tyrians* traded from *Elath*; but obſerving that the *Red-ſea*, towards the bottom, was very dangerous, by reaſon of its rocks and ſhelves, he transferred the trade to another city, which he built at as great a diſtance as he could from that

[e] ATHEN. l. xiv. p. 620. [f] PAUSAN. in Atticis. [g] Idem ibid.

(E) This infamous poet is commonly known by the nickname of *Sotades Cinœdus*, or *Sotades* the *pederaſt*, which was given him, not only becauſe he was notoriouſly addicted to that monſtrous and abominable vice, but more eſpecially for his having wrote in iambics a poem in commendation of it, which was in great repute among thoſe, who, like himſelf, were addicted to that unnatural ſort of luſt. Some writers have, not without good grounds, in that verſe of *Juvenal* (12), *inter Socraticos notiſſima foſſa cinœdos*, inſtead of *Socraticos*, read *Sotadicos*, being of opinion, that this alteration in the text was made by ſuch as were given to that vice, which, they thought, might deſerve ſome excuſe, if they could perſuade the world, that *Socrates*, a philoſopher of great credit, was addicted to it.

(12) *Juvenal. ſatir.* 2. *ver.* 10.

part

part of the ſea, placing it almoſt on the frontiers of *Æthiopia*, and calling it from his mother *Berenice*; but the harbour not being convenient, *Myos Hormos*, a city in that neighbourhood, was preferred, and all the commodities of the above-mentioned countries conveyed thither by ſea, and from thence on camels to *Coptus* on the *Nile*, where they were again ſhipped for *Alexandria*, and from that city diſperſed all over the weſt, in exchange for the merchandize which was afterwards exported to the eaſt. By this means the whole trade being fixed at *Alexandria*, that place became the chief mart of all the traffick that was carried on between the eaſt and the weſt, and continued to be the greateſt empory in the world for above ſeventeen hundred years, till another paſſage was found out by the cape of *Good-hope*; but as the road from *Coptus* to the *Red-ſea* lay croſs the deſarts, where no water could be had, nor any convenience of towns or houſes for the lodging of paſſengers, *Ptolemy*, to remedy both theſe evils, cauſed a canal to be opened along the great road, into which he conveyed the water of the *Nile*, and built on it houſes at proper diſtances; ſo that all paſſengers found every night convenient lodgings, and neceſſary refreſhments for themſelves and their beaſts of burden [b]. As *Ptolemy* intended to engroſs the whole trade of the eaſt and weſt to himſelf, he fitted out two great fleets to protect his trading ſubjects. One of theſe he kept in the *Red-ſea*, and the other in the *Mediterranean*. The latter was very numerous, and had ſeveral ſhips of an extraordinary ſize; two of them in particular were of thirty oars on a ſide, one of twenty, four of fourteen, two of twelve, fourteen of eleven, thirty of nine, thirty-ſeven of ſeven, five of ſix, ſeventeen of five, and, beſides theſe, an incredible number of veſſels with four oars and three oars on a ſide. With theſe fleets he not only maintained and protected the trade, but alſo kept in ſubjection, as long as he lived, moſt of the maritime provinces of *Aſia Minor*, namely, *Cilicia*, *Pamphylia*, *Lycia*, *Caria* and the *Cyclades* [l].

An accommodation effected between Magas *and* Ptolemy.

Magas king of *Cyrene* and *Libya* growing old and infirm, expreſſed a deſire of compoſing all differences with his brother *Ptolemy*; and in order to ſucceed therein, propoſed a marriage between his only daughter *Berenice* and king *Ptolemy*'s eldeſt ſon, promiſing to make over all his dominions to her by way of dowry. The propoſal was accepted by *Ptolemy*, and a peace concluded on theſe terms [k]; but *Magas* dying before the execution of the treaty, after he had held the government of *Cyrene* and *Libya* for the ſpace of fifty years, his wife *Apame* did all that lay in her power to break off the match between her daughter and the ſon of *Ptolemy*, ſince it had been concluded without her conſent; but her attempts proved unſucceſsful, and only ſerved to kindle a war between *Ptolemy* and her brother *Antiochus Theus* king of *Syria*, which occaſioned a cruel tragedy in the family of the latter, as we have related in the hiſtory of *Syria* [l].

In the heat of this war *Ptolemy* did not give over his ſearch for books wherewithal to enrich his famous library, and likewiſe for pictures and drawings done by eminent maſters, of which he was a great admirer. *Aratus*, the celebrated *Sicyonian*, was one of the agents he employed in *Greece* to collect pictures for him; and that great man gained his favour by this kind of ſervice to ſuch a degree, that the king looked upon him as one of his beſt friends; and, on the *Sicyonian*'s applying to him for his aſſiſtance towards the reſtoring of his native city to liberty and peace, *Ptolemy* preſented him with an hundred and fifty talents for this purpoſe. The matter is thus related by *Plutarch* in the life of *Aratus*; *Aratus* having expelled *Nicocles* tyrant of *Sicyon*, and recalled the exiles, great diſturbances aroſe about the reſtoration of their lands, which were likely to occaſion new diſorders, moſt of thoſe lands having been transferred to other proprietors, and paſſed through ſeveral hands before the exiles returned. Thoſe who had purchaſed them would not part with their purchaſe, unleſs the money, which they had diſburſed, were paid back to them. Hereupon *Aratus*, having no other way to ſatisfy them, applied to king *Ptolemy*, and that generous prince immediately ordered the ſum, which he required, to be tranſmitted to *Sicyon*; by which means every one being ſatisfied, peace and tranquillity were reſtored to the city [m].

A peace concluded between Ptolemy *and* Antiochus.

The troubles and revolutions which happened in the eaſt, induced *Antiochus* to put an end to the war, which had been for ſome time carried on between him and *Ptolemy*. The particulars of this war have not been tranſmitted to us; but the con-

[b] Strabo, l. xvii. p. 805. Plin. l. vi. c. 23. [l] Strabo. ibid. Theocrit. Idyll. 17. Appian. in præfat. Athen. l. v. p. 203. [k] Justin. l. xxvi. c. 3. [l] Vide p. 525. [m] Plut. in Arat.

ditions

a ditions of the peace agreed to by the contending parties, are related by *Polyænus* [m], *Strabo* [n], *Athenæus* [o], and St. *Jerom* [p]. One of theſe was, that *Antiochus* ſhould divorce *Laodice*, marry *Berenice* the daughter of *Ptolemy*, and ſettle the crown on the male iſſue of that marriage. As *Antiochus*, tho' paſſionately fond of *Laodice*, ſubmitted to theſe terms, we may conclude from thence, that *Ptolemy* had gained conſiderable advantages over him. As this marriage was contracted on political views, and founded on very unjuſt conditions, it was attended with thoſe fatal conſequences which we have related in the hiſtory of *Syria* [q], to which we refer our readers.

b As *Ptolemy* was a curious collector, not only of books, but alſo of ſtatues, drawings and pictures, he obſerved, while he was in *Syria*, a ſtatue of *Diana* in a temple conſecrated to that goddeſs, which he was greatly taken with; and therefore having begged it of *Antiochus*, carried it with him into *Egypt*; but ſoon after his return, *Arſinoe* his queen being ſeized with a dangerous diſtemper, dreamt, that *Diana* appearing to her, told her, that *Ptolemy* had brought the illneſs upon her, by removing out of her temple the above-mentioned ſtatue. Hereupon it was immediately ſent back into *Syria*, and there replaced in the temple from whence it had been taken. It was accompanied with many rich preſents, and a great many ſacrifices were offered to appeaſe the wrath of the provoked goddeſs; but all to no purpoſe, for the queen's diſtemper was ſo far from abating, that ſhe died of it in a very ſhort

c time, leaving *Ptolemy* under the greateſt affliction imaginable; for tho' ſhe was many years older than he, and paſt child-bearing when he married her, yet he maintained an inexpreſſible affection and tenderneſs for her to the laſt, and, after her death, did all that lay in his power to perpetuate her memory, calling ſeveral cities which he built by her name, and raiſing obelisks to her honour, with other monuments to expreſs the great regard he had for her [r]. Of theſe the moſt remarkable was a temple, which he began in *Alexandria*, with a dome, which was to be lined with loadſtone, in order to keep an iron ſtatue of the queen hanging in the air. This was the project of *Dinocrates*, a famous architect of thoſe times, and it was no ſooner propoſed to the king, but he commanded it to be put in execution; but, before the

d work was completed, both the king and the architect died; ſo that no experiment was made of the virtue and power of loadſtones in ſuch a caſe (F). *Ptolemy* did not long ſurvive his beloved *Arſinoe*, for being originally of a tender conſtitution, which he had moreover weakened by a luxurious manner of life, the infirmities of old age, and the loſs of a conſort whom he loved beyond meaſure, ſunk him into a languiſhing diſtemper, which put an end to his life, in the ſixty-third year of his age, and fortieth of his reign [s]. He left behind him two ſons and a daughter, whom he had by his firſt wife *Arſinoe* the daughter of *Lyſimachus*. *Ptolemy* ſurnamed *Euergetes*, the eldeſt of his ſons, ſucceeded him in the kingdom; the other, called *Lyſimachus* from his grandfather by the mother, was put to death by his brother, for

e engaging in a rebellion againſt him. The name of the daughter was *Berenice*, whoſe marriage with *Antiochus Theus* king of *Syria* we have related above.

Ptolemy Philadelphus dies.

Ptolemy Philadelphus was, without all doubt, a prince endowed with many excel- *His character.* lent qualities, and yet we cannot propoſe him as a perfect model of a good king, his good qualities being counter-balanced by faults that were altogether as conſiderable. He diſhonoured the beginning of his reign by his reſentment againſt a man of uncommon merit, *viz. Demetrius Phalereus*, for having given a piece of advice to his father, which was indeed contrary to the intereſt of *Philadelphus*, but intirely agreeable to the laws of juſtice and equity. He put two of his brothers to death,

[m] Polyæn. Strat. l. viii. c. 50. [n] Strabo. l. vii. p. 152. [o] Athen. l. ii. p. 42. [p] Hieronym. in Dan. c. 11. [q] Vide p. 126. [r] Liban. orat. 11. [s] Plin. l. xxxiv. c. 14. Athen. l. xii. c. 10.

(F) *Auſonius* ſpeaks of this temple as finiſhed by the above-mentioned architect, in the following verſes:

Creditor hic forſan fuerit Ptolemaïdos aulæ
Dinocrates, quadro cui in faſtigia cono
Surgit, & ipſa ſuas conſumit pyramis umbras;
Juſſus ob inceſti qui quondam fœdus amoris,
Arſinoen Pharii ſuſpendit aëre templi (13).

It has been long ſince reported, and even believed by many, that the body of the impoſtor *Mohammed* was, after his death, laid in an iron coffin, and thus hung in the air by virtue of a loadſtone in the roof of the room where it was depoſited; but this is a mere fable, without the leaſt foundation (14).

(13) *Auſon. Idyll.* 9. (14) *Vide Adolph. Verner. in epitom. rer. Turcicar.*

having, as ſome writers tell us, forged plots in order to give ſome colour of juſtice to his blind jealouſy, which alone prompted him to embrue his hands in their blood; and hence he was ironically called *Philadelphus*, or *a lover of his brothers*. He was greatly given to all ſorts of effeminate pleaſures, and intirely neglected all kind of military diſcipline, by which neglect he left the army in a very bad condition, and quite unfit for action. On the other hand, as he was himſelf a prince of great learning, he was a zealous promoter and encourager of it in others, an induſtrious collector of books, and a generous patron of all thoſe, who were eminent in any branch of literature. The fame of his generoſity drew ſeven celebrated poets to his court [s], who, from their number, were called the *Pleiades*, which are ſeven ſtars in the neck of the bull. Theſe were *Aratus*, *Theocritus*, *Callimachus*, *Lycophron*, *Apollonius*, *Nicander* and *Philicus*. *Theocritus* wrote an idyllium, and *Callimachus* an hymn in praiſe of *Philadelphus*, which have reached our times. In his court flouriſhed likewiſe *Ariſtarchus*, a learned grammarian, *Manetho* the famous *Egyptian* hiſtorian, *Conon* and *Hipparchus*, two celebrated mathematicians, *Zenodotus* of *Epheſus*, the firſt who corrected *Homer*'s works, as *Suidas* informs us, and *Ariſtophanes*, who, if *Vitruvius* is to be credited, read over all the books of the *Alexandrian* library, in the order they ſtood [t]. *Zoilus* the critic came alſo to his court, and lived ſome time at *Alexandria*. He had wrote againſt *Homer*, whoſe works were highly eſteemed and admired by all except himſelf, and had likewiſe criticiſed, in a very biting ſtile, the works of other eminent writers; whence his name grew ſo infamous, that it was afterwards given by way of reproach to all detracting and ill-natured critics; but tho' he was very eminent in his way, and far excelled in criticiſm all who had flouriſhed before him, this could not reconcile *Ptolemy* to him, who is ſaid indeed to have admired his wit, but, at the ſame time, to have been ſo offended at the bitterneſs of his ſtile, that he would not beſtow any thing upon him, tho' he ſhewed a truly royal generoſity towards all other writers of any wit or learning. Being therefore abhorred by all men, and not relieved by *Ptolemy*, he died in a miſerable manner. Some ſay he was ſtoned by the enraged multitude; others that he was burnt alive in his houſe; and ſome that he was crucified by *Ptolemy* for a crime which well deſerved that puniſhment [u]. We have already taken notice of his extraordinary taſte for books, and of his indefatigable induſtry in augmenting and embelliſhing, at an immenſe charge, the library founded by his father; a work which has rendered the names of both theſe princes more famous than the greateſt conqueſts could have done. To *Ptolemy Philadelphus* we are indebted for the *Greek* tranſlation of the ſcripture, commonly called the *Septuagint*, of which we ſhall give a particular account in the hiſtory of the *Jews*, as in a more proper place. This prince is likewiſe ſaid to have maintained, at a vaſt expence, and ſent into different parts of the world, skilful perſons, in ſearch of all ſorts of wild beaſts, and by that means to have made a great many new diſcoveries relating to the nature of animals [w].

Tho' *Philadelphus* had a peculiar taſte for the ſciences, yet he did not ſuffer them to engroſs his whole attention, but applied himſelf with indefatigable induſtry to buſineſs, ſtudying all poſſible methods to render his ſubjects happy, and raiſe his dominions to a flouriſhing condition. This enticed great multitudes of the neighbouring and moſt diſtant nations to leave their native countries, and ſettle in *Egypt*; inſomuch that this prince is ſaid to have had in his dominions no fewer than thirty-three thouſand three hundred and thirty-nine well-peopled cities [x]. As he was well appriſed that the real power of a prince conſiſts in the number and wealth of his ſubjects, the greateſt expences were not capable of diſcouraging him from purſuing ſuch meaſures as were moſt apt to draw inhabitants into his dominions. With this view he built an incredible number of cities, and repaired others, granting many valuable privileges to all, without diſtinction, who came to ſettle in them. Among the latter were the two famous cities of *Paleſtine*, *Ace*, which he rebuilt on the weſt-ſide of that country, and *Rabbah of the children of Ammon*, ſo often mentioned in ſcripture, on the eaſt ſide of the ſame province. *Ace* he called from one of his names *Ptolemais*, and *Rabbah* from the other *Philadelphia*. The former of theſe, which is ſtill ſtanding, in proceſs of time recovered its ancient name, and is often ſpoke of in the hiſtory of the holy wars [y]. Beſides cities, he left ſo many other public monu-

[s] Vide Vossium de hiſtor. Græc. l. i. c. 12. [t] Vitruv. in præfat. ad lib. vii. [u] Vetruv. ibid. & Vossius. de hiſtoric. Græc. l. i. c. 15. [w] Diodor. Sicul. l. xvii. [x] Theocrit. Idyll. 17. [y] Vide Reland. Paleſtin. illuſtrat. Sandys, Thevenot, &c.

ments

a ments of his magnificence, that all works of an extraordinary taſte and grandeur were proverbially called *Philadelphian* works [z]. *Athenæus* calls him the beſt of kings, and the moſt wealthy prince of his age [a]; and truly he died poſſeſſed of immenſe riches, notwithſtanding the great expence he muſt have been at; for he kept two great fleets, one in the *Mediterranean*, and the other in the *Red-ſea*, and maintained in conſtant pay an army of two hundred thouſand foot, and forty thouſand horſe, and had three hundred elephants, two thouſand armed chariots, and his armory at *Alexandria* ſtocked with three hundred thouſand complete ſuits of armour, and all other neceſſary implements and engines of war; but, for all this, he left in his treaſury ſeven hundred and fifty thouſand *Egyptian* talents in ready money, which
b reduced to our coin, amounts to a prodigious and almoſt incredible ſum, each *Egyptian* talent containing ſeven thouſand five hundred drachmas more than an *Attic* talent [b]. *Athenæus* therefore called him, not without reaſon, the richeſt of all the princes of his age; and *Appian* gives him this character, *viz.* that as he was the moſt magnificent and generous of all kings in laying out his money, ſo was he of all the moſt skilful and induſtrious in raiſing of it [c].

Ptolemy Euergetes. *Year after the flood* 2755. *Before Chriſt* 244.

He was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon *Ptolemy*, who, in the beginning of his reign, engaged in a war with *Antiochus Theus* king of *Syria*, of which we have given a diſtinct account in the hiſtory of that country [d]. On his return from that war, he brought with him out of *Syria* two thouſand five hundred pictures and ſtatues, among which
c were many of the *Egyptian* idols, which had been carried by *Cambyſes*, when he conquered *Egypt*, into *Perſia*. Theſe *Ptolemy* reſtored to their ancient temples; in acknowledgement for which favour the *Egyptians* gave him the glorious ſurname of *Euergetes*, or the *Beneficent* [e]. In this expedition he made himſelf maſter of all the countries that lie between mount *Taurus* and the confines of *India*, as we read in *Juſtin* [f], *Appian* [g], *Polybius* [h], *Jerom*, &c. [i], with whom the monument of *Euergetes*, called *monumentum adulitanum*, and publiſhed at *Rome* by the celebrated *Leo Allatius* in 1631 intirely agrees. The words quoted by that writer from the ſaid monument are as follow: Ptolemy Euergetes *having received from his father the ſovereignty of* Egypt, Libya, Syria, Phœnice, Cyprus, Lycia, Caria, *and the* Cyclades, *aſſembled*
d *a mighty army of horſe and foot, with a great fleet, and elephants, out of* Tragloditica *and* Æthiopia, *ſome of which had been taken by his father, and the reſt by himſelf, and brought from thence, and trained up for war. With this great force he ſailed into* Aſia, *and having conquered all the provinces which lie on this ſide the* Euphrates, Cilicia, Pamphylia, Ionia, *the* Helleſpont *and* Thrace, *he croſſed that river with all the forces of the conquered countries, and the kings of thoſe nations, and reduced* Meſopotamia, Babylonia, Suſia, Perſia, Media, *and all the country as far as* Bactria.

Ptolemy *gains great advantages over the king of* Syria.

The hair of Berenice.

When *Ptolemy Euergetes* firſt ſet out on his expedition into *Syria*, his queen *Berenice*, who tenderly loved him, being apprehenſive of the dangers to which he might be expoſed in the war, made a vow to conſecrate her hair, which was her chief
e ornament, in caſe he ſhould return ſafe. The prince returned not only ſafe, but crowned with glory and ſucceſs; whereupon *Berenice*, to diſcharge her vow, immediately cut off her hair, and dedicated it to the gods, in the temple which *Ptolemy Philadelphus* had built in honour of his beloved *Arſinoe*, under the name of the *Zephyrian Venus*, on the promontory of *Zephyrium* in *Cyprus*; but this conſecrated hair being loſt ſoon after, or perhaps contemptuouſly flung away by the prieſts, *Ptolemy* was much offended at this accident, and threatened to puniſh the prieſts for their neglect. Hereupon *Conon* of *Samos*, a flattering courtier, and great mathematician, to appeaſe the king's wrath, and gain his favour, gave out, that the queen's locks had been conveyed up to heaven, and pointed out ſeven ſtars near the tail of the
f lion, which, till that time, had not belonged to any conſtellation, declaring, that they were the queen's hair. Several other aſtronomers, either to make their court, as well as *Conon*, to the king, or out of fear of drawing upon themſelves his diſpleaſure, affirmed the ſame thing; and hence *coma Berenices*, or *the hair of* Berenice, became one of the conſtellations, and is ſo to this day [k]. *Callimachus*, who lived in thoſe times, and had been a great favourite of *Philadelphus*, wrote a hymn on the

[z] Philo in vita Moſis. [a] Athen. l. v. c. 5. [b] Vide Bernard. de menſur. & ponder. antiquorum, p. 186. & tabulam huic operi præfixam. [c] Appian. in præfat. [d] Vide p. 524. [e] Hieron. in Dan. c. 11. & monument. Adulitan. [f] Juſtin. l. xxvii. c. 1. [g] Appian. in Syriac. p. 130. [h] Polyb. l. v. p. 402. [i] Hieron. ibid. [k] Hygini poetic. aſtronom. & Nonnus in hiſtor. ſynag.

hair

hair of *Berenice*, which was afterwards tranſlated by *Catullus*, whoſe verſion is ſtill extant among his other moſt elegant performances. a

Euergetes *offers ſacrifices to the God of* Iſrael.

Ptolemy, on his return from this expedition, having paſſed through *Jeruſalem*, offered there many ſacrifices to the God of *Iſrael*, in acknowledgment for the victories he had gained over the king of *Syria* [l], ſhewing thereby, that he preferred the true god to all the idols of *Egypt*. Perhaps the prophecies of *Daniel* had been ſhewn to him, whence it was obvious for him to conclude, that his fortunate conqueſts were owing to that God, whoſe prophet had ſo fully and diſtinctly foretold them. Of theſe prophecies we ſpoke in the hiſtory of *Syria*, to which we refer the reader [m].

Applies himſelf to the improving of his library.

Euergetes having at laſt concluded a peace with *Seleucus* king of *Syria*, who had ſucceeded *Antiochus Theus* in that kingdom, devoted moſt part of his time to the cultivating of the ſciences, and the improving of his father's library at *Alexandria*. With this view he ſent perſons of learning into diſtant countries, to purchaſe, at any rate, what books they ſhould think proper for his deſign; but as a skilful librarian was neceſſary for the making a good choice, and likewiſe for the preſerving of them after they were lodged in the library, upon the death of *Zenodotus*, who had exerciſed that function from the time of *Ptolemy Soter*, he invited from *Athens Eratoſthenes* (G) the *Cyrenian*, who was a man of univerſal learning, to take this charge upon him, which he did accordingly, and acquitted himſelf in it with great applauſe [n]. b

The reputation of Joſeph, *nephew of* Onias, *with* Ptolemy.

Onias the high-prieſt of the *Jews*, being of a very covetous temper, had neglected to ſend to *Ptolemy* the uſual tribute of twenty talents, which his predeceſſors had annually paid to the kings of *Egypt*, as a token of their ſubjection to that crown. As the arrears amounted to a great ſum, the king ſent *Athenion*, one of his courtiers, to *Jeruſalem*, to demand the payment of the money, and to acquaint the *Jews*, if they did not comply immediately with the demand, that he was determined to ſend a body of troops into *Judæa*, who ſhould drive them out of the country, and divide it among themſelves. When *Athenion* arrived at *Jeruſalem* with this meſſage, the whole city was thrown into the utmoſt conſternation, not knowing how to appeaſe the king's wrath, and divert the impending ſtorm. At that time *Joſeph*, the nephew of *Onias* by his ſiſter, was in great repute among the *Jews* for his prudence, juſtice, and the ſanctity of his life. To him therefore his mother had recourſe, and as he was in the country when *Athenion* came to *Jeruſalem*, ſhe took care to diſpatch a meſſenger to him, with an account of what happened. Hereupon he haſtened to *Jeruſalem*, where he ſeverely upbraided his uncle with his ill management of the public money, and told him, that ſince he had brought the nation into ſuch difficulties, the only expedient he could find out to avert the calamities that threatened them, was, that he ſhould go in perſon to the *Egyptian* court, and endeavour, by applying to the king himſelf, to make up matters. But *Onias*, who was a man of no parts, and beſides ſtricken in years, declared to his nephew, that he would chuſe rather to diveſt himſelf of the high-prieſthood, and live a private life, than undertake ſuch a journey, and appear at court. *Joſeph* therefore, who was a young man of extraordinary parts, and great addreſs, offered to go in his ſtead; which *Onias* conſenting to with great pleaſure, *Joſeph* having aſſembled the people, acquainted them, that he had been appointed by the high-prieſt embaſſador to the court of *Egypt*, and aſſured them, that, if they thought fit to confirm him in this charge, he ſhould ſoon, by ſome means or other, deliver them from their preſent fears. The c d e

[l] JOSEPH. in Apion. l. ii. [m] Vide p. 526. [n] SUIDAS in voce Απολλωνιος.

(G) *Eratoſthenes* had been educated by *Callimachus* his countryman, and is often quoted by *Pliny*, *Strabo* and others, as a man of extraordinary learning; and therefore thoſe are greatly miſtaken, who finding him called *Beta*, that is, *the ſecond*, think he had that name to denote, that he was not in the firſt, but in the ſecond claſs of the learned; for by that appellation nothing elſe was meant, but that he was the ſecond librarian of the royal library at *Alexandria*. As to his knowledge in all the branches of literature, he was inferior to none of the age he lived in, as appears from the great encomiums beſtowed by the ancients on the many books he wrote; but none of his works have reached us, except his catalogue of the kings of *Thebes* in *Egypt*, with the years of their reſpective reigns, from *Menes*, who firſt peopled *Egypt* after the deluge, to the time of the *Trojan* war. It contains a ſeries of thirty-eight kings reigning in a direct line of ſucceſſion one after another, and is ſtill extant in *Syncellus*. We have made uſe of it in ſettling the *Egyptian* chronology, it being one of the moſt noble, venerable and authentic monuments of antiquity now extant, extracted out of the moſt ancient records of that country. This extract was in all likelihood made to ſupply the defect of *Manetho*, whoſe catalogue of the *Theban* kings begins where this ends (15).

(15) *Vide Voſſ. de hiſtor. Græc. Syncell. p.* 91—147. *Johan. Marſham. in canon. chronic.*

people,

a people, with loud ſhouts of joy, approved the appointment of the high-prieſt, returned *Joſeph* thanks for what he intended to do in their behalf, and deſired him to proceed without delay to the court of *Egypt*. Hereupon *Joſeph* went immediately to invite *Athenion* to his houſe, where he not only entertained him with great kindneſs and ſplendor all the time he ſtaid at *Jeruſalem*, but, on his departure, made him very conſiderable preſents, which the *Syrian* was ſo pleaſed with, that he left *Jeruſalem*, fully determined to do all that lay in his power in behalf of the *Jews*, and to repreſent matters to the king in the beſt light the caſe would bear. Accordingly, on his return to *Alexandria*, he made ſo favourable a report to the king of his tranſactions at *Jeruſalem*, and of the kind and obliging deportment of *Joſeph*, that *Ptolemy* ſhewed a great deſire to ſee him. In the mean time *Joſeph*, having borrowed twenty
b thouſand drachma's of the *Samaritans*, which amount to about ſeven hundred pounds of our money, and thereby furniſhed himſelf with an equipage to appear at the *Egyptian* court, ſet out for *Alexandria*, and having met on his way thither ſeveral of the chief nobility of *Cœle-Syria* and *Paleſtine*, who were travelling to the ſame place, he joined them in the remaining part of his journey. Their buſineſs at that court was, to offer terms for farming the revenues of thoſe provinces; and as their equipages were very magnificent, they laughed at *Joſeph* for the meanneſs of his, making it the ſubject of their diverſion moſt part of the way. *Joſeph* took all in good part, but in the mean time hearkening to the converſation they had with each other about their buſineſs at court, he got ſuch an inſight into it, as put him in a condition to
c laugh at them in his turn. On their arrival at *Alexandria*, they found that the king had taken a progreſs to *Memphis*, and *Joſeph* was the only perſon among them who ſet out for that city to wait on him. As he was haſtening thither, he had the good fortune to meet him, returning from *Memphis*, with the queen and *Athenion* in the ſame chariot. The king, who had heard great commendations of him from *Athenion*, was overjoyed to ſee him; and taking him into his chariot, complained to him in a friendly manner of his uncle *Onias*, who had, for ſeveral years, neglected to pay him the uſual tribute. But *Joſeph* excuſed his uncle on account of his great age and ſlender parts in ſo handſome a manner, that he not only ſatisfied the king, but raiſed in him ſuch an opinion of his abilities, that he took him into his favour,
d allowed him an apartment in the royal palace, and entertained him at his own table. When the day came, whereon the king uſed annually to farm out the revenues of the ſeveral provinces of his empire, and they were ſet up, in order to be lett to the beſt bidder, the *Syrians* and *Phœnicians*, who had been *Joſeph*'s fellow-travellers, offered no more than eight thouſand talents for the provinces of *Cœle-Syria*, *Phœnice*, *Judæa* and *Samaria*. Hereupon *Joſeph*, who had diſcovered from their converſation on the road, that they were worth more than double the ſum they offered, reproached them for depreciating the king's revenues in that manner, and proffered ſixteen thouſand talents, beſides the forfeitures, which he propoſed to return into the king's treaſury, tho' they had ever before belonged to the farmers. *Ptolemy* was well pleaſed to
e ſee his revenues ſo conſiderably increaſed; but queſtioning the ability of the bidder to make good his engagement, asked him what ſecurity he could give him for the performance of his agreement. To this queſtion *Joſeph* anſwered, that he would give him the ſecurity of ſuch perſons as he could not refuſe or except againſt; and when he was ordered to name them, he named the king and the queen, adding, that they would be bound to each other for the faithful performance of what he undertook. The king was ſo taken with the pleaſantry of this anſwer, that he truſted him on his own word, without any other ſecurity. Hereupon *Joſeph*, having borrowed at *Alexandria* five hundred talents to pay the king his uncle's arrears, was admitted to the truſt of receiver general of all the revenues in the above-mentioned provinces;
f and having received a guard of two thouſand men to ſupport him in the execution of his office, he left *Alexandria*, in order to act in his new ſtation. On his arrival at *Askelon*, the inhabitants of that city not only refuſed to pay him the king's duties, but abuſed him with rude and opprobrious language. Whereupon having ordered his guards to apprehend the ringleaders of that tumult, he cauſed twenty of them to be immediately executed, and ſent their forfeited eſtates, which amounted to a thouſand talents, to the king. The ſame rigour he practiſed at *Scythopolis*, where he had met with the like oppoſition; which ſo terrified the reſt of the cities, that they all opened their gates to him, and readily paid the king's dues. His prudent conduct, and the punctuality of his payments, gained him ſuch favour at court, that he was

continued in his office by *Ptolemy Euergetes*, *Ptolemy Philopator*, and *Ptolemy Epi-* a
phanes for the ſpace of two and twenty years, that is, till *Antiochus the Great*, making himſelf maſter of theſe provinces, annexed them to the crown of *Syria*, which happened in the firſt year of the reign of *Ptolemy Epiphanes* [o]. Moſt authors write, that he continued in this office to his death; but herein they plainly contradict *Joſephus*, who tells us, that he died very old; nay, that he was of a great age when he ſent his ſon *Hyrcanus* into *Egypt*, which happened ſome years before his death [p]; and on the other hand ſays, that he was a young man when he firſt entered upon this employment [q]. Now, if he was young at that time, he could not be old twenty-two years after; for allowing him to have been thirty when he was raiſed to that employment, two and twenty more would make him but fifty-two; at which age he could b
not be called an old man, and much leſs before it. After *Antiochus* had held the provinces of *Cœle-Syria* and *Paleſtine* ſeveral years, he is ſaid to have reſtored them again to *Epiphanes*, on his marrying his daughter *Cleopatra*. Perhaps *Joſeph* was then reſtored to his office, and died in it, being at that time, as *Joſephus* tells us, very old. This, if true, would clear up all the difficulties which ſome writers have ſtarted againſt the account *Joſephus* gives us of this matter.

Ptolemy's *conqueſts.* *Ptolemy* having concluded a peace with *Seleucus* king of *Syria*, applied himſelf to the inlarging of his dominions ſouthward, and was therein attended with great ſucceſs; for he made himſelf maſter of all the coaſts of the *Red-ſea*, both on the *Arabian* and *Æthiopian* ſides, down to the ſtreights, through which that ſea diſcharges itſelf c
into the ſouthern ocean. The cities and provinces which he ſubdued in this glorious expedition, were, according to *Leo Allatius*, in his *monumentum Adulitanum*, *Agama*, *Sigſiene*, *Tiamus*, *Gambela*, *Maga*, *Zingabe*, *Angavis*, *Tiama*, *Athagotis*, *Calea*, *Semena*, *Lazinazaa*, *Bega*, *Thancaitis*, &c. Moſt of theſe provinces bordered upon *Æthiopia*, and as they were under no apprehenſion of an invaſion, *Ptolemy*, without much loſs or trouble, reduced them, and having gariſoned the fortified towns, returned to *Alexandria*, with an immenſe booty, which he generouſly divided among the ſoldiers who had attended him in that expedition [r]. Upon his return, the *Cleomenic* war being kindled in *Greece*, the *Achæans* ſent embaſſadors to him, imploring his aſſiſtance againſt the *Ætolians* and *Lacedæmonians*, which he readily promiſed them; d
but they having, in the mean time, engaged *Antigonus* king of *Macedon* to ſupport them, *Ptolemy* was ſo much offended at theſe proceedings, that he ſent powerful ſuccours to *Cleomenes* king of *Sparta*, hoping, by that means, to humble both the *Achæans* and their new ally *Antigonus*; but he had the mortification to ſee *Cleomenes*, after he had gained very conſiderable advantages over the enemy's united forces, intirely defeated in the famous battle of *Selaſia*, and obliged to take refuge in his dominions. *Phylarchus* writes, that about ten days before this battle, there arrived in *Greece* embaſſadors from *Ptolemy* to *Cleomenes*, acquainting him, that their maſter had no mind to ſend him any further ſupplies of money, and adviſing him, in his name, to come to a ſpeedy agreement with *Antigonus* and the *Achæans*; and that e
thereupon *Cleomenes*, tho' encamped in a very advantageous poſt, challenged *Antigonus* to an engagement in the open field [s]. Be that as it will, *Ptolemy* received him with all poſſible demonſtrations of kindneſs and eſteem, allowed him a yearly penſion of four and twenty talents, and aſſured him, that in due time he would uſe his utmoſt efforts to replace him on the throne. But *Ptolemy*, before he could fulfil his promiſe, died in the twenty-ſeventh year of his reign, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Ptolemy Philopator* [t]. *Ptolemy Euergetes* was a no leſs generous encourager of learning than his father and grandfather had been; for he applied himſelf with the ſame care and attention to the inlarging of his library, and purchaſing of books at an immenſe charge, invited with ample rewards to his court, all thoſe who were of any note for f
their learning, and took great pleaſure in improving his own knowledge by their converſation; for he was himſelf, as *Athenæus* informs us [u], well verſed in all the branches of learning, having been brought up by the famous *Ariſtarchus*, and he even wrote in his youth hiſtorical commentaries, which were in great repute. He was the laſt of his race, in whom any virtue, humanity or moderation appeared, thoſe who ſucceeded him being deſtitute of all true virtue, and plunged in all manner of vice, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel of this hiſtory. We are told by *Tacitus*, that, in this king's

Aſſiſts Cleomenes *king of* Sparta *againſt* Antiochus Doſon *and the* Achæans.

His death and character.

[o] JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xii. c. 3. & Græc. EUSEB. Scalig. p. 50. [p] Idem ibid. c. 4. [q] Idem ibid.
[r] LEO ALLAT. in monument. Adulitan. [s] Vide POLYB. l. 2. verſus finem. [t] PLUT. in Cleom. POLYB. l. ii. p. 155. [u] ATHEN. l. ii. c. 33.

reign

reign a phœnix was ſeen at *Heliopolis* in *Egypt*, drawing after her great flocks of other birds, which were taken with her beauty [w].

Ptolemy Philopator, the ſon of *Ptolemy Euergetes* and *Berenice*, ſucceeded his father in the kingdom of *Egypt*, and proved a moſt debauched and wicked prince. *Juſtin* tells us, that he was ironically called *Philopator*, that is, *Lover of his father*, becauſe he murdered him in order the ſooner to aſcend the throne [x]. But upon what authority *Juſtin* affirms this, we know not; *Polybius*, who flouriſhed ſoon after the reign of this prince, tells us, that *Ptolemy Euergetes fell ſick and died*, without mentioning any violence uſed either by his ſon or others [y]. It is certain, that this *Ptolemy* on ſeveral coins, which have reached us, bears the title of *Philopator*; and who can believe that, if it had been given him by antiphraſis, or a contrary meaning, as *Juſtin* will have it, he would have ſuffered it to be impreſſed on his coins, and tranſmitted to poſterity? He was alſo ſurnamed *Tryphon*, from the effeminate life he led, and *Gallus*, becauſe he uſed to walk about the ſtreets on the *Bacchanal* ſolemnities, or feaſts of *Bacchus*, with a crown of ivy on his head, after the manner of the *Galli*, or prieſts of the goddeſs *Cybele* [z]. In the very beginning of his reign he cauſed his brother *Magas* to be murdered, being prompted thereto by *Soſibius* his prime miniſter, who repreſented *Magas* as a man of great intereſt in the army, who might one day raiſe troubles in the kingdom, and even, with the aſſiſtance of the foreign troops who ſerved in *Egypt*, and were intirely at his devotion, place the crown on his own head [a]. The death of *Magas* was ſoon followed by that of *Cleomenes* king of *Sparta*. That prince being driven out of *Greece* by *Antigonus*, as we have related above, had fled to *Ptolemy Euergetes*, and had been kindly received by him. But *Philopator* treated him in a very different manner, eſpecially after he had got rid of his brother *Magas*, who gave him no ſmall umbrage. As *Cleomenes* was generally eſteemed a man of great wiſdom and ſagacity, *Soſibius*, who was *Ptolemy*'s prime miniſter, employed him in the beginning of that prince's reign, and admitted him into his moſt ſecret councils, even imparting to him his deſign of cutting off *Magas*, and asking his advice about it. *Cleomenes* did all that lay in his power to diſſuade the king from ſuch an attempt, telling him, that he had not in his court a more zealous perſon for his ſervice, nor one who was more capable of aſſiſting him with good advice in the well-governing of his kingdom. This quieted *Ptolemy* for ſome time, but his fears and jealouſies being revived by the artful *Soſibius*, *Magas*, notwithſtanding the advice of *Cleomenes*, was cut off; and the king, after his death thinking himſelf ſecure, devoted all his time to pleaſures and diverſions, not ſuffering them to be interrupted by cares or application of any kind. His example was followed by the courtiers, who abandoned themſelves to all manner of vice and licentiouſneſs, ſo that all buſineſs being neglected, the kingdom fell, as it were, into a kind of anarchy. In the mean time *Cleomenes*, who led a very melancholy life at ſo vicious a court, received advice, that *Antigonus* king of *Macedon* was dead, that the *Achæans* were engaged in a war with the *Ætolians*, and that the *Lacedæmonians* had joined the latter againſt the *Achæans* and *Macedonians*. As he was not able to bear any longer the diſſolute manners of the *Egyptians*, and all things ſeemed to recall him to his native country, he repreſented to the king the ſtate of his affairs, and put him in mind of his former promiſes; for *Ptolemy* had promiſed, while he apprehended the power of his brother *Magas*, to ſend him back into *Greece* with a powerful fleet, and reſtore him to his kingdom. Finding that *Ptolemy* would not grant him his requeſt, he deſired him at leaſt to give him and his followers leave to depart, ſince he could not hope for a more favourable conjuncture, than that which now offered for the recovery of his kingdom. But *Ptolemy* was too much taken up with his pleaſures to come to any reſolution touching the requeſt of *Cleomenes*. *Soſibius*, who governed the kingdom with an abſolute ſway, while the king was immerſed in pleaſures and debauches, having aſſembled his friends to deliberate on the requeſt of *Cleomenes*, it was concluded in that council, that the king of *Sparta* ſhould not only be denied the ſuccours he demanded, but even leave to depart the kingdom. As *Antigonus* was dead, and *Cleomenes* had no rival in *Greece*, who could withſtand him, they were afraid leſt he ſhould invade *Egypt*, after having recovered his own dominions; for he was thoroughly acquainted with the ſtate of their affairs, and had the king and his miniſters in the utmoſt contempt. On theſe

Ptolemy Philopator. *Year of the flood* 2782. *Before Chriſt* 217.

Puts his brother Magas *to death.*

His baſe treatment of Cleomenes *king of* Sparta.

[w] Tacit. Annal. l. vi. [x] Justin. l. xxix. c. 1. [y] Polyb. l. ii. verſus finem. [z] Plut. in Cleom. Polyb. l. v. Trog. in prolog. Plin. l. vii. [a] Polyb. l. v. p. 380—382.

conſidera-

conſiderations it was not thought proper to grant *Cleomenes* the aſſiſtance he deſired, a
or even to permit him to leave *Egypt*. For as he was a bold and enterprizing prince, and had been refuſed the ſuccours he demanded, they did not doubt but he would one day or other, if allowed to return to his kingdom, revenge the affront which had been put upon him. *Soſibius* was even of opinion, that he ſhould not be allowed his liberty in *Alexandria*; and accordingly by the king's orders he was ſeized, and kept under confinement, as we have related in the hiſtory of *Sparta*, till in concert with his friends, who uſed to viſit him, he came to a reſolution, which deſpair alone could ſuggeſt; this was to eſcape out of priſon with all his domeſtics and friends, and to ſtir up the people of *Alexandria* to ſhake off the yoke they groaned under. But not ſucceeding in this attempt, he and his followers cloſed it by a tragical and b
bloody cataſtrophe, killing one another to avoid a more cruel and ignominious death [b]. For a more full account of the unhappy end of this great prince, we refer the reader to our hiſtory of *Sparta*. The king cauſed his body to be flead, and hung up upon a croſs, ſentencing at the ſame time to death his mother *Cratiſelea*, his children, and all the women who attended them [c].

Antiochus king of *Syria*, who was afterwards from his conqueſts ſurnamed *the great*, taking advantage of *Euergetes*'s death, and the ſucceſſion of ſo voluptuous and profligate a prince, undertook the recovering of *Cæle-Syria*, *Paleſtine*, and *Judæa*, which had formerly belonged to *Seleucus Nicator*, and ſome of his ſucceſſors. But as we have already given a diſtinct account of this war [d], we ſhall only obſerve here, that *Ptolemy*, notwithſtanding the advantages gained over *Antiochus*, being deſirous of putting an end to a war, which interrupted his voluptuous pleaſures, concluded a peace with *Antiochus*, when he might with great eaſe have driven him quite out of *Syria*. The diſcontent which followed hereon throughout the whole kingdom of *Egypt*, broke ſoon out into an open rebellion; and thus *Ptolemy* by avoiding a war abroad kindled one in his own dominions [e]. And indeed, that there was ſuch a war, *Polybius* tells us in expreſs terms [f]; but neither he nor any other author gives us an account of the event of it. All we know is, that *Ptolemy* continued to enjoy the ſame power and authority which he had before the civil war broke out; whence it is plain, that he maſtered this difficulty, and got the better of the rebels. In whoſe favour d
the *Jews* declared, is no-where recorded; but *Euſebius* tells us [g], that about this time forty thouſand of them were cut off and deſtroyed, very likely during theſe inteſtine broils, for at this time they were very numerous in *Egypt*.

Perſecutes the Jews.

Ptolemy being highly provoked againſt the *Jews* for their obſtructing his entrance into the temple, as we have related in the hiſtory of *Syria*, began on his return to *Alexandria* to vent his rage upon ſuch of the *Jewiſh* nation as lived in that metropolis. In the firſt place he publiſhed a decree, which he cauſed to be engraved on a pillar erected for that purpoſe at the gate of his palace, excluding all thoſe who did not ſacrifice to the gods he worſhipped. By this means the *Jews* were debarred from ſuing to him for juſtice, or obtaining his protection, in what caſe ſoever they might ſtand e
in need of it. We have obſerved elſewhere, that the *Jews* by the favour of *Alexander the Great*, and *Ptolemy Soter*, enjoyed at *Alexandria* the ſame privileges as the *Macedonians*, and were inrolled among thoſe of the firſt rank; for the inhabitants of that great metropolis were divided into three ranks or claſſes; in the firſt were the *Macedonians*, the original founders of the city; in the ſecond the mercenaries, who had ſerved under *Alexander*; and in the third the native *Egyptians*. Now *Ptolemy*, to be revenged on the *Jews*, ordered by another decree, that they ſhould be degraded from the firſt rank, in which they had been from the founding of the city, and inrolled among the common people of *Egypt*, who were of the third rank; by this decree they were ſtript at once of all the rights and privileges which had prompted them to f
leave their native country, and ſettle in *Egypt*. But this was not the greateſt grievance; for in the ſame decree it was enacted, that all the *Jews* at an appointed time ſhould appear before the proper officers in order to be inrolled among the common people; that at the time of their inrollment they ſhould have the mark of an ivy leaf, the badge of *Bacchus*, impreſſed with a hot iron on their faces; that all, who were thus marked, ſhould be made ſlaves; and finally, that if any one ſhould ſtand out againſt this decree, he ſhould be immediately put to death. But that he might not ſeem

[b] Plut. in Cleom. & Polyb. l. v. [c] Plut. ibid. [d] Vide p. 535. [e] Justin. l. xxx. c. 1. Hieronym. in Dan. c. 11. [f] Polyb. l. v. p. 444. [g] Euseb. in Chron.

an

a an enemy to the whole nation, he declared that thoſe who ſacrificed to his gods, ſhould enjoy their former privileges, and remain in the ſame claſs. Notwithſtanding this tempting offer, three hundred only, out of many thouſands of the *Jewiſh* race who lived in *Alexandria*, were prevailed upon to abandon their religion in compliance with the king's will. The others choſe rather to be ſtigmatized in the manner the king had ordered, or to redeem themſelves from that ignominious mark by parting with all they had to the king's officers. Thoſe who continued in the religion of their forefathers excluded their fallen brethren from all manner of communication with them, expreſſing thereby the abhorrence they had of their apoſtaſy. This their enemies conſtrued as done in oppoſition to the king's orders, which ſo inraged *Ptolemy*, that
b he reſolved to extirpate the whole nation, beginning with the *Jews* who lived in *Alexandria*, and other parts of *Egypt*, and then proceeding with the ſame ſeverity againſt the inhabitants of *Judæa* and *Jeruſalem*. Purſuant to this reſolution, he commanded all the *Jews*, who lived in any part of *Egypt*, to be brought in chains to *Alexandria*, and there to be ſhut up in the hippodrome, which was a very ſpacious place without the city, where the people uſed to aſſemble to ſee horſe-races, and other public ſhows. When news was brought him that all the *Jews*, who lived in *Egypt*, were, agreeable to his order, confined within the hippodrome, he ſent for *Hermon*, maſter of the elephants, and ordered him to have five hundred of them ready againſt the next day to be let looſe upon the priſoners in the hippodrome. But when the elephants were
c prepared for the execution, and the people aſſembled in great crowds to ſee it, they were all diſappointed for that day by the king's abſence. For having been late up the night before with ſome of his drunken and debauched companions, he did not awake the next day till the time for the ſhow was over, and the ſpectators returned to their reſpective homes. He therefore ordered one of his ſervants to call him the day following betimes, that the people might not meet with a ſecond diſappointment. But when the perſon appointed awaked him, he was not yet returned to his ſenſes, having a little before withdrawn exceeding drunk; and therefore not remembering the order he had given, flew into a violent paſſion, threatening the perſon, who ſpoke to him of it; which cauſed the ſhow to be put off to the third day. In the mean
d time the *Jews*, who continued ſhut up in the hippodrome, ceaſed not to offer up prayers to the Almighty for their deliverance, which he accordingly granted them. For on the third day, when the king was preſent, and the elephants brought forth and let looſe upon the priſoners, thoſe fierce animals, inſtead of falling upon the *Jews*, turned their rage upon the ſpectators and ſoldiers, who aſſiſted at the execution, and deſtroyed great numbers of them; which with other appearances ſeen in the air, ſo terrified the king, that he commanded the *Jews* to be immediately ſet at liberty, acknowledged the power of the God they worſhipped, and to appeaſe his anger, reſtored his people to the full enjoyment of their former privileges, beſtowing upon them beſides many favours, and loading them with preſents at their departure; for the king not
e only allowed them to return to their reſpective homes, but would himſelf bear the charges of their journey. The *Jews* ſeeing themſelves thus reſtored to the king's favour, demanded and obtained leave of him to put all thoſe of their own nation to death, who had abandoned their religion; which permiſſion they ſoon made uſe of without ſparing a ſingle man [h]. This miraculous deliverance is related at length in the third book of the *Maccabees*, which *Philoſtorgius* in the beginning of his eccleſiaſtical hiſtory calls *the book of miracles*. *Joſephus* gives us no account of this whole matter in his antiquities; but we find it mentioned in the *Latin* edition, which *Ruffinus* publiſhed, of his ſecond book againſt *Apion*; as for the *Greek* original, it is there wanting. According to *Ruffinus*'s verſion, this miraculous deliverance was effected in the
f reign of *Ptolemy Phyſcon*, many years after the time in which we have placed it agreeable to the hiſtory of the *Maccabees*; where this perſecution, and the deliverance of the *Jews* is related at length as happening in the reign of *Ptolemy Philopator*, immediately on his return from *Syria*, after the famous victory gained by him at *Raphia* over *Antiochus*, of which we have ſpoke elſewhere [i].

The Jews miraculouſly delivered.

ABOUT this time, the ninth year of *Philopator*'s reign, the *Romans* ſent *M. Atilius*, and *M. Acilius* to *Alexandria*, to renew their ancient friendſhip and alliance with *Egypt*; for they were then ingaged in a war with *Carthage*. The embaſſadors carried as a preſent to the king a purple tunic, and an ivory chair, and to the queen a purple robe finely

The Romans *ſend an embaſſy to* Philopator. *Year of the flood* 2791. *Year before Chriſt* 208.

[h] Maccab. l. iii. c. 2, 3, 4, 5. [i] Vide p. 538.

embroidered with a ſcarf of the ſame colour. This queen is called by *Juſtin Eurydice*, a by *Livy* in this place *Cleopatra* [k], and by *Polybius* [l], and the author of the third book of the *Maccabees*, *Arſinoe*. Not long after this embaſſy *Decius Magius*, an illuſtrious *Capuan*, greatly attached to the intereſt of *Rome*, being ſeized by *Hannibal*, and put on board a veſſel in order to be conveyed to *Carthage*, was by a ſtorm driven into the port of *Cyrene*, a city belonging to the king of *Egypt*, and there by *Philopator*'s order was taken out of the hands of his enemies, conducted to *Alexandria*, and kindly received by the king, who gave him leave to return either to *Capua* or *Rome*; but he choſe to continue in *Egypt*, where he lived under the protection of his deliverer [m]. *Ptolemy* willingly embraced this opportunity of obliging the *Romans*; and by protecting their friend, teſtified his gratitude for the preſents they had ſent to him and b his queen.

Arſinoe *brings him a ſon.*

Arſinoe, who was both wife and ſiſter to *Ptolemy*, after having been barren for ſeveral years, brought him at laſt a ſon, who was ſurnamed *Epiphanes* or *the illuſtrious*, and ſucceeded his father when but five years of age. His birth occaſioned great rejoicings all over *Egypt*, and the neighbouring provinces ſubject to that crown. Moſt perſons of diſtinction in *Syria* and *Phœnice* went up to *Alexandria* to congratulate the king on that occaſion, and among the reſt *Hyrcanus* the ſon of *Joſeph*, the king's receiver general, of whoſe tranſactions at the court of *Egypt* we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak in the hiſtory of the *Jews*. But in the mean time the king purſuing his old courſe of life, gave himſelf up to riots, pleaſures, and exceſſes of every kind. c Drinking, gaming, and laſciviouſneſs, were the whole employments of his life. *Soſibius*, an old and crafty miniſter, who had ſerved under three kings, managed the affairs of ſtate, in which by his long experience he was thoroughly verſed, not indeed in the manner he deſired, but as the favourites would permit him; for he was ſubſervient to the king and his worthleſs favourites in all their vileſt deſigns. While things were thus managed, *Arſinoe* was little regarded by the king, his miniſter, and the other courtiers; which ſhe not being able to bear, ſpared neither her clamours nor complaints on all occaſions, which much offending the king, and thoſe who governed

He murders his wife Arſinoe.

him, orders were given to *Soſibius* to rid them of her. The wicked miniſter complied with their requeſt, employing for that purpoſe one *Philammon*, who had been d uſed to ſuch cruel and barbarous aſſaſſinations [n]. She had ſhewed on all occaſions an extraordinary affection for her husband, accompanied him in his wars with *Antiochus* king of *Syria*, and not only encouraged his ſoldiers before the famous battle of *Raphia*, but continued by him the whole time of the engagement, expoſing herſelf to the ſame dangers [o]. Upon her death the king fell in love with one *Agathoclea*, a woman of a mean extraction, and was intirely governed by her, by her brother *Agathocles*, who was ſubſervient to his unnatural luſt, and by their mother *Oenanthe*. Theſe diſpoſed of all the civil as well as military employments, which of courſe were filled with their creatures and favourites; inſomuch that the king himſelf, who was intirely in their hands, had no power at all, being only their tool and pro- e perty [p]. The murder of *Arſinoe*, and ſeveral other actions of the ſame nature, pro-

Obliged to diſmiſs his prime miniſter.

voked the people to ſuch a degree againſt *Soſibius*, that they obliged the king to diſmiſs him from his ſervice, and raiſe to the office of prime miniſter one *Tlepolemus*, a young man of quality, who had ſignalized himſelf in the army, and was at that time the king's treaſurer. To him *Soſibius* reſigned the king's ſeal, which was the badge of his office, and by virtue thereof *Tlepolemus* governed all the affairs of the kingdom ſo long as the king lived. But in that ſhort time he ſufficiently ſhewed that he was no-ways equal to that charge, he having neither the experience, craft, nor application of his predeceſſor [q].

The death of Ptolemy Philopator.

Ptolemy having by his continued debaucheries and intemperance wore out a very f ſtrong conſtitution, died in the flower of his age, as it often happens to thoſe who indulge themſelves, like him, without reſtraint in all manner of pleaſures. He was about twenty when he came to the crown, and reigned only ſeventeen years. He was ſucceeded by his ſon *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, a child of five years old [r]. As the only perſons preſent when the king expired were *Agathocles*, his ſiſter, and their creatures,

[k] LIV. l. xxvii. [l] POLYB. l. v. [m] LIV. l. xxii. c. 10. [n] POLYB. l. xv. p. 719. VALESII excerpt. p. 65. JUSTIN. l. xxx. c. 1. [o] POLYB. ibid. [p] POLYB. l. xv. p. 720. VALESII excerpt. p. 65. JUSTIN. l. xxx. c. 1, & 2. PLUT. in Erotico & Cleom. ATHEN. l. vi. c. 6. & l. xiii. c. 13. HIERONYM. in Daniel. c. 11. [q] VALESII excerpt. ex Polyb. l. xvi. [r] JUSTIN. l. xxx. c. 1. & 2. HIERONYM. in Daniel. c. 11.

they

a they concealed his death as long as they could, and in the mean time carried off all the money, jewels, and other valuable effects in the palace they could lay their hands on. At the ſame time they formed a project for maintaining the authority they had enjoyed under the deceaſed king, by uſurping the regency, during the minority of his ſucceſſor. They vainly imagined that they might carry this point, if they could but take off *Tlepolemus*, who had ſucceeded *Soſibius* in the miniſtry; and accordingly they concerted meaſures for putting him out of the way. When they thought proper to acquaint the public with the king's death, they ſummoned a general council of the *Macedonians*, that is, of thoſe *Alexandrians*, who were of the *Macedonian* race. When they were met, *Agathocles* and *Agathoclea* appeared in the council;
b the former holding the young king in his arms, and ſhedding abundance of tears, implored the protection of the *Macedonians*, telling them, that the late king, when at the point of death, had committed the young prince to the care of *Agathoclea*, and recommended him to the fidelity of his *Macedonian* ſubjects; and therefore he recurred, with great confidence, to them againſt *Tlepolemus*, who, as he was informed by unexceptionable witneſſes, intended to ſeize the crown for himſelf. He imagined that this weak artifice would have ſtirred up the *Macedonians* againſt *Tlepolemus*, on whoſe death he might have eaſily eſtabliſhed himſelf in the regency. But the malice of this contrivance being too glaring, the people, inſtead of falling upon *Tlepolemus*, vowed the utter ruin of him, his ſiſter and all their creatures. For on this occaſion
c the memory of all their paſt crimes and miſdemeanours being revived, the people of *Alexandria* roſe in a general tumult againſt them; and having firſt taken from them the young king, and placed him on the throne in the hippodrome, they brought before him *Agathocles*, *Agathoclea*, and their mother *Oenanthe*, and cauſed them there, as by the king's order, to be put to death in his preſence. Their dead bodies were dragged through all the ſtreets of *Alexandria*, and tore in pieces by the incenſed multitude. The other ſiſters, relations and creatures of *Agathocles* met with the ſame treatment, every one of them being cut off by the people, whom they had oppreſſed and abuſed.

His favourites put to death.

Philammon, who had been employed to murder queen *Arſinoe*, being returned
d from *Cyrene* to *Alexandria* about three days before this tumult broke out, the women, who had attended on that unhappy princeſs, no ſooner heard of his arrival, but laying hold of the opportunity which the diſtractions of the city gave them, they reſolved to revenge their miſtreſs's death; and accordingly breaking into his houſe, they killed him with ſtones and clubs, a death which he well deſerved, for becoming the inſtrument of ſuch a wicked and deteſtable murder [t].

THE guardianſhip of the young king was for the preſent committed to *Soſibius* the ſon of that *Soſibius*, who had been prime miniſter during the three laſt reigns. Whether he was ſtill living or no, is no-where ſaid; but it is certain that he lived to a very great age, having for the ſpace of threeſcore years been at the helm, and governed
e *Egypt*, we may ſay, with an abſolute ſway; and for this reaſon he was ſurnamed *Polychronos*, or the *long-liver*. He was as crafty and as wicked a miniſter as ever any prince employed in the adminiſtration of public affairs. He did not ſcruple to commit the blackeſt crimes, when they were any ways conducive to the ends he propoſed. *Polybius* imputes to him the murder of *Lyſimachus*, the ſon of *Ptolemy*; of *Arſinoe*, the daughter of *Lyſimachus*; of *Magas*, the king's brother; of *Berenice*, the king's mother; of *Cleomenes* king of *Sparta*; and laſtly of queen *Arſinoe* [u]. It is ſurprizing that this old *Egyptian* politician, after having behaved with ſo much haughtineſs and cruelty in his adminiſtration for ſuch a number of years, ſhould at laſt be ſuffered to retire unmoleſted, and end his days in peace. There are very few inſtances of this
f nature to be met with in hiſtory, moſt miniſters, who acted on his principles, having fallen at laſt victims either to the juſt reſentment of the princes themſelves, whom they pretended to ſerve, or of the people, whom they oppreſſed.

Ptolemy Philopator was, without all doubt, one of the moſt wicked and debauched princes that ever ſwayed a ſcepter; for he began his reign with the murder of his mother *Berenice*, and his brother *Magas*, and cloſed it with that of his ſiſter and wife *Arſinoe*. He minded nothing from the time he aſcended the throne to his death, but his pleaſures and diverſions, wallowing in all ſorts of vices, and taking moſt pleaſure in ſuch as were moſt repugnant to nature. His favourites, catamites, and the

Character of Ptolemy Philopator.

[t] POLYB. l. xv. p. 712, 713, 714, &c. DIODOR. SICUL. in excerpt. Valeſii, p. 294 & excerpt. Polybii, p. 65. PLUT. in Cleom. [u] VALESII excerpt. ibid. PLUT. in Cleom. POLYB. ibid.

many

many lewd women, with whom he ſpent his whole time, governed both him and the kingdom, diſpoſing of all the employments civil and military to perſons of their own ſtamp, and conſequently no-ways equal to them. However he was not without ſome virtues; witneſs his liberality towards the *Rhodians* after the famous earthquake, which threw down their coloſſus, their arſenal, and great part of their walls, to the repairing of which he contributed more generouſly than any prince of his age; for upon the firſt application made to him in their behalf, he ſent them three hundred talents of ſilver, a million of artabes, or buſhels of wheat, materials for building of twenty quinqueremes, and the like number of triremes, three thouſand talents for the rebuilding of the coloſſus, an hundred architects, and three hundred and fifty artificers, promiſing to pay annually fourteen talents for their ſubſiſtence ſo long as the *Rhodians* wanted them. Beſides, he gave them ten thouſand artabes of corn for their ſacrifices, and twenty thouſand for the ſervice of their fleet [u]. *Athenæus* tells us, that he was an encourager of learning, and when ſober took pleaſure in converſing with one *Sephærus*, an eminent philoſopher. The ſame author adds, that he built a magnificent temple in honour of *Homer*, placing in it the ſtatue of that great poet, and round his ſtatue the figures of the ſeveral cities that claimed him [w]. *Ptolemy*, the ſon of *Ageſarchus*, a native of *Megalopolis*, wrote the hiſtory of this prince's reign [x]; which, had it reached our times, would enable us to give a more particular and diſtinct account of his actions.

Ptolemy Epiphanes. *Year of the flood* 2799. *Before Chriſt* 200.

HE was ſucceeded, as we have related above, by his ſon *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, a child of five years old. During his minority, *Antiochus the Great*, king of *Syria*, entering into an alliance with *Philip* of *Macedon*, made himſelf maſter of *Paleſtine* and *Cœle-Syria*; but was ſoon diſpoſſeſſed of them again by *Ariſtomenes*, the prime miniſter of *Egypt*, as we have related in the hiſtory of *Syria* [y]; where the reader will find a particular account of the troubles, which diſturbed the beginning of his reign, and were occaſioned partly by the ambition of *Antiochus*, and partly by the treachery of *Scopas* the *Ætolian*, who was commander in chief of *Ptolemy*'s forces. In the third year of his reign the *Romans*, as *Juſtin* [z] and *Livy* [a] inform us, ſent three deputies to him, viz. *Caius Claudius Nero*, *Marcus Æmilius Lepidus*, and *Publius Sempronius Tuditanus*, to notify to the court of *Egypt*, the victory which they had gained over *Hannibal*, and the treaty of peace concluded between *Rome* and *Carthage*; to thank him for his inviolable attachment to the republic at a time when the neighbouring nations had in a cowardly manner deſerted her; and laſtly, to exhort him always to continue this good underſtanding with the *Romans*, in caſe *Philip* ſhould oblige them to carry the war into *Macedon*. The *Egyptian* lords, who were guardians to the young king, encouraged by this embaſſy, thought they could not better ſecure the life of their prince, than by putting him and his kingdom under the protection of the *Roman* ſenate; which they did accordingly, ſending a ſolemn embaſſy to *Rome* for that purpoſe. The ſenate complied with their requeſt, and ſent *M. Lepidus* to take upon him the guardianſhip, which he, after a ſhort ſtay in *Egypt*, conferred upon *Ariſtomenes*, by birth an *Acarnanian*, but an experienced miniſter of that court, and thoroughly acquainted with the affairs of *Egypt*. He undertook the charge, and acquitted himſelf in it with great prudence and fidelity [b]. In the beginning of his adminiſtration being informed of the ravages *Philip* had committed in *Attica*, and of the motion of the *Macedonian* troops to lay ſiege to *Athens*, he adviſed his royal pupil to ſend an embaſſy to the ſenate, acquainting them that he was ready to deliver *Athens* from the danger that threatened her, provided it were agreeable to the *Romans*. This act of ſubmiſſion from ſo powerful a king was highly acceptable to the ſenate, who returned thanks to *Ptolemy* for the reſpect he had ſhewn them, and gave the embaſſadors the following anſwer; that *Rome* was reſolved to aſſiſt the *Greeks* againſt *Philip*, that ſhe would give *Ptolemy* notice when ſhe wanted his aſſiſtance, and was fully convinced of their maſter's fidelity and affection [c]. *Ariſtomenes* in like manner took care to renew the ancient alliance between the crown of *Egypt*, and the republic of *Achaia*, on which occaſion *Lycortas*, the father of *Polybius* the hiſtorian, and two others, were ſent by the *Achæan* confederacy into *Egypt* to ſign the treaty [d].

Embaſſy of the Romans *to* Ptolemy.

Offers the Romans *aſſiſtance againſt* Philip.

[u] POLYB. l. v. [w] ATHEN. l. v. p. 204. ÆLIAN. Var. Hiſt. l. xiii. c. 2. [x] ATHENÆUS, l. x. p. 426. [y] Vide p. 536. [z] JUSTIN. l. xxx. c. 1. [a] LIV. l. xxxi. c. 4. [b] JUSTIN. & LIV. ibid. POLYB. l. xv. p. 717. [c] LIV. ubi ſupra. [d] POLYB. legat. 37.

IN

a In the mean time the king having attained to the fourteenth year of his age, his inthronization, called by the *Alexandrians Anaclateria*, was celebrated with great pomp and magnificence, and the adminiſtration of affairs put into his hands; for at that age the kings of *Egypt* were, according to the cuſtom of the country, declared to be out of their minority. So long as *Ariſtomenes* was at the helm, matters were managed in ſuch manner as gained the king an univerſal applauſe and approbation; for he followed in all things the advice of that prudent and experienced miniſter. But as ſoon as he became his own maſter, the flattery of his worthleſs courtiers prevailing over the wiſe counſels of ſo able and faithful a ſervant, the kingdom ſuffered great calamities, and the remaining part of his reign was rendered infamous. *Ariſtomenes* *Puts Ariſtomenes to death.*
b did not ceaſe to give him good advice, and intreat him to conduct himſelf in a manner more worthy of his exalted ſtation; but the young prince, plunging himſelf into all the vices which had rendered his father's name and reign ſo odious, inſtead of hearkening to his wholeſome admonitions, ordered him to be put to death for the liberty he had taken. Having thus got rid of ſo troubleſome a cenſor, he abandoned himſelf to exceſſes and diſorders of all kinds, following no other guides in the adminiſtration of affairs but his wild paſſions, and exerciſing a moſt cruel tyranny over his ſubjects [e]. The *Egyptians*, not being able to bear the grievances they ſuffered under his arbitrary adminiſtration, began to cabal againſt him; and being headed by many perſons of the firſt quality, entered into a conſpiracy with a deſign to depoſe him, *His ſubjects revolt.*
c which they were very near putting in execution [f]. To extricate himſelf out of theſe difficulties, he appointed *Polycrates* his prime miniſter, who was a man of great abilities and experience in affairs both of peace and war; for he had commanded in quality of general under his father in the famous battle of *Raphia*, and on that occaſion greatly contributed to the ſignal victory which was there gained. He had been afterwards made governor of *Cyprus*, and happening to come from thence to *Alexandria*, when the conſpiracy of *Scopas* [g] broke out, he had a great ſhare in the ſuppreſſing of it [h]. By his means *Ptolemy* having got the better of the rebels, obliged their leaders, who were the chief lords of the country, to capitulate and ſubmit upon certain conditions. But having got them into his power, he forfeited his promiſe; and after
d treating them in the moſt cruel manner, cauſed them all to be put to death. This treacherous conduct involved him in new difficulties, from which he was again delivered by the wiſdom of his faithful miniſter *Polycrates* [i].

He maintained during the whole time of his reign a ſtrict friendſhip with the *Ro-* *Cultivates the friendſhip of the* Romans.
mans. For *Livy* tells us [k], that he offered the *Romans* a thouſand pounds weight of gold, and twenty thouſand of ſilver, to carry on the war againſt *Antiochus* king of *Syria*, whoſe daughter *Cleopatra* he had married; nay, after *Antiochus* was by the arms of the republic driven out of *Europe*, he ſent an embaſſy to *Rome* to congratulate the ſenate on the deliverance of *Greece*, and the flight of *Antiochus*, and to offer them in his name, and in that of his queen *Cleopatra*, what ſhips, money, or
e proviſions they wanted to purſue the war with the king of *Syria* [l]. *Ptolemy* hated *Antiochus* on account of the diſturbances he had raiſed and fomented in his kingdom, and *Cleopatra* in all likelihood was ſhocked at his treachery and cruelty; for he is ſaid to have married her to *Ptolemy* with no other view but to get rid of him by her means, and have *Egypt* delivered into his hands. But the virtuous young queen, inviolably attached to her duty, joined with *Ptolemy* againſt *Antiochus*, and preferred conjugal affection to the ties of blood [m].

Ptolemy in like manner cultivated with great care the friendſhip of the *Achæan* *And of the* Achæans.
republic; for in the end of his reign he ſent embaſſadors to them, inviting the confederacy to join with him in an offenſive and defenſive league, and promiſing them
f ſix thouſand ſhields, two hundred talents of braſs, and ten ſhips of fifty oars rigged and equipt. His offer was accepted, and embaſſadors were appointed, viz. *Lycortas* with his ſon *Polybius* and young *Aratus*, to renew the alliance, and bring the ten ſhips into *Peloponneſus* [n]. But while they were preparing to ſet out, news was brought of the death of *Ptolemy*.

This prince, having reduced his rebellious ſubjects at home, as has been already related, was preparing to make war abroad upon *Seleucus* king of *Syria*. But as his finances were exhauſted, one of his chief officers asked him, by what means he would

[e] Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. 294. Polybius, l. xvii. p. 773. [f] Diodor. Sicul. ibid. [g] Vide p. 587. [h] Polyb. in excerpt. Valeſii, p. 113. [i] Polyb. ibid. [k] Liv. l. xxxvi. c. 3. [l] Polyb. legat. 17. [m] Hieronym. in Dan. c. 11. [n] Polyb. legat. 57.

raiſe money to carry on the war which he was ready to imbarque in. The king replied, that *his friends were his treaſure*; which anſwer being ſpread abroad among his officers, and the chief men about him, they inferred from thence that he deſigned to purſue the war with their fortunes and eſtates. To prevent therefore th s evil, which made a ſtronger impreſſion upon them than any misfortune which could befal their country, they cauſed poiſon to be given to the king, which put an end to his project and life in the twenty-fourth year of his reign, and twenty-n nth of his age[o]. *Cato*, as quoted by *Priſcian* the grammarian, commends him as an excellent and bountiful prince; and ſuch he was, ſo long as he followed the counſels of *Ariſtomenes*; but after he had cauſed him to be poiſoned, he abandoned himſelf to all manner of wickedneſs and debauchery. He left two ſons, both under age, viz. *Ptolemy Philometor*, and *Ptolemy Phyſcon*, and one daughter by name *Cleopatra*. *Ptolemy Philometor*, who was but ſix years old, ſucceeded his father under the guardianſhip of his mother *Cleopatra*, who for the ſpace of eight years governed the kingdom of *Egypt* with great prudence and moderation. Upon her death the regency fell to *Lennæus*, a nobleman of great diſtinction in that country, and to *Eulæus* an eunuch, who was charged with the care of the young king's education. Theſe no ſooner entered on the adminiſtration, but they demanded *Cœle-Syria* and *Paleſtine* of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, who at that time reigned in *Syria*. Theſe provinces had always been in the poſſeſſion of the kings of *Egypt* from the time of *Ptolemy* the firſt, till *Antiochus the Great* wreſted them out of the hands of *Ptolemy Epiphanes*; and by this title alone *Antiochus Epiphanes* now held them. However this demand occaſioned a war between the two crowns, the particulars whereof we have related elſewhere at length [p], and therefore ſhall not repeat in this place. *Philometor* having in the courſe of this war, either of his own accord delivered himſelf up to *Antiochus*, or, as others will have it, been taken priſoner by that prince, the *Alexandrians* looking upon him as loſt, raiſed his younger brother to the throne, who from that time took the name of *Ptolemy Euergetes* the ſecond, which was afterwards changed into that of *Phyſcon*, or *the great-bellied*, by reaſon of the prominent belly, which by his luxury and gluttony he acquired. On his aſcending the throne, *Cineas* and *Cumanus* were appointed to ſerve him in quality of prime miniſters, and charged with the care of reſtoring the kingdom to its former ſplendor, and flouriſhing condition [q]. But *Antiochus Epiphanes*, returning ſoon after into *Egypt*, drove *Phyſcon* from the throne, and reſtored the whole kingdom, except the city of *Peluſium*, to *Philometor*. His deſign was to kindle a war between the two brothers, and ſeize the kingdom for himſelf, after they had waſted their ſtrength by their domeſtic feuds. With this view he retained *Peluſium*, that having this city, which was the key of *Egypt*, in his hands, he might re-enter that country at his pleaſure. But *Philometor*, being well appriſed of his deſign, invited his brother *Phyſcon* to an accommodation, which was happily effected by the mediation of *Cleopatra* their ſiſter. In virtue of this agreement both brothers were to reign jointly, and oppoſe to the utmoſt of their power *Antiochus* as a declared and common enemy [r]. Hereupon *Antiochus* invaded *Egypt* at the head of a mighty army; but was obliged by the *Romans* to leave that country in the manner we have related in the hiſtory of *Syria* [s].

Is poiſoned.

Ptolemy Philometor. *Year after the flood* 2823. *Before Chriſt* 176.

War between him and the king of Syria.

His brother Phyſcon *raiſed to the crown.*

The two brothers reign jointly.

THE two brothers, being by the retreat of *Antiochus* freed from all apprehenſion of a foreign enemy, began to quarrel with each other; and the diviſions between them roſe to ſuch a height, that the *Roman* ſenate wrote to their embaſſadors *Cneius Octavius*, *Spurius Lucretius*, and *Lucius Aurelius*, whom they had ſent a little before into *Syria*, injoining them to proceed from thence to *Alexandria*, and uſe their utmoſt endeavours to reconcile the two kings. But before the embaſſadors reached *Egypt*, *Phyſcon* the younger brother had driven *Philometor* from the throne, and obliged him to quit the kingdom [t]. Whereupon imbarquing for *Italy*, he landed at *Brunduſium*; from whence he travelled to *Rome* on foot, meanly dreſſed, and with very few attendants. This humble appearance he affected, in all likelihood, to raiſe the compaſſion of the ſenate. *Demetrius*, the ſon of *Seleucus Philopator*, late king of *Syria*, who was then an hoſtage at *Rome*, having had notice of the arrival of *Ptolemy* in *Italy*, and of the deplorable condition in which this unfortunate prince was going to appear in the metropolis of the world, cauſed an equipage to be prepared for him ſuitable to his dignity, and went out with it himſelf to meet him, that

Philometor *driven out by his brother* Phyſcon.

[o] HIERONYM. ubi ſupra. [p] Vide p. 575. [q] PORPHYR. in Græc. EUSEB. Scalig. p. 60—68. POLYB. legat. 81. p. 907. [r] LIV. l. xiv. c. 11. JUSTIN. l. xxxiv. c. 2. PORPHYR. ibid. p. 60. EUSEB. in Chron. p. 68. [s] Vide p. 580. [t] PORPHYR. ubi ſupra.

he

a he might appear at *Rome* as a king. He found him at twenty-ſix miles diſtance from *Rome* on foot, and covered with duſt; embraced him, put a crown on his head, and begged he would make uſe of the royal equipage, which he had brought for that purpoſe. *Ptolemy* expreſſed his gratitude for the honour and reſpect the *Syrian* had ſhewn him; but had his reaſons for not accepting the offers of the prince. Nay, he would not even permit him to accompany him the reſt of the way; but entered *Rome* on foot with the ſame mean attendance, and in the ſame dreſs with which he firſt ſet out on his journey, and without any ſtate or ceremony took up his lodging in the private houſe of a painter of *Alexandria*, his ſubject. The ſenate was no ſooner informed of his arrival, but they ſent for him, and excuſed themſelves for not having received
b him with thoſe ceremonies, which were uſual on ſuch an occaſion, aſſuring him that it was not from any neglect, or want of reſpect for his perſon, but merely becauſe his coming had been kept ſo private, that they had no notice of it till after his arrival. After this having deſired him to quit the habit in which he came, and to fix a day for an audience of the ſenate, in order to lay before them the motives of his journey, he was conducted by ſome of the ſenators to lodgings ſuitable to his royal dignity; and the quæſtor was ordered to ſupply him, at the expence of the public, with all things neceſſary during his ſtay at *Rome* [u].

The differences of the two brothers compoſed by the Romans.

On the day appointed for his having an audience of the ſenate, he repreſented to the conſcript fathers the injuſtice of his brother, and the wrong done him ſo effectually,
c that they immediately decreed his reſtoration; and deputed two of their body, *viz.* *Quintius* and *Canuleius* to attend him to *Alexandria*, and cauſe their decree to be put in execution. They reconducted him accordingly, and on their arrival in *Egypt* ſucceeded in negotiating an accommodation between the two brothers; in virtue of which *Phyſcon* was put in poſſeſſion of *Libya* and *Cyrene*, and *Philometor* of all *Egypt*, and the iſland of *Cyprus*, each of them being declared independent of the other in the dominions allotted them [w]. The treaty of agreement was confirmed with the cuſtomary oaths and ſacrifices. But oaths had been long among the generality of princes no more than mere ceremonies, by which they did not think themſelves bound in the leaſt. For not long after the youngeſt of the two kings, being diſſatisfied with the
d part allotted him, ſent embaſſadors to *Rome*, deſiring that beſides *Libya* and *Cyrene* the iſland of *Cyprus* might be aſſigned him. As he could not obtain this of the conſcript fathers by means of his embaſſadors, he went to *Rome* in perſon to ſollicit the ſenate for it. But *Menithyllus* of *Alabanda*, whom *Philometor* had ſent to plead his cauſe, maintained it with great zeal and ability. He repreſented to the ſenate, that *Phyſcon* had had a much greater ſhare than he could in reaſon have expected. His brother, ſaid he, has given him *Cyrenaica*; and will not this rich maritime country ſatisfy the deſires of a younger brother? Nay, *Philometor* has done more for *Phyſcon*; he has ſaved his life. For after the death of *Cleopatra*, *Phyſcon*, being ſuſpected of parricide, would not have eſcaped the fury of the incenſed multitude, had he not been
e protected by the king his brother. Beſides, an accommodation was made, conſcript fathers, by your embaſſadors between the two competitors: It was agreed, that *Philometor* ſhould reign in *Egypt*, and in the iſland of *Cyprus*, and that *Libya* and *Cyrene* ſhould be given to *Phyſcon* with the title of king. This treaty was ſigned and ratified at the altars, each party binding themſelves by the moſt ſolemn oaths to the obſervance of it. But the ambition of *Phyſcon* knows no bounds; he pays no regard to his oath, and even deſpiſes your decrees. The embaſſadors whom *Rome* had ſent to negotiate the accommodation between the two brothers, being preſent in the ſenate, confirmed the truth of all *Menithyllus* had advanced. *Phyſcon* had nothing to anſwer, but that he was forced by the neceſſity of his affairs at that time to conſent
f to the propoſal of an ambitious brother, though greatly to his prejudice. It is certain, ſaid he, that I was injured in the diviſion of my father's dominions; and therefore, conſcript fathers, I have recourſe to your equity. That with me ſhall ſupply the place of gods and oaths. I ſtill abate of what is due to me in juſtice. All I deſire is the iſland of *Cyprus*, which, though granted, will not put me upon the level with my brother. *Egypt* is a large kingdom, and if *Philometor* reigns alone there, and in the iſland of *Cyprus* too, his power will become very formidable [x].

New diſputes between them.

[u] Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. Valeſii, p. 322. Val. Max. l. v. c. 1. Polyb. legat. 113. p. 941.
[w] Polyb. ibid. p. 943. Epitom. Liv. l. xlvi. Zonaras, l. ii. [x] Polyb. legat. 113. p. 941. & legat. 117. p. 950.

Nothing

The Romans *adjudge the iſland of* Cyprus *to* Phyſcon.

NOTHING could be more equitable than the deciſions of the ſenate, when their own intereſt did not interfere, and help to turn the balance. But as it was for the advantage of the republic that the ſtrength of the kingdom of *Egypt* ſhould be divided, and conſequently leſſened, thoſe refined politicians, without any regard to equity or juſtice, granted the younger brother what he demanded. *Polybius* obſerves here, that the *Romans* were ever careful to improve to their own advantage the quarrels and diſputes which aroſe among kings and princes, conducting themſelves therein in ſuch manner as to make the contending parties believe that they favoured them, while they promoted their own intereſt, which they had ſolely in view in all their reſolutions [y]. This alone prompted them to favour *Phyſcon*, and adjudge to him the iſland of *Cyprus* as an addition to his ſhare, contrary to the treaty of diviſion concluded a little before by their own embaſſadors. *Demetrius*, who was then at *Rome*, and whoſe intereſt it was that *Cyprus* ſhould not continue ſubject to ſo powerful a prince as the king of *Egypt*, ſupported the demand of *Phyſcon* with all his credit. Two commiſſioners were therefore ſent with the king of *Cyrene*, viz. *T. Torquatus* and *Cn. Merula* to put him in poſſeſſion of *Cyprus*. Their orders were to uſe gentle methods, and endeavour by fair means to prevail upon *Philometor* to give up *Cyprus* to his brother.

WHILE *Phyſcon* was at *Rome* on this occaſion, he had often the opportunity of ſeeing *Cornelia*, the mother of the *Gracchi*, who was the pattern of her ſex, and the prodigy of her age. The *Egyptian* being taken, not ſo much with her charms, as with her virtue, ſuperior underſtanding, and extraordinary qualifications, cauſed propoſals of marriage to be made to her. But ſhe, being the daughter of *Scipio Africanus*, and the widow of *Tiberius Gracchus*, who had been twice conſul, and once cenſor, deſpiſed the offer, thinking it more honourable to be one of the firſt matrons of *Rome*, than to reign with *Phyſcon* in *Libya* and *Cyrene* [z].

Phyſcon ſet out from *Rome* with the two embaſſadors, and arriving in *Greece* on his way to *Cyprus*, he there raiſed a great number of mercenaries with a deſign to ſail forthwith to *Cyprus*, and poſſeſs himſelf by force of that iſland. But the embaſſadors having acquainted him that they were injoined by the ſenate to uſe gentle methods, and procure him the poſſeſſion of the iſland by way of treaty with his brother, and not by dint of arms, at their requeſt he diſmiſſed his forces, and with *Merula* returned to *Libya*, while *Torquatus* purſued his journey to *Alexandria*. The deſign of the embaſſadors was to bring the two brothers to an interview on the frontiers of their dominions, and there to ſettle matters between them in an amicable manner, agreeable to the inſtructions of the ſenate. But *Torquatus* on his arrival at the court of *Alexandria* found *Philometor* no ways inclined to comply with the decree of the ſenate. He urged the late agreement made between him and his brother by *Quintus* and *Canuleius*, the former embaſſadors; in virtue of which *Cyprus* having been allotted to him, he thought it very ſtrange, that it ſhould, contrary to the articles of that treaty, be now taken from him, and given to his brother. However he did not abſolutely refuſe to yield to the orders of the ſenate, but ſhewing himſelf inclined to grant ſome things, and objecting againſt others, he ſpun out the time without coming to any determination [a]. In the mean time *Phyſcon*, who waited at *Apis* in *Libya*, as had been agreed on, to hear the reſult of *Torquatus*'s negotiations, receiving no intelligence from him, ſent *Merula* alſo to *Alexandria*, hoping that both the embaſſadors might prevail upon *Ptolemy* to comply with the expreſs orders of their republic. But *Philometor* ſtill obſerved the ſame conduct, treating the embaſſadors with great kindneſs, flattering them with fair words, and entertaining them at a great charge for forty days together without ever giving them any poſitive anſwer. At length, when he found that they would be put off no longer, he plainly declared, that he was reſolved to ſtand to the firſt treaty, and would hearken to no other [b]. With this anſwer *Merula* returned to *Phyſcon*, and *Torquatus* to *Rome*.

Philometor refuſes to ſubmit to the decree of the ſenate.

IN the mean time the *Cyreneans*, being informed of the ill conduct of *Phyſcon* during his ſhort reign at *Alexandria*, conceived ſo ſtrong an averſion againſt him, that they reſolved to keep him out of their country by force of arms. It was not doubted but *Philometor* fomented under-hand theſe diſturbances in order to find his brother employment at home, and thereby divert him from raiſing new commotions in *Egypt* or *Cyprus*. *Phyſcon* being informed of theſe troubles, and at the ſame time receiving intelligence, that the *Cyreneans* were already in the field, laid aſide all thoughts of

The Cyreneans *riſe up in arms againſt* Phyſcon.

[y] Idem ibid. [z] PLUT. in Tiber. Gracch. [a] POLYB. legat. 113. p. 942. [b] POLYB. legat. 116. p. 950.

Cyprus,

5

a *Cyprus*, and leaving *Apis* where his fleet lay in harbour, he haſtened to *Cyrene* with all his forces, but was on his arrival overthrown by the rebels. Hereupon being involved in great difficulties, he reſolved to ſend two embaſſadors to *Rome*, there to renew his complaints againſt his brother, not daring to go thither in perſon till ſuch time as the troubles raiſed at *Cyrene* were appeaſed. The embaſſadors ſetting out with *Torquatus* and *Merula* arrived ſafe at *Rome*, where after a long debate between them and *Menithyllus*, whom *Philometor* had ſent back to *Rome* on this occaſion, the ſenate not only declared in favour of *Phyſcon*, but to expreſs their reſentment againſt *Philometor* for not ſubmitting to their decree, renounced all friendſhip and alliance with him, and ordered his embaſſadors to leave the city in five days. Two embaſſadors
b were immediately diſpatched to *Cyrene* to acquaint *Phyſcon* with the reſolution of the *Roman* ſenate [c].

Phyſcon having at laſt got the better of his rebellious ſubjects, eſtabliſhed himſelf in *Cyrene*; but his wicked and vicious conduct ſoon eſtranged the minds of the *Cyreneans* from their new king to ſuch a degree, that ſome of them entering into a conſpiracy againſt him, fell upon him one night as he was returning to his palace, wounded him in ſeveral places, and left him for dead on the ſpot. This he laid to the charge of his brother *Philometor*, and as ſoon as he was recovered returned to *Rome* to make his complaints to the ſenate, and ſhew them the ſcars of his wounds, accuſing him of having employed the aſſaſſins, from whom he had received them [d]. Though *Philometor* was known to be a prince of a moſt mild and humane diſpoſition, and of all
c men living the moſt unlikely to have given countenance to ſo black an attempt, yet the ſenate being offended at his refuſing to ſubmit to the regulations they had made with reſpect to the iſland of *Cyprus*, hearkened to this falſe accuſation, and carried their prejudice againſt him to ſuch a height, that they would not ſo much as hear what his embaſſadors had to ſay in confutation of the charge, but ordered them forthwith to depart the city. At the ſame time they appointed five commiſſioners to conduct *Phyſcon* into *Cyprus*, and put him in poſſeſſion of that iſland, injoining all their allies in thoſe parts to furniſh him with forces for that purpoſe [e].

A conſpiracy formed againſt him.

Phyſcon having by this means got together an army which ſeemed to him ſufficient
d for the execution of his deſign, landed in *Cyprus*; but being there encountered by *Philometor* in perſon, his forces were put to flight, and he obliged to ſhut himſelf up in *Lapitho*, a city in that iſland, where he was cloſely beſieged, and at length taken and delivered up to *Philometor*, whom he had ſo highly provoked. Every one expected he would have treated him with the ſeverity he well deſerved; but the prince gave on this occaſion a ſignal proof of his good nature, and truly generous temper; for he not only forgave him, but reſtored to him *Libya* and *Cyrene*, adding ſome other territories in lieu of the iſland of *Cyprus*, and promiſing him his daughter in marriage [f]. Thus an end was put to the war between the two brothers, the *Romans* being aſhamed to oppoſe any longer a prince, whoſe clemency had gained him the
e affection of all the neighbouring nations.

Phyſcon *defeated and taken priſoner by his brother* Philometor, *who generouſly pardons him.*

Philometor on his return to *Alexandria* appointed one *Archias* governor of the iſland of *Cyprus*. But he ſoon after the king's departure agreed with *Demetrius* king of *Syria* to betray the iſland to him for five hundred talents. The treachery was diſcovered before it took effect, and the traitor, to avoid the puniſhment which he deſerved, laid violent hands on himſelf. *Archias* had formerly ſerved *Ptolemy* with great fidelity, and even attended him to *Rome*, when he was driven out of his kingdom, and forced to implore the aſſiſtance of the ſenate in his diſtreſs. But as he was of a covetous temper, his fidelity was not proof againſt money; and therefore offered to betray his truſt for the abovementioned ſum, and loſt his life by the bargain [g]. *Pto-*
f *lemy* being diſguſted with *Demetrius* for this attempt upon *Cyprus*, joined *Attalus* king of *Pergamus*, and *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia*, in ſetting up a pretender to his crown, and ſupporting him with all the ſtrength of his kingdom, as we have related at length in the hiſtory of *Syria* [h]. This was *Alexander Balas*, to whom he even gave his daughter *Cleopatra* in marriage, after he had placed him on the throne of *Syria*. But he, notwithſtanding theſe and many other favours, being ſuſpected of having entered into a plot againſt his benefactor, *Ptolemy* highly provoked at his ingratitude, became his greateſt enemy, and marching againſt him routed his army in the neighbourhood

Death of Philometor.

[c] Polyb. legat. 116, 117. p. 950. [d] Idem legat. 132. p. 961. [e] Polyb. legat. 133. & in excerpt. Valeſii, p. 197. [f] Polyb. in excerpt. Valeſii, p. 197. Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. Val. p. 334, 335. Liv. l. xlvii. Zonar. ex Dion. [g] Polyb. in excerpt. Val. p. 170. [h] Vide p. 593.

of *Antioch*, but died a few days after of the wounds he received in the engagement, a
His character. as we have related elſewhere [i]. He was, without all doubt, an excellent prince, and is by all the profane hiſtorians highly commended on account of his clemency and good nature. *Polybius*, who was his contemporary, gives him this character; he was, ſays that hiſtorian, an enemy to all kind of cruelty and oppreſſion, averſe from ſpilling the blood of his ſubjects, and ſo much inclined to mercy, that during the whole time of his long reign he put none of his nobles, nor even of the citizens of *Alexandria*, to death, though ſome of them well deſerved it. Though his brother, continues the ſame writer, had provoked him to the higheſt degree, and committed ſuch crimes as to others would have ſeemed unpardonable, yet he not only forgave him, but treated him with the affection of a kind brother [k]. 'Tis true, that in the b
beginning of his reign he was looked upon, as *Juſtin* informs us [l], as a very mean-ſpirited prince, keeping, while in the army, at as great a diſtance from all danger as he was able, and afterwards ſubmitting in a ſhameful manner to the will of *Antiochus Epiphanes* king of *Syria*, by whom he ſuffered himſelf to be deprived of a rich and powerful kingdom without attempting to recover it. But this mean behaviour was not owing to his want of natural courage or capacity, for he afterwards gave many inſtances of both, as we have ſeen; but to his effeminate education. For the eunuch *Eulæus*, who had the care of his education, and was at the ſame time one of his prime miniſters, endeavoured to corrupt him with all manner of luxury, in order to render him unfit for governing, and by that means keep the power in his own c
hands. He took the name of *Philometor* to teſtify his gratitude to his mother *Cleopatra* for her prudent and careful adminiſtration during his minority. He allowed the *Jews* to build a temple in *Egypt* like that of *Jeruſalem*, being induced thereunto by *Onias*, who was in high favour both with him and his queen *Cleopatra* [m]. *Ariſtobulus* an *Alexandrian Jew*, and a *Peripatetic* philoſopher of great note, is ſaid to have been *Ptolemy*'s preceptor, and to have dedicated to him a comment, which he wrote on the five books of *Moſes* [n]. The author of the hiſtory of the *Maccabees* in his account of the troubles of *Syria* repreſents *Ptolemy* as an ambitious and perfidious prince, trampling under his feet the moſt ſacred laws of juſtice and nature, to raiſe himſelf on the ruins of his ſon-in-law *Alexander Balas*; which noways agrees with the d
character given him by *Joſephus*, *Polybius*, and other profane hiſtorians [o].

Ptolemy Phyſcon. *Year after the flood* 2858. *Before Chriſt* 141.

Cleopatra, queen of *Egypt*, on the death of *Philometor* her brother and husband, endeavoured to ſecure the crown for the ſon ſhe had by him, being therein ſupported by ſome chief lords of the kingdom; but others, declaring for *Phyſcon*, the deceaſed king's brother, ſent embaſſadors to invite him from *Cyrene*, where he then reigned, to *Alexandria*. This obliging *Cleopatra* to provide for her defence, ſhe had recourſe to *Onias* and *Doſitheus*, two *Jews*, who had had the whole management of affairs during the laſt years of *Philometor*'s reign. Theſe with an army of their countrymen haſtened to her aſſiſtance. But before hoſtilities were committed on either ſide, matters were compromiſed by the interpoſition of *Thermus* a *Roman* embaſſador at that time e
Marries Cleopatra, *and on the day of the nuptials murders her ſon.* in *Alexandria*, on the following terms; *viz.* that *Phyſcon* ſhould marry *Cleopatra*, and reign jointly with her during his life, but at the ſame time declare her ſon by *Philometor* next heir to the crown [p]. To theſe terms both parties agreed; but as *Phyſcon* could not but look with jealouſy on the young prince, whoſe birth intitled him to the crown, he murdered him in his mother's arms on the very day of the nuptials. This prince, as we have obſerved above, was commonly called *Phyſcon* by reaſon of his prominent belly; but the name which he aſſumed was *Euergetes*, that is, *the benefactor*; this the *Alexandrians* changed into that of *Kakergetes*, or the evil-doer, a ſurname to which he had the juſteſt title; for he was the moſt cruel, wicked, and likewiſe the moſt vile and deſpicable of the *Ptolemies*, who reigned in *Egypt*. f
He began his reign with the murder of his nephew in the manner we have related, and continued it to the laſt with the ſame cruelty and wickedneſs. He was no ſooner ſeated on the throne, than he cauſed all thoſe to be put to death, who had ſhewn any
His cruelty. concern for the murder of the young prince. Tranſported with rage againſt the *Jews* for having eſpouſed the cauſe of *Cleopatra*, he treated them more like ſlaves than ſubjects. *Joſephus* tells us, that he condemned all thoſe of that nation, who were at *Alexandria*, to be trod to death by elephants, and that by the miraculous interpoſi-

[i] Vide p. 599. [k] Polyb. in excerpt. Val. p. 191. [l] Justin. l. xxxiv. c. 2. [m] Joseph. contra Apion. l. ii. [n] Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. xiii. c. 12. & Clem. Alexand. Strom. l. i. [o] Vide p. 599. [p] Joseph. l. ii. contra Apion. p. 1064. Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 8.

tion

a tion of heaven in their favour they eſcaped the fury of thoſe animals. But that writer places a fact here which happened in the reign of *Ptolemy Philopator*, as is plain from the hiſtory of the *Maccabees*. However it is certain, that this wicked prince made himſelf the curſe of his people by his unparalled cruelties; putting every day ſome of them to death either on groundleſs ſuſpicions, or for the ſmalleſt faults; and often for no faults at all, but merely to gratify his cruel and inhuman temper. Thoſe who had had the greateſt ſhare in the confidence of his brother *Philometor*, were ſacrificed the firſt; and next to them moſt of the leading men, who had declared in his favour againſt *Cleopatra*; for as they had by their intereſt placed him on the throne, ſo they might by the ſame, as he apprehended, drive him from it; and
b therefore he reſolved to diſpatch his own friends after he had got rid of his brothers [q].

In the ſecond year of his reign queen *Cleopatra* brought him a ſon, while he was employed in the performance of certain religious ceremonies, practiſed, according to the ſacred rites of *Egypt*, by their kings ſoon after their acceſſion to the crown. *Phyſcon* was tranſported with joy at the birth of a ſon, whom he deſigned for ſucceſſor, calling him *Memphitis* from the ceremonies which he was diſcharging at the time of his birth in the city of *Memphis*. However he could not forbear his cruel practices even during the public rejoicings on account of the young prince's birth; but cauſed ſome chief lords of *Cyrene*, who attended him into *Egypt*, to be barbarouſly murdered for having on that occaſion caſt ſome reflections on one of his favourite
c courteſans, by name *Irene* [r]. On his return to *Alexandria*, he baniſhed all thoſe who had been brought up with his brother *Philometor*, and without the leaſt provocation gave his guards, who conſiſted of *Greek* and *Aſiatic* mercenaries, free liberty to murder and plunder the inhabitants of that rich metropolis at their pleaſure; and the cruelties practiſed by thoſe greedy and inhuman wretches upon this licence, are not to be expreſſed. *Juſtin* [s] and *Athenæus* [t] tell us, that not only the private houſes, but the ſtreets, and even the temples ſtreamed daily with the blood of the innocent citizens; which ſo terrified the few *Alexandrians*, who outlived theſe repeated maſſacres, that ſtealing privately away, they fled into other countries, and left their native city in a manner deſolate. *Phyſcon* therefore, that he might not reign
d over empty houſes, invited ſtrangers, by his edicts diſperſed over the neighbouring countries, to repeople the place. Upon this invitation great multitudes flocking thither, he gave them the habitations of thoſe who had fled, and admitting them to all the rights, privileges, and immunities of the former citizens, by this means repeopled the city [u]. As there were among thoſe who left *Egypt* on this occaſion many grammarians, philoſophers, phyſicians, geometricians, and maſters of other liberal arts and ſciences, by their means learning was revived in *Greece*, *Aſia Minor*, the iſlands of the *Archipelago*, and in other places where they ſettled. The wars which had been carried on for a long tract of time among the ſucceſſors of *Alexander*, had in a manner extinguiſhed learning in thoſe parts; and it would have been
e intirely loſt, but for the protection and encouragement given to learned men by the *Ptolemies* of *Egypt*. The firſt *Ptolemy* erected at *Alexandria* a muſæum or college, as we have related above, for the ſupport of thoſe who devoted their time to the ſtudy of the liberal arts; and adding to it a great library for their uſe, drew by that means moſt of the learned men out of *Greece* to his metropolis. *Ptolemy* the ſecond, and alſo the third, having herein followed the example of their predeceſſor, *Alexandria* became the place where the ſciences flouriſhed, when they were quite neglected elſewhere, moſt of the inhabitants of that city being bred up in the knowledge of ſome ſcience or other. Whence when they were driven by the cruelty and oppreſſions of this wicked tyrant into foreign countries, as they were qualified to gain themſelves
f a maintenance by teaching in the places where they ſettled the particular arts they were skilled in, they erected ſchools for this purpoſe in the countries, through which they were diſperſed; and being ſatisfied, by reaſon of their poverty, with a ſmall ſalary, great numbers of ſcholars flocked to them. By this means the ſeveral branches of learning were revived in thoſe eaſtern parts, in the ſame manner as they were in latter ages in the weſtern after the taking of *Conſtantinople* by the *Turks*. For that city being reduced by the infidels in the year of the chriſtian æra 1453, the learned men, who lived there, and in the other parts of *Greece*, to avoid the cruelty of the *Turks*,

Learning revived in Greece, Aſia Minor, &c.

[q] Justin. ibid. Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. Valeſii, p. 350. [r] Diodor. Sicul. ibid. p. 354.
[s] Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 8. [t] Athen. l. iv. c. 24. [u] Justin. & Athen. ibid.

withdrew

withdrew into *Italy*, where under the patronage of the *Italian* princes, eſpecially of *Lorenzo de Medicis*, they propagated their books and their learning. a

Three Roman *embaſſadors arrive at* Alexandria.

But to return to *Alexandria*; while foreigners were flocking from all parts to that metropolis with a deſign to ſettle there on the encouragement given them by *Phyſcon*, three *Roman* embaſſadors landed at that port, viz. *Scipio Africanus* the younger, *Spurius Mummius*, and *L. Metellus*. They had been ſent by their republic to viſit the countries which were ſubject to *Rome*, as *Greece* and *Macedon*, and thoſe alſo that were only in alliance with her; their commiſſion being to paſs through *Greece* and *Macedon*, and from thence to the courts of the princes of *Egypt*, *Syria*, *Pergamus*, *Bithynia*, &c. to obſerve the ſtate of affairs in each kingdom, to compoſe what differences they ſhould find among their kings, and to ſettle in all places peace b and concord. The report of *Scipio*'s coming had reached *Egypt* before him; and upon the news of his arrival, the inhabitants repaired to the port in great crowds to ſee a man, who had filled the whole world with the fame of his exploits. On his landing he had covered his head with one of the lappets of his gown; but the *Alexandrians* deſired him to ſhew his face to them, the multitude being come on purpoſe to ſee him. *Scipio* complied immediately with their requeſt, whereupon he was with loud acclamations applauded by the numerous crowds [u]. The king himſelf went out to meet the embaſſadors; but made ſuch an appearance as inſpired them with a contempt for him. He had, ſays *Athenæus*, out of the ſeventh book of *Poſidonius* the *Stoic* [w], a great head, and a broad face, extremely deformed and ſhocking, c upon a ſhort ſquat body with a belly enormouſly prominent. His dreſs was agreeable to his vicious diſpoſition; for he wore only a fine ſtuff, which was ſo tranſparent as to leave thoſe parts viſible, which it is the chief end of garments to conceal. *Scipio* and his collegues were extremely offended at theſe indecencies, but they had no right to reform them. The more conſcious the king was of his crimes, and wicked adminiſtration, the more reſpect he affected to ſhew to the embaſſadors. He entertained them during their ſtay at *Alexandria* with all the varieties of the moſt ſumptuous viands; but they ſcorning that rich fare as prejudicial both to their bodies and minds, touched nothing but what was neceſſary in the moſt temperate manner for the ſupport of nature. Such was the temperance of the *Romans* in the times we are now d writing of. The king ſhewed them in perſon his palace and treaſury, and whatever elſe was worth ſeeing at *Alexandria*. After they had viewed that great metropolis, and made themſelves well acquainted with the ſtate of affairs there, they ſailed up the *Nile* to ſee *Memphis*, and the other parts of *Egypt*. In this progreſs obſerving the great number of cities, the vaſt multitudes of inhabitants, the fertility of the ſoil, &c. they concluded that nothing was wanting to render the kingdom of *Egypt* one of the moſt powerful ſtates in the world, but a prince of abilities and application; and therefore were mighty well pleaſed to find a prince on the throne intirely deſtitute of every qualification that was neceſſary for ſuch an undertaking [x].

Kindly entertained by Phyſcon.

The embaſſadors no ſooner left *Egypt* but *Phyſcon* began to exerciſe the ſame cruel- e ties upon the new inhabitants of *Alexandria*, which had obliged the ancient citizens to abandon their country. No day paſſed without ſome ſignal inſtance of his cruelty and tyranny, ſuch of the *Alexandrians*, as were poſſeſſed of large eſtates, being daily murdered under ſome pretence or other. We have obſerved above that he married *Cleopatra* his ſiſter, and his brother's widow, and ſlew her ſon in her arms on the very day of the nuptials. But now falling in love with a daughter ſhe had by *Philometor*, who was alſo called *Cleopatra*, he firſt raviſhed and afterwards married her, having divorced her mother to make room for her. Theſe and many other exceſſes of the like nature exaſperated the *Alexandrians* againſt him to ſuch a degree, that they wanted only an opportunity of taking up arms, and ridding themſelves of a f tyrant, who was become the contempt as well as the hatred and deteſtation of his people. That he kept the crown on his head under ſo general an odium and averſion of his ſubjects, was wholly owing to *Hierax* his chief miniſter. He was a native of *Antioch*, and had in the reign of *Alexander Balas*, in a joint commiſſion with *Diodotus* called afterwards *Tryphon*, governed the city of *Antioch*, as we have related elſewhere. On the turn of affairs, which afterwards happened in *Syria*, he retired into *Egypt*; and there entering into the ſervice of *Ptolemy Phyſcon*, was raiſed to the chief command of the army, and moreover charged with the whole management of the affairs

Phyſcon divorces his ſiſter, and marries his niece.

[u] Plut. in Apoph. [w] Athen. l. xii. c. 27. [x] Justin. Diodor. Sicul. ubi ſupra. Val. Max. l. iv. c. 3. Athen. l. vi. p. 273.

of

a of the kingdom. As he was a man of great valour and wiſdom, he took care to gain the affections of the ſoldiery by paying them punctually, and to ballance, ſo far as in him lay, by his good and wiſe adminiſtration, the wicked conduct of his maſter; and by this means had the good luck to keep for ſeveral years all things quiet in the kingdom under the moſt contemptible, brutal, and cruel tyrant that had ever ſwayed a ſcepter [y]. But afterwards, *Hierax* being either dead, or removed from his ſtation, the *Alexandrians* began openly to complain of the oppreſſions they groaned under, and throw out threats againſt their king in caſe he did not change his conduct. But *Phyſcon*, in order to put them out of a condition of attempting any thing againſt him, reſolved on a general maſſacre of all their young men, in whom the whole
b ſtrength of the place conſiſted. Accordingly when they were one day aſſembled in the gymnaſium or place of their public exerciſes, he cauſed fire to be ſet to it, ſo that they all periſhed in the flames, or by the ſwords of his mercenaries, whom the tyrant had placed at all the avenues. Hereupon the people, being exaſperated to the higheſt degree, aſſembled in a tumultuous manner, and running without any guide, but their rage and deſpair, to the king's palace, ſet fire to it, and reduced it to aſhes. But he had the good fortune to make his eſcape undiſcovered, and to retire to the iſland of *Cyprus* with *Cleopatra* his wife, and *Memphitis* his ſon by his ſiſter *Cleopatra* [z]. Upon his flight the *Alexandrians* placed on the throne his divorced queen and ſiſter; but he
c fearing leſt they ſhould beſtow the crown on his ſon, whom he had appointed governor of *Cyrene*, ſent for him into *Cyprus*, and as ſoon as he was landed cauſed him to be aſſaſſinated. This new act of cruelty provoking the people ſtill more againſt him, they pulled down and daſhed to pieces all the ſtatues which had been erected to him in *Alexandria*, which he ſuppoſing to have been done at the inſtigation of his divorced queen, his rage ſtifled all natural affection in him; wherefore conſidering *Memphitis* only as *Cleopatra*'s child, he reſolved to revenge the mother's quarrel upon him. Accordingly without the leaſt concern at ſpilling the blood of a young prince, his own ſon, and amiable for his beauty and riſing virtues, he cauſed his throat to be cut in his own ſight, and his mangled members to be put into a box, with the head intire, to ſhew thereby to whom they belonged, and ſent to *Alexandria*. The meſ-
d ſenger, who was one of his guards, was ordered to wait till the queen's birth-day, which approached, and was to be celebrated with extraordinary pomp and magnificence, and then to preſent it. His orders were executed, and the box conveyed to the queen in the midſt of the public rejoicings, which were quickly changed into a general mourning. The horror and deteſtation which the ſight of ſo diſmal an object ſtirred up in all who were preſent, againſt the author of ſuch a monſtrous and unparalleled cruelty, cannot be expreſſed. The abominable preſent being expoſed to the view of the public, had the ſame effect on the populace, as it had had on the nobles at court. They knew what they were to expect from a king, who had thus treated his own ſon, and therefore nothing was thought of but how to prevent that
e monſter of cruelty from ever reaſcending the throne. An army was ſoon raiſed, and the command of it given to *Marſyas*, whom the queen had appointed general, enjoining him to take all the neceſſary ſteps for the defence of the country [a].

A general maſſacre of all the young men of Alexandria.

Phyſcon *driven from the throne.*

Murders his own ſon, and ſends his mangled members to Cleopatra *his mother.*

On the other hand *Phyſcon*, having hired a numerous body of mercenaries, ſent them under the command of *Hegelochus* againſt the *Alexandrians*. Hereupon the two armies meeting on the frontiers of *Egypt*, a bloody battle enſued, wherein the *Egyptian* army was intirely defeated, and their general *Marſyas* taken priſoner, and ſent in chains to *Phyſcon*. Every one expected that ſo bloody a tyrant would have made his unhappy priſoner firſt ſuffer the moſt exquiſite torments, and then put him to ſome cruel death. But he, to the great ſurprize of all, pardoned him, and gave him his
f liberty. For finding by experience that his cruelties did not keep in awe, but exaſperated the people, he reſolved to try whether he could by uſing lenity regain their affections [b]. *Cleopatra* being greatly diſtreſſed by this overthrow, and the loſs of her army, which was almoſt intirely cut to pieces, ſent to demand aid of *Demetrius* king of *Syria*, who had married her eldeſt daughter by *Philometor*, promiſing him the crown of *Egypt* for his reward. *Demetrius* accepting the propoſal without heſitation, marched with all his forces into *Egypt*, and there laid ſiege to *Peluſium* [c]. But he being by his

[y] Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. Val. p. 361. Athen. l. iv. p. 184. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 1, & 2. [z] Val. Max. l. ix. c. 2. Justin. l. viii. c. 8. Oroſius, l. v. c. 10. Epit. Liv. l. lix. [a] Justin. ibid. Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. Val. p. 374. Liv. l. lix. Jul. Obſequens de prodig. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 2.
[b] Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. Valeſii. p. 376. [c] Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 9. & l. xxxix. c. 1.

tyrannical government, vicious manners, and haughty behaviour, no leſs hated by the *Syrians* than *Phyſcon* was by the *Egyptians*, the people of *Antioch* taking advantage of his abſence broke out into open rebellion, and were joined therein by the *Apameans*, and moſt of the inhabitants of the other cities of *Syria*. This obliged *Demetrius* to leave *Egypt* and haſten back into *Syria*. *Cleopatra* being deſtitute of the aid ſhe expected, and noways in a condition, after the defeat of her army, to make head againſt *Phyſcon*, put all her valuable effects on board a ſhip, and ſet ſail for *Ptolemais*, where her daughter *Cleopatra*, queen of *Syria*, then reſided. This *Cleopatra* had been in her father's life-time firſt married to *Alexander Balas*, and afterwards to *Demetrius*. But *Demetrius* being taken priſoner by the *Parthians*, and detained amongſt them, ſhe had after her father's death diſpoſed of herſelf to *Antiochus Sidetes*, the brother of *Demetrius*. *Sidetes* dying ſoon after, ſhe returned to the bed of *Demetrius* her firſt husband upon his being ſet at liberty by the *Parthian* king [e]. Upon the flight of *Cleopatra*, *Phyſcon* returned to *Alexandria*, and reaſſumed the government, there being, after the retreat of *Cleopatra*, and defeat of *Marſyas*, no power in *Egypt* to withſtand him. His firſt thoughts, after his being ſettled anew on the throne, were to be revenged on *Demetrius* for his late invaſion. With this view he ſet up an impoſtor againſt him, called *Alexander Zebina*, whoſe adventures we have related at length in the hiſtory of *Syria* [f]. From this time *Phyſcon* held the kingdom of *Egypt* undiſturbed till the twenty-ninth year of his reign, and ſixty-ſeventh of his age, when he died at *Alexandria*, and by his death put an end to a moſt wicked life, and a moſt cruel and tyrannical reign, he having been infamous for both beyond all who reigned before him in that country [g].

Phyſcon reſtored.

His death.

a b c

ONE would hardly believe that a prince, who is repreſented by hiſtorians as a monſter rather than a man, ſhould have deſerved the reputation of being the reſtorer of letters, and the patron of learned men. But this is atteſted in ſeveral places by *Athenæus*, *Vitruvius*, *Epiphanius*, and others [h]. *Athenæus* tells us, that in the ſhort intervals between his debaucheries, he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the polite arts and ſciences. Nay, according to this author, he had ſo extenſive a knowledge, and ſo great an eaſe in diſcourſing of all kinds of literature, that he acquired the ſurname of *Ptolemy the Philologiſt*. The ſame author adds, that he wrote an hiſtory in twenty-four books, and a learned comment on *Homer*. His hiſtory, as *Epiphanius* informs us, was in great repute among the ancients, and often quoted by thoſe who wrote on the ſame ſubject. *Galen* tells us, that he inriched the *Alexandrian* library with a great number of valuable books, which he purchaſed at a vaſt expence, having ſent men of learning into all parts of the world for that purpoſe. He allowed one *Panaretus*, who had been a diſciple of *Arceſilas*, and was a man of great learning, an annual penſion of twelve talents, that is, of two thouſand three hundred and twenty-five pounds ſterling [i]. He left three ſons behind him, viz. *Apion*, whom he had by a concubine; *Lathyrus* or *Lathurus*, and *Alexander* his children by *Cleopatra* his niece, whom he had married after divorcing *Cleopatra* her mother. He left the kingdom of *Cyrene* to his eldeſt ſon *Apion*, and that of *Egypt* to his widow *Cleopatra* in conjunction with one of her ſons, whom ſhe ſhould think fit to chuſe. The crown belonged by right of inheritance to *Lathyrus*, the eldeſt of his lawful children; but he, either from an ill-judged policy, or an exceſſive condeſcenſion to his wife, gave her the abſolute diſpoſal of it; and ſhe, looking upon *Alexander* as the moſt likely to leave the whole management of affairs in her hands, reſolved to chuſe him. But the people of *Alexandria*, taking up arms upon this unjuſt preference, obliged her to ſend for *Lathyrus* from the iſland of *Cyprus*, whither ſhe had procured him to be baniſhed in his father's life time, and admit him to reign jointly with her [k]. But before ſhe would ſuffer him to be inaugurated, according to the cuſtom of the country, at *Memphis*, ſhe forced him to divorce his eldeſt ſiſter *Cleopatra*, whom he paſſionately loved, and to marry in her ſtead *Selene*, his younger ſiſter, for whom he had no inclination. On his inauguration he took the name of *Soter*; but is called by *Strabo*, *Trogus Pompeius*, *Pliny*, *Joſephus*, and *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Lathyrus* or *Lathurus*, by *Athenæus* and *Pauſanias Philometor*, which *Natalis Comes* in his tranſlation of *Athenæus*

Phyſcon an encourager of learning.

d

e

Ptolemy Lathyrus. *Year after the flood* 2887. *Before Chriſt* 112.

f

[e] JUSTIN. ibid. & JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xiii c. 17. [f] Vide p. 611. [g] PORPHYR. in Græc. EUSEB. SCALIG. PTOLEMÆUS in can. EPIPHAN. de ponder & menſur. Hieron. in Dan. c. 11. [h] ATHEN. l. ii. c. 33. EPIPHAN. de ponder. & menſ. VITRUVIUS in præfat. ad l. vii. [i] Vide USHER. ad ann. Mundi 3835. [k] JUSTIN. l. xxxix. c. 5. APPIAN. in Mithridat. 255. TROG. in Prolog. 39 & 40. JOSEPH. Antiquit. l. xiii. c. 18. CLEM. ALEXANDRIN. Strom. l. i. STRAB. l. xvii. p. 795. PLIN. l. ii. c. 67. & l. vi. c. 30.

changes

a changes into that of *Philopator*. The name *Philometor* was given him, as *Pauſanias* obſerves [l], by antiphraſis, no one having ever hated his mother more than he did. But he is commonly known by the name, or rather nick-name of *Lathyrus*, which in the *Greek* tongue ſignifies a *chich-pea*, he having in all likelihood ſome mark of this ſort on his face. The *Greek* word *Lathyros* anſwers the *Latin Cicer*, whence the family of the *Cicero*'s had their name, one of their anceſtors having an excreſcence like a pea on his noſe. *Cleopatra*, whom *Lathyrus* had been obliged to repudiate, diſpoſed of herſelf in marriage to *Antiochus Cyzicenus*, carrying with her an army, which ſhe raiſed in *Cyprus*, for her portion, and thereby enabling *Cyzicenus* to make head againſt *Antiochus Grypus* his half brother and competitor, as we have related
b in the hiſtory of *Syria* [m]. However *Cyzicenus* was defeated by *Grypus*, and his wife *Cleopatra* dragged from one of the temples of *Antioch*, where ſhe had taken ſanctuary, and put to death by the command of her ſiſter *Tryphæna*, the wife of *Grypus* [n].

In the mean time *Cleopatra*, queen of *Egypt*, the common mother of theſe two ſiſters, did not ſeem to be any ways affected either with the death of the one, or the crime of the other. Her mind was ſo actuated by ambition, and the deſire of reigning, that ſhe had no other thoughts, but how ſhe might beſt ſupport her authority in *Egypt*, and there continue to reign without controll during her life. To ſtrengthen herſelf the better, ſhe gave the kingdom of *Cyprus* to *Alexander* her younger ſon,
c that ſhe might from thence be aſſiſted by him againſt his brother *Lathyrus*, in caſe he ſhould ever diſpute the authority, which ſhe was determined never to part with [o].

Lathyrus had not reigned long before his mother, provoked at ſome meaſures entered into againſt her will, found means by baſe artifices to gain over the people of *Alexandria* to the intereſt of her youngeſt ſon, and to place him on the throne. The matter is thus related by *Juſtin* [p], *Pauſanias* [q], *Porphyrius* [r], and *Joſephus* [s]: While the two competitors for the crown of *Syria* were waſting their ſtrength againſt each other, *John Hyrcanus* prince of the *Jews*, ſeeing he had nothing to fear from them, under-took the ſiege of *Samaria*. Hereupon the *Samaritans* had recourſe to *Cyzicenus*, who marched to their relief; but had the misfortune to be overthrown in battle by the
d two ſons of *Hyrcanus*, who had beſieged the place. After this victory the two brothers returned to the ſiege, and purſued it with ſuch vigor, that the beſieged were obliged to implore once more the aſſiſtance of *Cyzicenus*, who, not having ſufficient forces of his own for ſuch an attempt, deſired *Lathyrus* king of *Egypt* to ſend him a body of troops to be employed againſt the victorious *Jews*. *Lathyrus* readily complied with his requeſt, and ordered ſix thouſand men into *Syria*, contrary to the opinion and inclination of *Cleopatra* his mother. For as ſhe had two *Jews*, *Chelcias* and *Ananias*, the ſons of that *Onias*, who built the *Jewiſh* temple in *Egypt*, for her chief favourites and miniſters, ſhe was very unwilling to do any thing that might redound to the diſadvantage of their nation; and therefore being highly provoked
e againſt *Lathyrus* for this and ſome other attempts of the like nature againſt her authority, ſhe firſt took his wife *Selene* from him, though he had already two ſons by her, and then drove him out of the kingdom. As this could not be effected without the conſent of the *Alexandrians*, the treacherous and unnatural mother to ſtir up the populace againſt her own ſon, cauſed ſome of her favourite eunuchs, on whoſe fidelity ſhe could depend, to be wounded, and then bringing them covered over with blood into the public aſſembly of the *Alexandrians*, pretended that they had been thus treated and abuſed by *Lathyrus* for defending her perſon againſt his wicked attempts. She inflamed the people by this black fiction to ſuch a degree, that they roſe in a general tumult againſt the prince, and would have tore him in pieces had he not ſaved his life
f on board a ſhip, which immediately ſet ſail, and delivered him from the imminent danger he was in [t]. Upon the flight of *Lathyrus Cleopatra* ſent for her younger ſon *Alexander*, on whom ſhe had beſtowed the kingdom of *Cyprus*, and having declared him king of *Egypt* in the room of *Lathyrus*, obliged the latter to be content with *Cyprus* on his brother's quitting it [u]. This happened, according to *Porphyrius* [w], in the eighth year of *Alexander*'s reign in *Cyprus*, and eleventh of *Cleopatra*'s in *Egypt*.

Cleopatra *drives out* Lathyrus, *and places on the throne* Alexander *her younger ſon.*

[l] Pausan. in Atticis, p. 7. [m] Vide p. 613. [n] Justin. l. xxxix. c. 3. [o] Pausan. in Atticis. Porphyr. in Græc. Euseb. Scalig. [p] Justin. l. xxxix. c. 4. [q] Pausan. in Attic. [r] Porphyr. ubi ſupra. [s] Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 19. [t] Justin. l. xxxix. c. 4. Pausan. in Attic. Porphyr. ibid. p. 60. [u] Justin. Pausan. &c. ibid. [w] Porphyr. in Græc. Euseb. Scalig.

Not

Not long after this revolution *Alexander Jannæus*, king of the *Jews*, having ſettled matters at home, marched out againſt the inhabitants of *Ptolemais*, and having vanquiſhed them in battle, obliged them to ſhut themſelves up within the walls of their city, and there cloſely beſieged them. Hereupon they diſpatched meſſengers to *Ptolemy Lathyrus* king of *Cyprus*, imploring his aſſiſtance, and begging he would come in perſon to their relief. But the meſſengers were ſcarce gone, when, upon ſecond thoughts, they began to repent of what they had done. They apprehended that they might ſuffer as much by *Ptolemy*'s coming to them as a friend, as they could from *Alexander* their enemy; for they did not doubt but *Cleopatra*, upon their entering into an alliance with *Lathyrus*, would march againſt them with all the forces of *Egypt*. Upon this conſideration they reſolved to defend themſelves without admitting any auxiliaries at all, and took care to acquaint *Ptolemy* with their reſolution. But he having in the mean time with incredible expedition, increaſed his army to the number of thirty thouſand men, and prepared veſſels to tranſport them, notwithſtanding their remonſtrances, landed his forces in *Phœnice*, and marched towards *Ptolemais*, encamping at a ſmall diſtance from the city. But the *Ptolemains* refuſing to admit his embaſſadors into the town, or to enter into any treaty with him, he was under great perplexity, not knowing what courſe to take. While he was in this condition meſſengers arrived at his camp from *Zoilus* prince of *Dora*, and from the *Gazæans*, deſiring his aſſiſtance againſt the *Jews*; for *Jannæus* having divided his army, beſieged *Ptolemais* with one part of his forces, and had ſent the other to lay waſte the territories of *Zoilus* and *Gaza*. *Ptolemy* was glad of this opportunity of employing his troops; and accordingly marched to the aſſiſtance of thoſe who had called him. This obliged *Jannæus* to raiſe the ſiege of *Ptolemais*, and lead back his army from thence to watch the motions of *Lathyrus*. As he was not in a condition to make head againſt ſo powerful an enemy, he pretended to court his friendſhip, and entering into a treaty with him, he engaged to pay him four hundred talents of ſilver on condition that he would deliver *Zoilus* into his hands, with the places which he held. *Lathyrus* cloſed with the propoſal, and accordingly ſeized on *Zoilus*, and all his territories, with a deſign to deliver them up to *Alexander Jannæus*. But in the mean time, being informed, that *Alexander* was treating under-hand with *Cleopatra*, in order to bring her upon him with all her forces, and drive him out of *Paleſtine*, he broke off all friendſhip and alliance with him, and reſolved to do him all the miſchief he could [x]. Accordingly the next year having divided his army into two bodies, he detached one of them to form the ſiege of *Ptolemais* for not having admitted his embaſſadors; with the other he marched in perſon againſt *Alexander*. At firſt he took *Aſochis* a city of *Galilee* on a ſabbath-day, and carried away from thence ten thouſand captives with an immenſe booty. From *Aſochis* he advanced to *Sepphoris*, another city of the ſame country, which he inveſted; but was ſoon obliged to raiſe the ſiege upon intelligence that *Alexander* was coming full march againſt him at the head of fifty, or, as others write, of fourſcore thouſand men. The two armies met at *Aſophos*, not far from the *Jordan*, and engaged with the utmoſt fury. Victory was ſome time doubtful, eight thouſand of *Alexander*'s men, who carried brazen bucklers, having fought with great intrepidity and reſolution; but at length the *Jews* were put to the rout after having loſt thirty thouſand, or, as *Timagrines* writes, fifty thouſand men, not including the priſoners taken by *Lathyrus* after the victory. The ſucceſs of this day was chiefly owing to one *Philoſtephanus*, who obſerving that his men were ready to turn their backs, being warmly charged by the *Jewiſh* targeteers, flanked the enemy with freſh troops, put them in confuſion, and obliged them, as they were not relieved by their companions, to give ground, and ſave themſelves by a precipitate flight [y]. A moſt cruel and barbarous action is related to have been done by *Lathyrus* on this occaſion. For having taken up his quarters in the evening after this victory in the neighbouring villages, and finding them full of women and children, he cauſed all their throats to be cut, and their mangled limbs to be put into boiling caldrons, as if he intended to make a repaſt with them for his army. His deſign was to make the *Jews* believe that his men fed upon human fleſh, and thereby ſtrike a greater terror and dread of his army into the neighbouring country. This fact is related by *Joſephus* on the authority of *Strabo* and *Nicholaus Damaſcenus* [z]. *Lathyrus*, after the defeat of *Alexander*, ravaged and laid waſte the whole

a

Lathyrus paſſes from Cyprus, *where he reigned, into* Phœnice.

b

c

And makes war upon Alexander Jannæus.

d

e

And defeats him.

f

Cruelty of Lathyrus.

[x] Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 20. [y] Joseph. ibid. c. 20, 21. [z] Joseph. ibid.

country,

a country, the *Jews* being no-ways in a condition to make head againſt him, or even appear in the field.

THIS victory, and the advantages attending it, alarmed *Cleopatra*, who apprehending that if *Lathyrus* ſhould make himſelf maſter of *Judæa* and *Phœnice*, he would thereby be in a condition to invade *Egypt*, and recover that kingdom, reſolved to put a ſtop to his further progreſs. She therefore commanded an army to be raiſed with all poſſible expedition under the command of *Chelcias* and *Ananias*, the two *Jews*, of whom we have made mention above. At the ſame time ſhe equipped a powerful fleet with a great number of tranſports, and putting her troops on board of them, ſhe imbarqued with them herſelf, and ſet ſail for *Phœnice*; where ſhe landed
b her army, and ſo terrified *Lathyrus* with her unexpected arrival, that he abandoned the ſiege of *Ptolemais*, and retired in great haſte into *Cœle-Syria*. *Cleopatra* diſpatched *Chelcias* with one part of her army after him, and marched with the other, which ſhe put under the command of *Ananias*, to *Ptolemais*, expecting the citizens would open their gates to her. But they refuſing to admit her, ſhe inveſted the place, with a deſign to reduce by force that important fortreſs. In the mean time *Chalcias* having loſt his life in purſuing *Lathyrus* into *Cœle-Syria*, that prince taking advantage of the diſorder occaſioned in the army by the loſs of their general, marched with all his forces into *Egypt*, hoping to find it unprovided with forces in the abſence of his mother, who had carried her beſt troops with her into *Phœnice*. But he was diſappointed in
c his expectation; for the forces which *Cleopatra* had left for the defence of the country, made good their ground till they were joined by other troops, which on this attempt of *Lathyrus*, ſhe detached from *Phœnice* to reinforce them. Upon their arrival *Lathyrus* was obliged to return to *Paleſtine*, and there take up his winter quarters at *Gaza* [w].

Obliged by Cleopatra *to quit* Phœnice

Cleopatra however purſued the ſiege of *Ptolemais* with ſo much vigor, that ſhe reduced it at laſt. She no ſooner entered it, but *Alexander Jannæus* haſtened thither with rich preſents to implore her protection. What chiefly recommended him to her favour was his enmity to *Lathyrus*; and on this account he was received kindly by the queen; but ſome perſons about her thinking ſhe had now a fair opportunity of
d making herſelf miſtreſs of all *Judæa* by ſeizing *Alexander*, earneſtly preſſed her to it. The queen was not averſe from following their advice; but *Ananias* repreſented to her how baſe and diſhonourable it would be to treat thus an ally engaged with her in the ſame cauſe; that it was contrary to the faith of treaties, which are the foundations of ſociety; that ſuch a conduct would be highly prejudicial to her intereſt, and would not fail to draw upon her the abhorrence of all the *Jews* diſperſed throughout the world. Partly by theſe conſiderations, and partly by his credit, which was great with the queen, he prevailed upon her to drop the deſign, and to renew her alliance with *Alexander*, who having, after his return to *Jeruſalem*, recruited his army, took the field anew, and croſſing the *Jordan*, laid ſiege to *Gadara* [x]. *Lathyrus* having ſpent
e the winter at *Gaza* after his retreat out of *Egypt*, and finding that all his efforts againſt *Paleſtine* would prove ineffectual, ſo long as his mother oppoſed him, abandoned that country and returned to *Cyprus*. Hereupon *Cleopatra* on her ſide ſailed back into *Egypt*; and thus *Paleſtine*, to the great joy of the *Jewiſh* nation, was delivered from all foreign forces [y].

Cleopatra *takes* Ptolemais.

Cleopatra underſtanding on her return to *Alexandria* that a treaty was carrying on at *Damaſcus* between her ſon *Lathyrus* and *Antiochus Cyzicenus*, in virtue of which the *Syrian* was to ſupply *Ptolemy* with a body of troops to be employed in a ſecond attempt upon *Egypt*, the queen, to render their meaſures abortive, gave her daughter *Selene*, whom ſhe had taken from *Lathyrus*, to *Antiochus Grypus*, ſending him at the ſame
f time a conſiderable ſupply of men and money. By this means *Grypus* being enabled to renew the war with his brother *Cyzicenus*, the latter had ſo much employment upon his hands at home, that he was not in a condition to lend any aſſiſtance to *Lathyrus*, who thereupon was forced to drop the project [z] and return to *Cyprus*.

IN the mean time *Ptolemy Alexander*, the younger brother, acted the baſe part of a ſlave under the ſpecious appearance of a ſovereign. But at laſt being tired out with the indignities he was forced to ſuffer from this fury, and terrified at the barbarous cruelty with which ſhe perſecuted his brother *Lathyrus*, eſpecially in thus taking from him his wife, and giving her to his enemy; and moreover obſerving that ſhe did

[w] Idem ibid. [x] Idem ibid. [y] JOSEPH. ibid. [z] JUSTIN. ibid. LIV. epit. l. lxviii.

not ſcruple to commit the greateſt crimes to gratify her ambition, that prince did not think himſelf any longer ſafe near her, and therefore ſtole away privately from *Alexandria*, chuſing rather to live in baniſhment with ſafety, than to reign with ſo wicked and cruel a mother in continual danger of his life. His flight alarmed the queen, who was well appriſed that the *Alexandrians* would never ſuffer her to reign without one of her ſons. She therefore uſed all poſſible artifices to prevail upon her ſon to return; and it was not without great ſolicitation that he was induced thereunto. Not long after his return he found that this reſtleſs woman had formed a conſpiracy againſt his life, and hired aſſaſſins to murder him. But *Alexander* having notice of it prevented the plot, and by cutting her off firſt made it turn upon her own head. She was a moſt wicked woman, as her actions ſufficiently ſhew, and well deſerved this death, had it come from any other hand but her own ſon. As ſoon as it was known at *Alexandria*, that the ſon had cauſed the mother to be put to death, the enormity of the crime ſtirred up all his ſubjects againſt him; they could not ſuffer a parricide to reign over them, but drove him out with ignominy, and ſending to *Cyprus* for *Lathyrus*, replaced him on the throne. *Alexander* led for ſome time a rambling life in the iſland of *Cos*, while his brother returned in triumph into his dominions amidſt the acclamations of his people [a]. *Alexander* having got together ſome ſhips, he next year attempted to return into *Egypt*; but being met at ſea by *Tyrrhus*, *Ptolemy*'s admiral, he was defeated, and obliged to fly to *Myra* in *Lycia*. From *Myra* he ſteered his courſe towards the iſland of *Cyprus*, hoping that the inhabitants would declare in his favour, and place him on the throne, which his brother had left empty to return to *Egypt*. But *Chæreas* another of *Ptolemy*'s admirals, coming up with him while he was ready to land, diſperſed his fleet, and killed him in the engagement, after he had reigned, or rather bore the title of king, for that was all his mother allowed him, for the ſpace of nineteen years [b]. He left a ſon behind him named alſo *Alexander*, of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak in the ſequel of this hiſtory.

Alexander *murders his mother* Cleopatra, *and is driven from the throne.*

Alexander *killed.*

During all the troubles that diſturbed *Egypt*, *Apion*, the natural ſon of *Phyſcon*, maintained peace and tranquillity in his dominions; and at length, after a reign of one-and-twenty years, in order to ſecure them from the miſeries, in which the countries ſubject to the *Egyptian* government were involved, deviſed them by will to the *Romans*. He was, as we have related above, ſon to *Phyſcon* by a concubine named *Irene*, and by him at his death appointed king of *Cyrenaica*. This country enjoyed its freedom, till it was reduced by *Ptolemy* the firſt king of *Egypt*; after it became ſubject to the crown of *Egypt*, it was governed by the brothers or younger ſons of thoſe princes, till *Ptolemy*, ſurnamed *Apion* or *the lean*, bequeathed it to the *Romans*, It comprehended the following cities, *Cyrene*, *Berenice*, *Arſinoe*, *Ptolemais*, and *Apollonia*, whence it was called the *African Pentapolis*. The firſt was the capital of the country, and one of the moſt wealthy cities in *Africa*. Near it was the fountain *Cyre* mentioned by *Callimachus*, and mount *Cyra* ſpoke of by *Juſtin*. *Ariſtippus* the founder of the ſect of the *Cyrenaics*, *Eratoſthenes* the geographer, and *Carneades* the philoſopher, were all natives of *Cyrene*. This city is mentioned by the prophet *Amos* [c], and in the ſecond book of kings by the name of *Kir*; but is now called *Corene* and *Cairan*. *Herodotus* gives us a very particular, but fabulous account of the origin of this city [d]; and *Juſtin* is pretty diffuſe on the ſame ſubject [e]; but *Strabo* tells us in few words, that *Cyrene* was built by one *Battus*, a native of the iſland of *Thera*, of whom we have ſpoke in the hiſtory of the iſlands of the *Ægean* ſea, or the *Archipelago*. From him the *Cyreneans* are called by the poet *Silius Battiadæ* [f]. As the iſland of *Thera*, the native country of *Battus*, belonged to the *Lacedæmonians*, *Joſephus* tells us, that the *Cyreneans* were originally *Lacedæmonians* [g]. The ſecond of the five cities took its name from *Berenice* the daughter of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, and wife of *Ptolemy Euergetes* the firſt. This city was firſt called *Heſperis* and *Heſperides*, and ſtood but at a ſmall diſtance from the *Great Syrtis*. Some have placed in its territory the famous gardens of the *Heſperides*, and the river *Lethon* or *Lethe*, which has furniſhed the poets with numberleſs fictions. It is at preſent a miſerable village, called by its beggarly inhabitants *Bernichio*. *Arſinoe*, another conſiderable city of

Apion *by his laſt will leaves the kingdom of* Cyrenaica *to the* Romans.

[a] Justin. l. xxxix. c. 4. Appian. in Syriac. Fpit. Liv. l. lxxvii, lxxviii. Memnon. c. 33. Eusеb. in Chron. Pausan. in Attic. Athenæus, l. xii. p. 550. [b] Porphyr. in Græc. Euseb. Scal. [c] Amos, c. 9. [d] Herodot. l. iv. c. 156. [e] Justin. l. xiii. c. 7. [f] Silius Italic. l. xi. v. 60. [g] Joseph. de Bell. Judaic. l. xi. c. 28.

Cyrenaica,

a *Cyrenaica*, took its name from the wife of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, to whom the *Egyptians*, as *Callimachus* tells us, paid divine honours, equalling her to *Venus*. The ancient name of this city was, according to *Strabo*, *Pliny*, *Ptolemy*, *Stephanus*, &c. *Teuchira* or *Tauchira*. *Ferrarius* gives it the name of *Sues*, but the *Turks* call it *Barraru*. *Ptolemais* was anciently called *Barca*, according to *Pliny*, *Strabo*, and *Stephanus*. But *Ptolemy* makes *Barca* and *Ptolemais* two different cities, placing the former in the inland country, and the latter on the coaſt. It is now commonly called *Tolemeta*. *Cyrenaica* comprehended other countries beſides the *Pentapolis*, which the *Romans* upon the death of *Apion* did not fail to take poſſeſſion of. But they were at firſt very moderate in the exerciſe of their power, declaring the people a free nation, and only obliging them to pay an annual tribute of *laſer*, which grew here in
b great quantities, and was better than in any other part of the world (H). By this means the *Libyan Pentapolis* enjoyed a perfect freedom, and acknowledged no foreign dominion, *Rome* being at preſent content with leſſening very conſiderably the power of *Egypt*. Not long after this country became a prey to two tyrants, who ſucceſſively uſurped a ſovereign authority over their fellow-citizens; but *Lucullus*, while he ſerved under *Sylla* in quality of quæſtor, having touched at *Cyrene* as he coaſted along *Africa*, reſtored the oppreſſed province to its former liberty, reſettled it in peace, and reformed its laws, putting at the ſame time the *Cyreneans* in mind of the anſwer *Plato* had formerly given to the deputies of their nation, deſiring him to give them a plan of government. The philoſopher refuſed to grant them their requeſt, ſay-
c ing, that a people ſo happy and rich as they were, would never ſubmit to the authority of laws [h]. But to return to *Egypt*.

Ptolemy Lathyrus being upon the death of his mother and brother delivered from two formidable competitors to his crown, began to ſettle all things on their ancient footing, and to remedy, as far as in him lay, the many diſorders and abuſes which had crept in during the late troubles. But the city of *Thebes* in the *Upper Egypt* refuſed to ſubmit to his regulations, and even attempted to ſhake off the yoke, and reſume their ancient liberties. Hereupon *Lathyrus* marched againſt the rebels, defeated them in a pitched battle, and laid cloſe ſiege to their city; which with incredible obſtinacy held out againſt the utmoſt efforts of a victorious army for the ſpace of three years.
d But it was at laſt taken, and by way of puniſhment given up to be plundered by the inraged ſoldiery, who left every-where melancholy marks of their avarice and cruelty. *Thebes*, which till that time had been one of the greateſt and moſt wealthy cities of *Egypt*, was on this occaſion reduced to ſo low a condition, that it never after made any figure in hiſtory [i]. It is ſurpriſing that *Pauſanias*, deceived by the iden-

Lathyrus *takes the city of* Thebes, *and plunders it.*

[h] Appian. in Mithridat. Plut. in Lucullo. [i] Pausan. in Atticis, p. 8.

(H) The *Laſer* of *Africa*, which ſome moderns confound with the *Benjamin*, was a viſcous and medicinal juice drawn by inciſion from a plant, which the *Latins* called *Laſerpitium*, and the *Greeks* Σιλφιον. It grew in ſome places of *Cyrenaica* and the liquor it produced was, according to *Pliny*, worth its weight in ſilver. *Strabo* tells us, that in his time the ſpecies was loſt, ſome *Nomades*, who made an irruption into *Egypt*, having torn up the roots of that ſhrub (16). But *Pliny* aſcribes the loſs of it to the avarice of the publicans, or public farmers, who uſed to feed their cattle with it. Nevertheleſs in *Nero*'s time there was one ſhrub of it found, which the natives ſent as a great rarity to that emperor (17). The ſame author gives in the place we have quoted an account of the qualities of the *Laſer*, and deſcribes the manner of preparing it; for it was formerly preſcribed in many caſes by phyſicians, and thought to be a ſovereign remedy againſt ſeveral diſtempers. The ſtalks baked under aſhes, and taken before any other food for forty days together, purified the blood, corrected the vicious humours, and was deemed a great reſtorative of a worn-out conſtitution. *Pliny* adds, that it had the ſame effects on cattle as on men. It fattened ſheep and oxen, according to him, and gave the meat an exquiſite flavour. In the year of *Rome* 660, *Valerius* and *Herennius* being conſuls, it was firſt brought from *Cyrenaica* to that city, as the ſame writer informs us; and there greatly admired, and ſought for by all the citizens. From that time the care and ſale of it was committed to the quæſtors. In the beginning of the civil war, *Julius Cæſar*, having ſeized the public treaſury, is ſaid to have taken out of it beſides other things fifteen hundred pounds of laſer. Afterwards *Rome* was ſupplied with this plant from *Perſia*, *Syria*, and *Media*; but the laſer brought from thoſe countries had much leſs virtue than that of *Cyrenaica*. Some botaniſts have confounded this famous ſpecific with *Aſſa fœtida*, and others with *Benjamin*, which is a valuable ſort of roſin brought from the kingdom of *Lao*, and ſeveral parts of the *Eaſt-Indies*. *Theophraſtus* has given us in his hiſtory a full account of the properties and uſes of the *Laſerpitium*; and deſcribed its roots, leaves, ſtalks, and the peculiar form of each of its parts (18). From this ancient botaniſt *Pliny* ſeems to have copied the accounts which we read of it in his nineteenth book. If we ſtand to either of theſe deſcriptions or accounts, we muſt own, that the *laſer* is very different both from the *Benjamin*, and from the ſtinking and offenſive drug called *Aſſa-fœtida*.

(16) *Strab. l.* ix. (17) *Plin. l.* ix. *c.* 3. (18) *Theophraſtus, l.* iii.

tity

tity of names, ſhould apply the hiſtory of the revolt and conqueſt of *Thebes* in *Egypt* a to the city of *Thebes* in *Bœotia*. What had the kings of *Egypt* to do with *Thebes* in *Bœotia*, which at this time was under the protection of the *Romans*, having been united in intereſt with that republic againſt the kings of *Macedon*, during the whole time of the *Macedonian* war?

Towards the latter end of this king's reign, *Lucullus* being ſent by *Sylla* to procure ſhips from the princes who retained any regard for the *Roman* name, in order to block up the ports of *Piræeus* and *Munychia*, landed at *Alexandria*; where the inhabitants, purſuant to *Lathyrus*'s orders, received him with thoſe honours which were paid only to the kings of *Egypt*. His entrance into that city was a kind of triumph. Upon the news of his approach the royal fleet ſailed out in good order to meet him. b The king received him with all poſſible marks of diſtinction; appointed him an apartment in his own palace, an honour which had never before been beſtowed upon any foreigner; and ordered his miniſters to give *Lucullus*'s attendants four times the allowance, which was uſually given to other embaſſadors. But the *Roman* contented himſelf with bare neceſſaries, and refuſed a preſent in money, which *Ptolemy* preſſed him to accept. He likewiſe declined going to *Memphis*, and to the other famous cities of *Egypt*, to ſee there the wonders that were the admiration of all ſtrangers, ſaying, that ſuch amuſements became none but idle perſons, and that it would be ſhameful in him to take a journey of pleaſure, while his general was daily hazarding his life in the ſervice of his country. But after all the king could not be prevailed upon to part c with any of his ſhips, pretending that he was threatened with a civil war in his own dominions. He therefore diſmiſſed *Lucullus* without complying with his requeſt, after having preſented him with his picture cut in an emerald of great value [k]. This picture, or head of *Ptolemy*, cut in an emerald, *Turnebius* is pleaſed to turn into a cup ſet with precious ſtones.

Lathyrus *dies.* Not long after *Lathyrus* died, having reigned from the death of his father thirty-ſix years, *viz.* eleven jointly with his mother in *Egypt*, eighteen in *Cyprus*, and ſeven alone in *Egypt*, after his mother's death. *Ptolemy* the aſtronomer takes no notice of *Alexander* in his canon, but reckons the whole time from the death of *Ptolemy Phyſcon* to that of *Ptolemy Lathyrus*, as the reign of the latter, though he lived half d of them in the iſland of *Cyprus* (I). He was ſucceeded by *Cleopatra* his daughter,

[k] Plut. in Lucullo.

(I) Though no two perſons were ever more unlike than *Cleopatra* the mother of *Philometor* and *Phyſcon*, and *Cleopatra* the mother of *Lathyrus* and *Alexander*, yet the two jeſuits, *Catrou* and *Rouillé*, authors of the *Roman* hiſtory now publiſhing at *Paris*, confound them, and charge the former, who was a princeſs of an unblemiſhed character, and governed with great equity, wiſdom, and moderation, during the minority of her children, with the many enormous crimes, which by all hiſtorians, except themſelves, are imputed to the latter (19). Their confounding thus the two mothers leads them of courſe into the like confuſion with reſpect to their children, and this ſecond miſtake, ſtill more material than the former, plunges them into endleſs blunders, which plainly betray in thoſe reverend writers a very ſuperficial knowledge, not to ſay a total ignorance of the *Syrian* hiſtory. For what they find related by the ancients of *Lathyrus* and *Alexander* the ſons of *Phyſcon*, and his niece *Cleopatra*, they apply to *Philometor* and his brother *Phyſcon*, the ſons of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, and *Cleopatra* the daughter of *Antiochus the Great*. Thus, for inſtance, they tell us, that *Phyſcon* the youngeſt was alſo called *Alexander*, that the capricious mother, whom they call elſewhere a virtuous princeſs (20), conceived a fondneſs for him, which tended to nothing leſs than robbing *Ptolemy* the elder brother, whom ſhe hated, of the crown, and that hence the ſurname of *Philometor* was given him by way of deriſion. A few lines after they tell us, that the ſon, whom ſhe tenderly loved, killed her with his own hand, and that he, and not the elder, was for this parricide ironically ſurnamed *Philometor*. What a complication of blunders, anachroniſms, and contradictions! This is, if we may be allowed the expreſſion, turning the whole hiſtory of *Syria* topſy-turvy. *Cleopatra*, the mother of *Philometor* and *Phyſcon*, died quietly in her bed, when her eldeſt ſon was but thirteen years old; for the year enſuing he was declared, as *S. Jerom* informs us (21), to be out of his minority, which was a great ſolemnity among the *Egyptians* called Ανακλητηρια, or, *the ſolemnity of ſalutation*, becauſe they then firſt ſaluted their young prince as king. This ceremony was always performed in the fourteenth year of their king's age, he being then, according to their laws, out of his minority. *Polybius* tells us (22), that *Cleopatra*, as ſhe was ſiſter to *Antiochus Epiphanes* king of *Syria*, and mother to *Philometor* and *Phyſcon*, prevented, ſo long as ſhe lived, a rupture between them; but that upon her death the management of affairs falling into the hands of *Lennæus*, a nobleman of the court, and *Eulæus* an eunuch, theſe no ſooner entered on the adminiſtration, but they demanded of *Epiphanes* the provinces of *Cœle-Syria* and *Paleſtine*. This gave occaſion to the war, and not the ambition of *Antiochus*, veiled with the ſpecious pretence of aſſiſting *Philometor* againſt the intrigues of his mother, prejudiced in favour of her youngeſt ſon, *Cleopatra* being dead a whole year before this rupture.

(19) *Vide Hiſt. Rom. l.* xliii. (20) *Lib.* xxxix. *Ad. ann. urb.* 561. (21) *Hieronym. in c.* 11. *Dan.* (22) *Polyb. legat.* 82. *p.* 908.

and

a and only legitimate offſpring. She is called by *Pauſanias* [l] *Berenice*, which was her proper name; for as all the males, according to the eſtabliſhed cuſtom of the royal family of *Egypt*, had the name of *Ptolemy*, ſo the females had that of *Cleopatra*, and beſides, other names to diſtinguiſh them from each other. Thus, for inſtance, *Selene* was called *Cleopatra*, and ſo were alſo her two ſiſters [m]. In like manner the daughter of *Lathyrus*, whoſe proper name was *Berenice*, bears alſo that of *Cleopatra*. The obſerving of this will remove many obſcurities and difficulties which occur in the hiſtory of *Egypt*. *Sylla*, who, at this time, was perpetual dictator at *Rome*, and gave or took away crowns at pleaſure, hearing that *Lathyrus* was dead without male iſſue, ſent *Alexander* the ſon of that *Alexander*, who had reigned before *Lathyrus*,
b and murdered his mother, to ſucceed his uncle in the kingdom, as the next heir of the male line.

THIS *Alexander* had met with many adventures. When *Cleopatra*, the mother of *Ptolemy Alexander* and *Ptolemy Lathyrus*, marched with her army into *Phœnice* againſt the latter, ſhe ſent her grandſon *Alexander*, the ſon of the former, who then reigned with her in *Egypt*, into the iſland of *Cos*, with a great ſum of money, all her jewels, and her moſt valuable effects, to be depoſited there as a reſerve againſt all events. When *Mithridates* made himſelf maſter of that iſland, the inhabitants delivered up into his hands the young *Egyptian* prince, and the treaſures which his grandmother had lodged there with him. The king of *Pontus* gave him an educa-
c tion ſuitable to his birth; but he, not thinking himſelf ſafe with a prince who had imbrued his hands in the blood of his own children, fled from the court of *Mithridates*, and took refuge in *Sylla*'s camp, while that general was making war in *Aſia*. From that time he had lived in the dictator's family, and in a manner among his domeſtics, till news was brought to *Rome* of the death of *Lathyrus*. Then *Sylla* ſent him to take poſſeſſion of the crown of *Egypt*, as the neareſt heir male of the deceaſed king. But the *Alexandrians* having placed *Cleopatra* the daughter of *Lathyrus* on the throne ſix months before his arrival in *Egypt*, to compromiſe the matter, and avoid diſpleaſing *Sylla*, who governed *Rome* with an abſolute ſway, prevailed upon *Alexander* to marry *Cleopatra*, and reign jointly with her. The nuptials were accord-
d ingly celebrated with great pomp and magnificence; but *Alexander*, either out of a diſlike to *Cleopatra*'s perſon, or not caring to have a partner in the government, cauſed her to be aſſaſſinated nineteen days after the marriage, the blackeſt murders and parricides being now become in a manner faſhionable at the court of *Egypt* [n]. *Porphyry* and *Appian* tell us, that the *Alexandrians*, highly provoked at this murder, and the haughty and imperious airs their new king aſſumed, roſe up in arms, ſurrounded his palace, and dragging him into the gymnaſium, there put him to death, after a reign of nineteen days [o]. But it is manifeſt from *Suetonius* and *Cicero*, that he reigned fifteen years after the death of *Cleopatra*, as we ſhall make appear in the ſequel of this hiſtory, againſt the common opinion, or rather miſtake, of hiſtorians
e and chronologers, who begin the reign of *Ptolemy Auletes* here, confounding it with that of *Alexander* This prince reigned fifteen years, during which time he made himſelf ſo odious to his ſubjects by his cruelties and vices, that at laſt they made a general inſurrection, and would have ſacrificed him to their reſentment, had he not ſeaſonably withdrawn himſelf from the fury of the inraged multitude. He fled firſt to *Pompey*, who was then in that neighbourhood carrying on the war with *Mithridates* king of *Pontus*, and offered him rich preſents, and a large ſum of money, in hopes of prevailing upon him, by that means, to eſpouſe his cauſe, and reſtore him to the crown; but *Pompey* refuſed to meddle with this matter, as being foreign to his commiſſion. Hereupon the baniſhed prince took refuge in the city of *Tyre*,
f whither he had ſent before great part of his treaſures, and there died ſome months after, perhaps of grief for the loſs of his crown [p]. It is to be obſerved, that *Ptolemy*, in his chronological canon, does not reckon *Alexander* among the kings of *Egypt*, but begins the reign of *Auletes* his ſucceſſor from the death of *Lathyrus*, tho' it is manifeſt, both from *Cicero* and *Suetonius*, that *Alexander* reigned full fifteen years between theſe two princes [q]. Perhaps *Auletes*, on his father *Lathyrus*'s death, got poſſeſſion of ſome part of the *Egyptian* empire; and, on this account, is looked upon by *Ptolemy* as his immediate ſucceſſor, tho' he had not the whole kingdom till fifteen years after.

Alexander II. *Year of the flood* 2923. *Year before Chriſt* 76.

Alexander *marries* Cleopatra *the daughter of* Lathyrus, *and murders her.*

Is driven out.

Dies in baniſhment.

[l] PAUSAN. in Atticis. [m] JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 24. [n] JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 24. APPIAN. de bell. civil. l. i. PORPHYR. in Græc. EUSEB. Scalig. [o] APPIAN. & PORPHYR. ibid. [p] SUETON. in Jul. Cæſ. c. 11. TROGUS in prolog. CIC. in orat. 2. contra Rullum. [q] CIC. & SUET. ibid.

Alexander, when driven from his dominions, and forced to ſhut himſelf up in the city of *Tyre*, had, by his embaſſadors, appealed to the *Roman* ſenate againſt his rebellious ſubjects; but dying before the negotiation was finiſhed, he made over, by his laſt will, all his rights to the *Roman* people, declaring them heirs to his kingdom, not out of any affection to the republic, but to raiſe, by that means, a diſpute between *Rome* and his rival *Auletes*, whom the *Egyptians* had placed on the throne. The will was brought to *Rome*, where it occaſioned warm debates. Some, with *Lucius Marcius Philippus*, were for taking immediate poſſeſſion of the kingdom bequeathed to them in prejudice of *Auletes*. Others, with *Cicero*, were of opinion, that no notice ſhould be taken of ſuch a will, ſince *Alexander* had no right to diſpoſe of his dominions in prejudice of his ſucceſſor, and to exclude from the crown all thoſe who were of the royal blood of *Egypt*. *Cicero* repreſented, that ſuch a notorious uſurpation would debaſe the majeſty of the *Roman* people, and involve them in endleſs wars and diſputes; that the fruitful fields of *Egypt* would be a ſtrong temptation to the ambition of the reſtleſs tribunes, and to the avarice of the common people, who would claim thoſe lands as due to them on account of their poverty; and laſtly, that this new acquiſition would revive the bloody quarrels, which the *Agrarian* laws had ſo often raiſed in the heart of the republic. The authority of *Cicero*, and the reaſons he alledged againſt the opinion of *Marcius Philippus*, were of great weight with the ſenate; but what prevented them from ſeizing on *Egypt* at that time was their lately having taken poſſeſſion of *Bithynia*, in virtue of the will of *Nicomedes*, and of *Cyrene* and *Lybia* by the like will of *Apion*. They thought therefore, that if they ſhould, on the ſame pretence, take poſſeſſion of *Egypt*, this might give too great umbrage, as if they deſigned to engroſs to themſelves all foreign dominions; beſides, as *Mithridates* was not at that time intirely reduced, they were afraid this might involve them in a new war, while they had the other ſtill on their hands. On theſe conſiderations they contented themſelves, for the preſent, with ſending deputies to *Tyre*, to take poſſeſſion of the effects of the deceaſed king for the uſe of the republic, and dropped all the reſt [r].

a

b

c

Ptolemy Auletes. *Year after the flood* 2938. *Before Chriſt* 61.

THE *Egyptians* having driven *Alexander* from the throne in the manner we have related, called to the crown *Ptolemy*, ſurnamed *Auletes*, or the *Flute-player*, the natural ſon of *Ptolemy Lathyrus*, who had no male iſſue by his wife, that ſurvived him, but ſeveral by his concubines. One of theſe had the kingdom of *Cyprus*, where he reigned till he was, with the greateſt injuſtice, deprived of it by the *Romans*. *Auletes*, on whom the *Alexandrians* beſtowed the crown after the expulſion of *Alexander*, is alſo called by the hiſtorians *Dionyſius Neos*, or the *New Bacchus*. The name of *Auletes* was given him, becauſe he piqued himſelf upon his skill in playing on the flute, and even debaſed himſelf ſo as to contend for the prize in the public games. He took great pleaſure in imitating the effeminacies of the *Bachanals*, dancing in a female dreſs, and in the ſame meaſures that they uſed during the ſolemnity of their god *Bacchus*; and hence he had the name of the *New Dionyſius* or *Bacchus* [s]. *Strabo* tells us, that he ſurpaſſed all the kings who reigned before him in the effeminacy of his manners, and was no leſs infamous on that account, than his grandfather *Phyſcon* was for his wickedneſs [t]. As he had but a conteſted title to the crown, being only the natural ſon of *Lathyrus*, and the *Romans* pretending, that, in virtue of the laſt-will of *Alexander*, his dominions were devolved upon their republic, his firſt care was to get himſelf declared an ally of *Rome*, which was a certain means of being authentically acknowledged lawful king of *Egypt*. This he obtained by applying to *Julius Cæſar*, who was then conſul, and being immenſely in debt, willingly embraced this opportunity of raiſing money; for he obliged the king of *Egypt* to purchaſe the deſired alliance at the price of ſix thouſand talents, that is, one million one hundred ſixty-two thouſand five hundred pounds ſterling, paid partly to himſelf, and partly to *Pompey*, whoſe intereſt was neceſſary for obtaining the conſent of the people [u]. Tho' that prince's yearly revenues were twice this ſum, yet he could not raiſe it immediately without over-taxing his ſubjects, which occaſioned a general diſcontent throughout the kingdom. While the *Egyptians* were thus diſſatisfied with the conduct of their king, and even ready to riſe up in arms againſt him, a moſt unjuſt decree was carried at *Rome* by the tribune *Clodius*, for depoſing *Ptolemy* king of *Cyprus*, ſeizing his kingdom for the republic, and confiſcating all his effects. When the

d

e

Is acknowledged by the Romans.

f

[r] CIC. in orat 1 & 2. in Rull. [s] STRABO, l. xvii. p. 796. TROGUS in prolog. 39. LUCIAN. de non tem. cred. calum. [t] STRABO, ibid. [u] PLUT. in Cæſ. DIO. CASS. l. XXXVIII.

Alexandrians

a *Alexandrians* heard of the intentions of the republic, they preſſed *Auletes* to demand that iſland as an ancient appendant of *Egypt*, and, in caſe of a denial, to declare war againſt the imperious and encroaching republic; which he refuſing to do, the people, already provoked at the exorbitant taxes with which he loaded them, ran to arms, and ſurrounded the palace; but the king eſcaped their fury, and, by the advice of his favourite *Theophanes*, who gave him timely notice of the inſurrection, having privately withdrawn from *Alexandria*, croſſed *Egypt*, and embarqued for *Rhodes*, with a deſign to implore the aſſiſtance of his old protectors at *Rome* [w]. In his flight he had time to reflect, as *Tully* obſerves [x], on his change of fortune, and being very hungry, and much fatigued, he applied to a peaſant, who received him into his poor b hut, and preſented him with a piece of brown bread; which ſeemed ſo ſavoury to him, that he uſed to ſay, he had never had a more delicious meal.

Is driven from the throne.

THE king arriving in *Rhodes*, was informed, that the famous *Cato* was there in his way to *Cyprus*, being charged by the ſeditious *Clodius* to put in execution the unjuſt decree of the people, depriving *Ptolemy* of that iſland, as we have related at length in the hiſtory of *Cyprus* [y]. *Auletes*, deſirous to confer with a man of his prudence and integrity about his affairs, ſent immediately to acquaint him with his arrival, expecting, that, upon this notice, he would, without delay, come and wait upon him; but the proud *Roman* told the meſſenger, that, if the king of *Egypt* had any thing to ſay to *Cato*, he might, if he thought proper, come to his houſe. Accord- c ingly *Auletes* went to pay him a viſit; but *Cato* did not vouchſafe ſo much as to riſe when the king entered his chamber, or to ſalute him otherwiſe than as a private perſon. The *Egyptian* monarch was much ſurpriſed to ſee ſo much haughtineſs and ſtate joined to the great ſimplicity and modeſty which he obſerved in the *Roman*'s dreſs and equipage, and would have entertained a very mean opinion of him, had he not diſcovered in his converſation an extraordinary fund of probity and good ſenſe; for the king having laid before him the ſituation of his affairs, *Cato* blamed him for leaving *Egypt*, the richeſt kingdom in the world, in order to expoſe himſelf to the many inſults and indignities which he would meet with at *Rome*, nothing being there in requeſt but wealth, pomp and grandeur. He did not ſcruple to tell him, that all the d riches of *Egypt* would not be ſufficient to ſatisfy the rapacious avarice of the leading men there; that they would not concern themſelves about the intereſts of a king, who brought nothing with him but wants and complaints; that new patrons, after he had purchaſed them at a great rate, would prove new chains to him, *&c.* He therefore adviſed him to return to *Egypt*, and ſtrive, by a more equitable conduct, to regain the affections of his people, which he had loſt by his male-adminiſtration. He even offered to reconduct him thither in perſon, and employ his mediation and good offices in his behalf [z]. *Ptolemy* reflecting on what the wiſe *Roman* told him, perceived the error he had committed in quitting his kingdom, and entertained ſome thoughts of returning to it; but the friends he had with him having diſſuaded him e from following *Cato*'s good counſel, he purſued his journey to *Rome*.

Confers with Cato *at* Rhodes.

Goes to Rome.

IN the mean time the *Egyptians*, not knowing what was become of him, and either believing, or feigning to believe, that he was dead, placed *Berenice* his daughter on the throne, and ſent an embaſſy into *Syria* to *Antiochus Aſiaticus*, who, by his mother *Selene*, the daughter of *Ptolemy Phyſcon*, was the next male heir of the family, inviting him into *Egypt*, in order to marry *Berenice*, and reign jointly with her; but he being dead, the embaſſadors were injoined by the chief men of *Alexandria*, to make the ſame propoſal to *Seleucus* his brother [a], who readily accepted the offer. This *Seleucus Strabo* deſcribes as a monſter of deformity, and adds, that his ill-ſhaped body was animated by a yet more deformed ſoul. The *Egyptians* ſoon f diſcovered his true character, and gave him the nickname of *Cybioſactes*, that is, *the Scullion*; for ſuch he was in his whole conduct and behaviour. He was ſcarce ſeated on the throne, when he gave a ſignal inſtance of his ſordid and avaricious temper. *Ptolemy* the firſt had cauſed the body of *Alexander the Great* to be depoſited in a coffin of maſſy gold; this *Cybioſactes* ſeized, and by this ſhocking crime provoked *Berenice*, who was already grown weary of him, to ſuch a degree, that, breaking through the moſt ſacred ties, ſhe cauſed him to be ſtrangled [b]. Having thus got rid of a man, whoſe preſence ſhe could no longer bear, ſhe married one *Archelaus*, high-prieſt of

His daughter Berenice *placed on the throne.*

She murders her husband Seleucus, *and marries* Archelaus.

[w] DIO CASS. & PLUT. ibid. Epitom. Liv. l. 104. [x] Cic. Tuſcul. quæſt. l. v. [y] Vide ſupra p. 185. [z] PLUT. in Caton. [a] PORPHYR. ubi ſupra. & STRABO, l. xvii. p. 796. [b] SUET. in Veſpaſ. c. xix. STRABO, l. xvii. p. 794.

Comana

Comana in *Pontus*, who pretended to be the ſon of *Mithridates the Great*, tho' he was, in fact, only the ſon of that king's chief general, whom we ſhall have occaſion to bring upon the ſcene in the hiſtory of *Pontus* [c]. a

Auletes, on his arrival at *Rome*, found, to his great concern, that *Cæſar*, on whom he chiefly depended, was making war in *Gaul*. However *Pompey*, his other patron, who was then in the city, received him with great expreſſions of kindneſs, gave him an apartment in his houſe, and omitted nothing that lay in his power to ſerve him; but notwithſtanding the protection of ſo powerful a man, the king was forced to go from houſe to houſe, like a private perſon, ſoliciting the ſuffrages of the ſenators. After he had ſpent immenſe treaſures in procuring a ſtrong party at *Rome*, he was at laſt, by the intereſt of *Pompey*, admitted to lay his complaints before the ſenate; b which he did with a great deal of art, exaggerating the hard uſage he had met with from his rebellious ſubjects, and putting the ſenators in mind of his alliance with the republic, by the articles of which they were bound to ſupport him to the utmoſt of their power, againſt his enemies both foreign and domeſtic. While *Auletes* was thus making intereſt at *Rome*, and courting the republic for her conſent to his being reſtored by force of arms, the *Alexandrians*, being informed of what paſſed in *Italy*, ſent a ſolemn embaſſy to the ſenate, conſiſting of an hundred citizens of diſtinction, to juſtify their revolt before the conſcript fathers. *Dion*, a celebrated academic philoſopher, who had many powerful friends at *Rome*, was at the head of this embaſſy; but *Ptolemy* found means to deſtroy moſt of them, either at *Rome*, or before their c arrival in that metropolis; which ſo intimidated the reſt, that they declined acquitting themſelves of their commiſſion, and even demanding juſtice for the murder of their collegues [d]. The rumor of theſe murders raiſed the indignation of the public, and gave a general alarm. *Marcus Favonius* the ſtoic was the firſt who declared in ſenate againſt *Auletes*. He accuſed him before the fathers, and exaggerated his late murders, his former miſcarriages, and the ſhameful meanneſs of many ſelf-intereſted ſenators, who had ſuffered themſelves to be corrupted with his money. At the motion of this zealous ſenator, *Dio*, the chief of the embaſſy, was ſummoned to appear before the ſenate, in order to give, by word of mouth, and upon oath, an authentic account of the aſſaſſination of the embaſſadors; but *Pompey*, *Lentulus*, and the d other great men at *Rome*, whoſe intereſt the perfidious king had bought at a vaſt price, declared ſo openly in his favour, that *Dio* was afraid to appear; however, he was ſoon after ſtabbed by an aſſaſſin, whom *Ptolemy* had hired for that purpoſe.

Auletes protected at Rome. The king, knowing he could depend on *Pompey*'s protection, was not aſhamed to own himſelf the chief author of that crime; nay, he even pretended to juſtify ſo baſe and treacherous an action; but nevertheleſs a proſecution was carried on againſt *Aſcitius* the aſſaſſin, his accomplices, who were for the moſt part the domeſtics of *Luccius*, at whoſe houſe *Dio* lodged, atteſting upon oath, that he ſtabbed him with his own hand; but, in ſpite of theſe, and other unexceptionable evidences, *Aſcitius* was acquitted. Then an action was brought by the adverſe party againſt the judges e for ſelling themſelves to *Ptolemy*, and betraying their truſt; but *Pompey* and his faction employing all their intereſt againſt the accuſers, the venal judges were likewiſe cleared, and injuſtice triumphed [e].

A decree for his reſtoration carried in the ſenate. THO' the ſcandalous behaviour of *Auletes* at *Rome* had made him highly odious and contemptible to the generality of the *Romans*, yet, by the powerful intereſt of *Pompey*'s party, a decree was carried in the ſenate, whereby it was enacted, That the *Egyptians* ſhould be compelled, by force of arms, to receive their king. All the great men of *Rome* were ambitious of being charged with the commiſſion of re-conducting a king, who was undoing himſelf, and ruining his kingdom, to reward thoſe who protected him. No one had more reaſon to expect it than *P. Lentulus Spinther* f the proconſul, he having been appointed governor of *Cilicia*, which lay in that neighbourhood, and *Cicero* ſupporting him with all his eloquence and intereſt. *Pompey* likewiſe, *Cn. Cornelius Marcellinus*, who was then conſul, and many others, were no leſs deſirous of a commiſſion, which, they well knew, would be attended with immenſe profit. After ſeveral months warm debates, *Pompey*, whoſe too great power gave already no ſmall umbrage, was excluded under this honourable pretence, that his preſence was neceſſary at *Rome*, he being charged with the care of maintaining

[c] STRABO, ibid. DIO CASS. l. xxxix. p. 115—117. CIC. in Piſon. n. 49, 50. [d] DIO CASS. l. xcvii. xcviii. PLIN. l. xxxiii. c. 10. CIC. epiſt. familiar. in Piſon. & pro Cæl. PLUT. in Cat. Min. STRAB. l. xvii. DIO CASS. STRABO, PLIN. CIC. ibid.

plenty

a plenty there. After the excluſion of *Pompey*, all things ſeemed to favour the proconſul of *Cilicia*'s claim; but what through the ſuperſtition of the people, what by the artifices of one of the tribunes, he was unexpectedly diſappointed as well as *Pompey*. A ſtatue erected on the hill of *Alba*, being beat down with thunder, the *Sibylline* books were conſulted, to diſcover the meaning of a prognoſtic which was deemed ominous. *C. Portius Cato*, who was then a young man, and one of the tribunes, took this opportunity of opening the *Sibylline* books, and thereby fruſtrating the intrigues and expectations of the leading men in *Rome*; for he was an eloquent ſpeaker, a zealous advocate for virtue, and highly incenſed at the meanneſs of the *Roman* magiſtrates, who, for great ſums of money, had engaged to protect a king, whoſe crimes

But oppoſed by Porcius Cato.

b had rendered him inſupportable to his ſubjects. He read, or pretended to read, in the *Sibylline* prophecies the following words: *If a king of* Egypt *ſhall apply to you for ſuccour, aſſiſt him, but not with an army; if you uſe violence, fear great dangers and miſfortunes* [f]. *Cicero* acknowledges, that all men of ſenſe were convinced, that the pretended prediction was forged; but nevertheleſs the young tribune obliged the keepers of the *Sibylline* books to report it to the people, and rehearſe the words in full comitia. The law required, that theſe oracles ſhould never be divulged till they had been examined by the ſenate, who ſuppreſſed or publiſhed them as they thought fit; but *Cato*, being well appriſed that *Ptolemy* would, by his immenſe profuſions, prevail upon the ſelf-intereſted ſenators to ſuppreſs an oracle no ways favourable to

c his reſtoration, had no regard to this law, but proclaimed the pretended anſwer of the *Sibyls* without imparting it to the ſenate [g]. The reading of the words of the *Sibyl* in the comitia had the deſired effect on the minds of the people; and the decree which empowered *Lentulus Spinther* to carry back *Auletes* to his dominions, was, at their requeſt, revoked and annulled [h]. Then ſeveral expedients were propoſed, in order to facilitate the king's return, without diſobeying the pretended oracle; but the whole year being ſpent in fruitleſs debates, *Ptolemy*, tired out with theſe delays, reſolved to leave *Rome*, where he had incurred the hatred of the people, and retiring to the temple of *Diana* at *Epheſus*, the moſt venerable aſylum in *Aſia*, wait there in

Auletes leaves Rome.

d ſafety the deciſion of his fate [i]. From thence he wrote to *Ammonius*, whom he had left with the character of his embaſſador to the ſenate, deſiring, that *Pompey* might be appointed to replace him on the throne; and his letter being read in the comitia by *Aulus Plautius* tribune of the people, his collegue *Caninius*, whom *Plutarch*, through miſtake, calls *Canidius*, was of opinion, that *Pompey*, attended only by two lictors, for no violence could be uſed without diſobeying the oracle, ſhould go into *Egypt*, and, by his authority alone, bring the king into favour with his rebellious ſubjects; but the tribune was herein oppoſed by the ſenate, and *Pompey*, notwithſtanding his great intereſt, obliged to drop the purſuit of an honour which he moſt paſſionately deſired. *Pompey* being thus excluded, the ſenators were greatly divided in their ſentiments. *Bibulus* and the conſul *Marcellinus* were of opinion, that the

e king ſhould be reſtored by three embaſſadors, and that thoſe only ſhould be choſen who had no other employment. Their view in this was to exclude *Lentulus*, at that time governor of *Cilicia* and *Cyprus*. *Craſſus* agreed with *Bibulus* and *Marcellinus* as to the re-ſettling of the king on his throne by three embaſſadors without an army; but was not for excluding ſuch as had employments. *Cicero* never quitted the intereſt of *Lentulus*, who, during his conſulſhip, had greatly contributed to his being recalled from baniſhment; nay, he was ſo deſirous that his friend ſhould have the honour of re-eſtabliſhing the king of *Egypt*, and enjoy the advantages, which, he was well appriſed, would accrue to him from thence, that, after *Lentulus* was gone into *Cilicia*, he wrote to him, adviſing him to advance, without any further orders

f from the ſenate, with all his ſea and land-forces to *Alexandria*, and oblige the inhabitants by force to receive their king. You are the beſt judge, ſays he in a letter he wrote to him on this occaſion, of what you can undertake and perform. If you can reduce *Alexandria*, and the other cities of *Egypt*, it is, without doubt, both for your honour and that of the republic, that you advance thither with your fleet and army, leaving the king at *Ptolemais*, or ſome other neighbouring place, till you have got the better of the rebels, and ſettled all things in peace, ſo that he may return without danger. In this manner you will re-inſtate him without troops, which, as our

[f] Cic. l. i. ad familiar. ep. 1. & in orat. pro Rabir. Poſthumo, & in L. Piſon. Plut. in Pomp. Strabo, l. xvii. p. 796. Dio, l. xxxix. [g] Cic. l. i. ad familiar. epiſt. 4. & Dio, ibid. [h] Cic. ibid. [i] Cic. & Dio, ibid.

zealots pretend, is the meaning of the *Sibyl*. The *Romans* were prohibited by the oracle to re-conduct the king of *Egypt* with an army; and *Cicero* was of opinion, that if *Lentulus* had firſt reduced *Egypt* by force of arms, and then carried back the king without an army, he would not have acted therein contrary to the prohibition of the *Sibyl*, ſince it would be ſtill true, that the king had returned without an army. One would hardly believe, that ſuch a grave magiſtrate as *Cicero* could be capable of eluding the oracle by ſuch an evaſion; but he looked upon it only as a political contrivance to diſappoint the expectations of *Pompey*, *Lentulus*, and the other great men, who were deſirous to command the army on this occaſion. But *Lentulus*, being well appriſed of the many difficulties, which, he foreſaw, would attend this enterprize, followed the advice which *Cicero* gave him in the cloſe of his letter, *viz.* that he ſhould by no means undertake ſo great an enterprize, unleſs he could promiſe himſelf certain ſucceſs [k]. a b

Recurs to Gabinius *governor of* Syria.

Pompey, on his being excluded from the honour of reſtoring the king, had wrote to him, adviſing the baniſhed prince to recur to *Gabinius*, who commanded in *Syria* in quality of proconſul; and *Ptolemy* ſeeing the ſenate came to no reſolution with reſpect to his reſtoration, but ſpent the whole time in fruitleſs debates, determined to follow *Pompey*'s advice. *Gabinius* was a man of a moſt infamous character, and ready to undertake any thing for money, without the leaſt regard to law, juſtice or religion. He had quite ruined, by his enormous robberies and oppreſſions, the unhappy province of *Syria*, whither he had been ſent after his conſulſhip; and finding that the *Syrians* could no longer gratify his avarice, had reſolved to make war on the *Arabians*, in hopes of enriching himſelf with their ſpoils; but in the mean time *Mithridates*, who had been driven out of *Parthia* by his brother *Orodes*, flying for refuge to him, prevailed on the avaricious proconſul, by promiſing him large ſums, to turn his arms againſt *Parthia*, and aſſiſt him in the recovery of his crown. He had already begun his march, and paſſed the *Euphrates*, with a deſign to replace *Mithridates* on the throne, not doubting but he ſhould return loaded with an immenſe booty, the *Parthians* being deemed at that time a very wealthy nation; but as he was advancing with *Mithridates*, whom he took along with him for his guide, towards the borders of *Parthia*, *Ptolemy* came up with him, and delivered into his hands letters from *Pompey*, their common friend and patron, whereby he was deſired to reſtore the baniſhed king, upon ſuch terms as he ſhould think fit to require, and the king to grant. It was againſt an expreſs law for any governor to go out of the limits of his province, or to make war, upon any pretence whatſoever, even with the neighbouring princes or ſtates, without poſitive orders from the ſenate and people of *Rome*; but the authority of *Pompey*, and the hope of a great reward, made the proconſul deſpiſe this law, and undertake the re-eſtabling of the king of *Egypt*, contrary to the opinion of all the officers of the army, except *Mark Antony* alone, who commanded the horſe, and ſupported with great warmth the king's intereſt [l]. The more dangerous the enterprize was, the more right *Gabinius* thought he had to make *Ptolemy* pay dear for it; and therefore was not aſhamed to demand of the king ten thouſand talents for his pains, that is, one million nine hundred thirty-ſeven thouſand five hundred pounds ſterling, one half of it to be paid immediately, and the other as ſoon as he ſhould be ſettled on the throne. *Ptolemy*, who was glad to be reſtored upon any terms, agreed to pay the proconſul the above-mentioned ſum; but *Gabinius* would not ſtir till the firſt payment was made, which obliged the king to borrow it of *Caius Rabirius Poſthumius*, a *Roman* knight, *Pompey* interpoſing his credit and authority for the payment of the capital and intereſt [m]. c d e

Who undertakes to reſtore him.

Mark Antony *diſtinguiſhes himſelf in this war.*

Gabinius having received the ſum of five thouſand talents, repaſſed the *Euphrates*, and leaving *Mithridates* to ſhift for himſelf, began his march towards *Egypt*. As he drew near the borders of that country, he detached *Antony* with a body of horſe to ſeize the paſſes, and open the way for the reſt of the army. As this young *Roman* was the chief promoter of the expedition, ſo he acted in it with the utmoſt vigor and reſolution; for he not only poſſeſſed himſelf of the paſſes of a ſandy deſart, and found a way through the marſhes of *Solonis*, which the *Egyptians* call the exhalations of *Typhon*, but took the city of *Peluſium*, which was a place of great importance, and the key of *Egypt* on that ſide [n]. For this ſucceſs he was f

[k] Cic. ad famil. l. i. epiſt. 7. [l] Dio Cass. l. xxxix. Appian. in Parthic. & Syriac. Plut. in Anton. Cic. in orat. pro Rabir. Poſthum. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 11. & de bell. Judaic. l. i. c. 6. Justin. l. xlii. c. 4. [m] Cic. Plut. Joseph. Dio. ibid. [n] Plut. in Anton. Appian de bell. civil. l. v. p. 676.

indebted

a indebted to *Hyrcanus* prince of *Judæa;* and *Antipater* the father of *Herod*, who not only aſſiſted him with proviſions, but prevailed upon their countrymen, who lived in *Peluſium*, to favour the *Romans*, and introduce them into the city. *Ptolemy*, on his entering the place, was for putting all the *Egyptians* to the ſword; but *Antony* oppoſed ſo barbarous an execution, remonſtrating, that it would draw both upon him and the *Romans* the general hatred of the nation, and by that means retard at leaſt, if not prevent, his reſtoration; ſince the *Egyptians* would chuſe rather to die in battle, than be ſacrificed, after victory, to the reſentment of the conqueror [o]. As ſoon as *Gabinius* received advice of *Antony*'s good ſucceſs, he advanced into the heart of *Egypt*, the waters of the *Nile*, as it was then winter, being very low. *Ar-*
b *chelaus*, who, as we have ſaid before, had married *Berenice*, and reigned jointly with her, met *Gabinius* at the head of a conſiderable army, and offered him battle; but the *Egyptian* troops were cut in pieces, and *Archelaus* himſelf taken priſoner, ſo that the proconſul might at once have put an end to the war; but his avarice prompted him to prolong it; for he gave *Archelaus* his liberty, upon his paying a conſiderable ranſom, and then pretending that he had made his eſcape, demanded freſh ſums of *Ptolemy* to purſue the war. *Rabirius*, who followed the king in this expedition, lent him what money he wanted at a very high intereſt. Such were the artifices made uſe of by the *Romans* of this age to enrich themſelves. *Archelaus*, when again at liberty, would have long diſputed the crown with his rival, had his
c troops ſeconded his valour, for he was a young man of extraordinary parts; but the *Egyptians* having, in ſeveral encounters, turned their backs at the very firſt onſet, he was at length obliged to ſhut himſelf up in *Alexandria*, which *Gabinius* cloſely beſieged, both with his ſea and land-forces. *Archelaus* defended the place with incredible bravery, till he was reduced to the laſt extremity; and then he marched out of the diſtreſſed city to hazard another battle, which put an end both to his reign and life; for being abandoned by his effeminate and daſtardly troops, he choſe rather to die in the field, than ſurvive the loſs of his crown [p]. *Mark Antony*, who had been his particular friend and gueſt, hearing that he was ſlain, commanded his body to be ſought for among the dead, wept over it when it was found, and took
d upon himſelf to inter it with all the pomp and magnificence that was due to a perſon of his rank [q].

Ptolemy being now maſter of *Alexandria*, eaſily reduced the reſt of *Egypt* to his obedience, and was thereby thoroughly reſettled on his throne. For the preventing of new inſurrections, *Gabinius*, before he returned into his province, left ſome of his *Roman* forces in *Alexandria* to keep that city in awe; but theſe ſoon exchanged the *Roman* manners for the *Egyptian*, and gave into the luxury and effeminacy of thoſe among whom they lived [r]. *Auletes* ſeeing himſelf again in quiet poſſeſſion of the crown, began to vent his rage on all thoſe who had been any ways concerned in the rebellion. His daughter *Berenice* was ſacrificed the firſt to his reſentment. The
e crime he laid to her charge was her having accepted of the vacant throne when the *Alexandrians* offered it her [s]. Afterwards he cut off moſt of the wealthy citizens of *Alexandria*, under pretence that they had been concerned in the rebellion, and confiſcated their eſtates, in order to raiſe the vaſt ſums which he was ſtill to pay *Gabinius*, or had borrowed of *Rabirius*. To be rich was a crime for which many were condemned, the king filling his dominions, as *Dion Caſſius* expreſſes it, with blood and ſlaughter, that he might thereby fill his coffers with the treaſures of his unhappy ſubjects. Theſe oppreſſions and violences the cowardly *Egyptians* ſuffered with great patience, being kept in awe by the *Roman* gariſon which *Gabinius* had left in *Alexandria*; but neither the fear of the *Romans*, nor the authority of *Ptolemy* could
f make them put up a much leſs affront; for a *Roman* ſoldier having killed a cat, which animal, as it is well known, was worſhipped by the *Egyptians*, the ſuppoſed ſacrilege was no ſooner known, but the *Alexandrians* made a general inſurrection, and gathering together in crowds, made their way through the *Roman* guards, dragged the ſoldier out of his houſe, and, in ſpite of all oppoſition, tore him in pieces [t]. *Diodorus Siculus*, who relates this inſurrection, was an eye-witneſs of it.

Auletes reſettled on the throne.

Puts to death his daughter Berenice.

Caius Rabirius Poſthumius had lent *Ptolemy Auletes*, as we have hinted above, immenſe ſums to defray the expence of his expedition againſt the uſurper of his crown,

His ingratitude to Rabirius Poſthumius.

[o] Plut. ibid. Joseph. l. i. de bell. Jud. c. 6. & l. xiv. c. 10. [p] Dio, l. xxxix. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 1. [q] Plut. ibid. [r] Cæsar. Commentar. de bell. civil. l. iii. Lucan. l. x. ver. 402. [s] Strabo, l. xvii. p. 796. Dio, ibid. Porphyr. in Græc. Euseb. Scalig. p. 226. [t] Diodor. Sicul. l. i. p. 74, 75.

and

and had reaſon to expect in gratitude to be ſpeedily repaid; but finding that the king affected delays, he reſolved to leave *Rome*, where he then was, and go into *Egypt*. When he arrived at *Alexandria*, he preſſed the king to perform his engagements; but *Ptolemy* ſhewed little regard to his remonſtrances, excuſing himſelf on account of the bad condition of his finances ſince the late revolution; nevertheleſs he offered to make him general collector of his revenues, that he might, in that employment, pay himſelf. The unfortunate creditor accepted the offer, for fear of loſing his debt, for which he was himſelf indebted to others; but the baſe prince ſoon after, upon ſome frivolous pretence, ordered him and all his ſervants to be cloſely confined. This ſhocking treatment of a man who had aſſiſted him in his diſtreſs, exaſperated *Pompey* as much as *Rabirius*, the former having been in a manner ſecurity for the debt, as the money had been lent at his requeſt, and the whole buſineſs tranſacted by him at a country-houſe of his near *Alba*; however *Rabirius* had reaſon to fear the worſt from a cruel and faithleſs prince, and therefore, having found means to make his eſcape, was glad to ſave his life from the wicked deſigns of his debtor; but, to complete his misfortunes, he was proſecuted as ſoon as he returned to *Rome*, 1*ſt*, For having enabled *Ptolemy* to corrupt the ſenate with ſums lent him for that purpoſe. 2*dly*, For having debaſed and diſhonoured the character of a *Roman* knight, by farming the revenues, and becoming the ſervant of a foreign prince. And, *laſtly*, For having been an accomplice with *Gabinius*, and ſharing with him the ten thouſand talents, which the proconſul had received for his *Egyptian* expedition. *Rabirius* ſeems to have been acquitted; and the eloquent oration which *Cicero* ſpoke in his defence, will be an everlaſting monument of *Ptolemy*'s treachery and ingratitude [u]. As for *Gabinius*, three actions were commenced againſt him as ſoon as he returned to *Rome*; one of high treaſon againſt the people, for reſtoring *Ptolemy* to his dominions, contrary to the expreſs orders of the republic, and thereby being guilty of the death of ſo many perſons who were killed on that occaſion; the other of bribery and corruption, ſince it was notorious that he had been induced, by vaſt ſums of money, to replace that cruel and wicked prince on the throne, in defiance of the laws, and the prohibition of the *Sibyl*; the third action was of tyranny and oppreſſion in his government. *Cicero* repreſented his crimes in ſo ſtrong a light, that he eſcaped death very narrowly; for, notwithſtanding the powerful intereſt of *Cæſar* and *Pompey*'s party, and the vaſt ſums he ſpent in bribing the judges, he was cleared from the firſt charge by a majority of ſix votes only out of ſeventy; but in the other two actions he was caſt, and condemned to perpetual baniſhment, the only puniſhment which the *Roman* laws inflicted on public extortioners and oppreſſors [w]. We are told, that, before he left *Rome*, he was reduced to great poverty, having ſpent the money, which he got by oppreſſion, bribery and corruption, in bribing and corrupting others, in order to eſcape the puniſhment which he deſerved. He lived in baniſhment till the time of the civil wars, when he was recalled by *Cæſar*, in whoſe ſervice he loſt his life [x].

Gabinius *baniſhed* Rome.

Auletes *dies.*

Auletes, notwithſtanding the unheard-of tyrannies with which he haraſſed his ſubjects, died in the peaceable poſſeſſion of his kingdom, about four years after his re-eſtabliſhment, and thirty after he had firſt aſcended the throne, leaving behind him two ſons and two daughters. He bequeathed his crown to his eldeſt ſon and his eldeſt daughter, ordering them to be joined in marriage, according to the cuſtom of their family, and to govern with equal power; and becauſe they were both under-age, the daughter, who was the eldeſt, being but ſeventeen years old, he left them under the tuition of the *Roman* people, whom he conjured by all the gods, and by his alliance with *Rome*, to take care that his will was duly executed [y]. *Eutropius* tells us [z], that a copy of his will being tranſmitted to *Rome*, the people appointed *Pompey* the young prince's guardian. The ſons were both called *Ptolemy*; the daughters names were *Cleopatra* and *Arſinoe*. This was the *Cleopatra* who afterwards became ſo famous, and had a great ſhare in the civil wars of *Rome*. We know but very little of the beginning of her and her brother's reign. The firſt thing we find recorded of her is, that two of the ſons of *Bibulus*, who had been conſul with *Julius Cæſar*, and was at this time proconſul of *Syria*, being killed in *Alexandria* by the *Roman* ſoldiers, whom *Gabinius* had left for a guard to *Ptolemy Auletes*, *Cleopatra*

Ptolemy *and* Cleopatra. *Year after the flood* 2968. *Before Chriſt* 31.

[u] Cic. pro Rabir. Poſth. [w] Dio, ibid. Cic. ad Attic. l. iv. epiſt. 16. & ad Quint. Fratr. l. iii. epiſt. 4. [x] Hirt. de bell. Alexandrin. c. 43. [y] Cic. l. viii. ad familiar. epiſt. 7. Cæs. l. iii. Comment. de bell. civil. [z] Eutrop. l. vi.

ſent

a ſent the murderers to *Bibulus*, that he might puniſh them as he thought fit; but the proconſul ſent them back untouched, with this meſſage, that the puniſhing of them belonged not to him, but to the ſenate of *Rome* [a].

As *Ptolemy* was a minor, under the tuition of *Pothinus* an eunuch, and *Achillas* commander in chief of the *Egyptian* forces, theſe two miniſters, to engroſs the whole power to themſelves, deprived *Cleopatra* of that ſhare in the ſovereignty which had been left her by the will of *Auletes*, and drove her out of the kingdom. *Cleopatra* thus injured, retired into *Syria*, and having raiſed in that country, and in *Paleſtine*, a very conſiderable army, led it herſelf into *Egypt*, with a deſign to aſſert her right by force of arms. On the other hand *Ptolemy*, having drawn together all the forces b he could, took the field, and marched againſt his ſiſter. Both armies encamped between *Peluſium* and mount *Caſius*, obſerving the motions of each other, neither of them being inclined to venture an engagement. While affairs were in this ſituation, *Pompey*, after the loſs of the battle of *Pharſalia*, arrived off *Peluſium*, hoping to find in the kingdom of *Egypt* an open and ſafe aſylum; for he had been, as we have obſerved above, the great friend and conſtant protector of *Auletes*, the father of the reigning prince; and therefore, as his favours were of a late date, he expected to find the ſon, and thoſe who were about him, grateful; but gratitude is a virtue unknown to princes and miniſters, as *Pompey* found by woeful experience, and many others have done ſince his time. The unfortunate *Roman*, obſerving from the ſea c a great army encamped on the ſhore, concluded from thence, that the king was at war with his ſiſter, and that, in ſuch a conjuncture, he ſhould find the young prince the more ready to protect him, ſince he might ſtand in need of his aſſiſtance; he therefore ſent ſome of his friends to acquaint the king with his arrival, and to demand permiſſion to land, and enter his kingdom [b]. The king himſelf, who was then but thirteen years old, gave no anſwer; but *Pothinus* and *Achillas*, the two reigning miniſters, taking *Theodotus* a rhetorician, who was the king's præceptor, and ſome others to conſult with them, adviſed together what anſwer to return. In this council ſome were for receiving *Pompey*, thinking it would be a reproach to the *Egyptian* nation and king to abandon him in his diſtreſs, and refuſe protection and relief to d one, who had been the late king's zealous and conſtant protector, and was the preſent king's guardian. Others were for rejecting his petition, and deſiring him to ſeek a retreat and aſylum elſewhere; but *Theodotus* diſplayed all his eloquence to ſhew, that the ſafeſt courſe they could take was to diſpatch him. His reaſons were, becauſe if they received him, *Cæſar* would not fail to be revenged on them for protecting and abetting his enemy; and if they refuſed to receive him, and affairs ſhould take a turn in his favour, he would, without all doubt, when again become powerful, make them pay dear for their refuſal; and therefore the only ſafe way to guard againſt both theſe evils, was to cut him off, which, ſaid he, will gain us the friendſhip of *Cæſar*, and prevent the other from doing us any miſchief; for *dead men*, according e to the ancient proverb, *don't bite* [c]. Some writers tell us, that *Theodotus* maintained this cruel paradox only to diſplay his eloquence and talents; but however that be, his advice prevailed, and was put in execution in the manner we ſhall relate in the hiſtory of *Rome*.

Cleopatra driven out by her brother's miniſters.

Pompey arrives off Peluſium.

And is murdered.

In the mean time *Cæſar*, being informed that *Pompey* had ſteered his courſe towards *Egypt*, purſued him thither, and arrived at *Alexandria*, juſt as the news of his death was brought to that city. Soon after *Theodotus*, or, as others will have it, *Achillas*, preſented him with the head and ring of his rival; but he wept at that ſight, and turning away his eyes with abhorrence, ordered the head to be buried in a proper place, with the uſual ſolemnities [d]. *Cæſar*, for the greater expedition, had purf ſued *Pompey* with few forces, having with him, when he arrived at *Alexandria*, only eight hundred horſe, and three thouſand two hundred foot. The reſt of his army he had left behind him in *Greece* and *Aſia Minor*, under the command of his lieutenants, with orders to purſue the advantages of his late victory, and ſecure his intereſt in thoſe parts; and therefore confiding in his good fortune, and the fame of his ſucceſs at *Pharſalia*, he ventured to land at *Alexandria* with the ſmall body above-mentioned: but was very near paying dear for it; for the few forces he had with him not being ſufficient to defend him againſt the unruly mob of that populous city, which was all

Julius Cæſar arrives at Alexandria.

[a] Val. Max. l. iv. c. 1. Cæs. ibid. Senec. ad Marciam. [b] Cæs. ibid. l. iv. Appian. p. 480. Plut. in Pomp. Dio. l. xlii. [c] Liv. l. cxii. Plut. ubi ſupra, & in Bruto. [d] Liv. l. cxii. Plut. in Cæſar.

Where he is in great danger.

in an uproar on account of *Pompey*'s death, he, with much ado, got into the king's palace, and there ſhut himſelf up with part of his men, the reſt having been driven back to their ſhips by the outragious multitude [e]. As it was not in *Cæſar*'s power to leave *Alexandria*, by reaſon of the *Eteſian* winds, which, in that country, continue blowing all the dog-days, in the beginning of which *Cæſar* had entered that port, and prevent any ſhips from ſailing out, he ſent orders to the legions he had left in *Aſia* to join him with all poſſible expedition; but the tumult being appeaſed before the arrival of his troops, he ventured out of the palace, and having, by his affable behaviour, gained the affections of the common people, he ſpent his time in viſiting the curioſities of that great and ſtately metropolis, and ſeemed to take great pleaſure in aſſiſting at the public ſpeeches and harangues made by the *Alexandrian* orators and rhetoricians by way of trial; but that he might not ſpend his whole time in diverſions only, ſince he could not leave the place, he began to ſollicit the payment of the money due to him from *Auletes*, and to take cognizance of the difference between young *Ptolemy* and his ſiſter *Cleopatra* [f].

WE have related above, that, during *Cæſar*'s firſt conſulſhip, *Auletes* had, by the promiſe of ſix thouſand talents, obtained of him the alliance of the *Roman* people, and by that means ſecured to himſelf the crown. The king had paid him only part of this ſum, and given him an obligation or bond for the remainder. This debt now *Cæſar* called for, wanting it to pay his ſoldiers, and exacted it with great rigour; which *Pothinus* the king's treaſurer, by ſeveral artifices, made appear greater than it really was; for he plundered their temples of their gold and ſilver utenſils, and perſuaded the king, and all the great perſons of the kingdom to eat in earthen or wooden veſſels, inſinuating under hand, that *Cæſar* had ſeized on all their gold and ſilver plate, in order to ſtir up the people againſt him; but what moſt provoked them, and at laſt drove them to take up arms againſt *Cæſar*, was the haughtineſs with which he acted as judge between *Ptolemy* and *Cleopatra*; for he not only cited them to appear before him for the deciſion of their difference, but iſſued out a peremptory order, commanding them to diſband their armies, and ſtand to the ſentence which he, after hearing their reaſons, ſhould pronounce. This was looked upon in *Egypt* as a violation of the royal dignity, and an open incroachment on the prerogative of their ſovereign, who being independent, acknowledged no ſuperior, and therefore was not, like a ſubject, to be adjudged by any man. To theſe complaints *Cæſar* replied, that he did not take upon him to judge as a ſuperior, but as an arbitrator appointed by the will of *Auletes*, who having put his children under the tuition of the *Roman* people, and all their power being now veſted in him as their dictator, it belonged to him to arbitrate and determine this controverſy as guardian of *Auletes*'s children by virtue of his will; and that he claimed for no other end than to ſettle peace between the king and his ſiſter [g]. This explanation quieting all for the preſent, the cauſe was brought to *Cæſar*'s tribunal, and advocates were appointed on both ſides to plead before him.

Endeavours to make up the differences between Ptolemy *and* Cleopatra.

BUT *Cleopatra* being informed that *Cæſar* had a very particular regard for ſuch of her ſex as were recommended to him by their youth and beauty, reſolved to make uſe of both, and by their means attach him firſt to her perſon, and next to her cauſe. Accordingly ſhe ſent a private meſſenger to *Cæſar*, complaining that her cauſe was betrayed by thoſe ſhe employed, and demanding his permiſſion to appear before him in perſon. *Plutarch* ſays, that *Cæſar* preſſed her the firſt to come and plead her cauſe before him. Be that as it will, ſhe no ſooner knew that *Cæſar* was inclined to ſee her, but taking along with her only one of her ſervants, *Apollodorus* the *Sicilian*, ſhe embarqued in a ſmall veſſel, and, in the dusk of the evening, arrived under the walls of *Alexandria*. She was afraid of being diſcovered by her brother, or thoſe of his party who were maſters of the city, and would not have failed to ſtop her, and prevent her from going to *Cæſar*'s houſe. In order therefore to get thither without being known, ſhe cauſed herſelf to be tied up in a mattreſs, and was thus carried by *Apollodorus* on his back through the ſtreets of *Alexandria* to *Cæſar*'s apartment. There he laid down his burden at *Cæſar*'s feet, ſaying he had brought him a preſent, and having untied it, up ſtarted a fine lady with the beſt airs ſhe could put on. *Cæſar* was highly pleaſed with the ſtratagem, but much more with the perſon of *Cleopatra*, whoſe extraordinary beauty ſo charmed him, that he kept her with him all that

Cleopatra gains over Cæſar to her intereſt.

[e] LIV. ibid. DIO, l. xlii. [f] CÆS. Comment. ibid. DIO, l. iv. [g] PLUT. in Cæſ. DIO, l. xlii. OROS. l. vi. c. 15. CÆS. Comment. de bell. civil. l. iii.

night,

a night, and thinking himſelf engaged by the favours ſhe granted him, to do all that lay in his power in her behalf, the next morning he ſent for *Ptolemy*, and preſſed him to receive his ſiſter again upon her own terms. By this propoſal *Ptolemy* found, that *Cæſar*, from being their common judge, was become her advocate, and being at the ſame time informed, that his ſiſter was with him in that part of the palace where he lodged, the young prince left *Ceſar* in a violent paſſion, and running into the ſtreets, took the diadem off his head, tore it to pieces, and threw it on the ground, complaining with his face bathed in tears, that he was betrayed, and relating the whole to the multitude that flocked round him, in a moment the whole city was in an uproar; the king himſelf, at the head of the populace, led them tumultuouſly to charge *Cæſar*, which b they did with all the fury which is uſual on ſuch occaſions. The *Roman* ſoldiers who were near him ſecured the king's perſon, and delivered him up to *Cæſar*; but nevertheleſs, as the reſt of his forces, who knew nothing of what paſſed, were diſperſed in the ſeveral quarters of that great city, *Cæſar* muſt neceſſarily have been overpowered, and tore to pieces by the inraged multitude, had he not had the preſence of mind to ſhew himſelf from a balcony which was out of their reach, and from thence aſſure them, that he was ready to do whatever they ſhould think fit to ſuggeſt to him. Theſe fair promiſes appeaſed the tumult for the preſent [h].

Ptolemy *ſtirs up the* Alexandrians *againſt him.*

The next day having ſummoned a general aſſembly of the people, he brought out to them *Ptolemy* and *Cleopatra*, and then cauſing their father's will publicly to c be read, he decreed as guardian and arbitrator, that *Ptolemy* and *Cleopatra* ſhould reign jointly in *Egypt* agreeable to the will; and that *Ptolemy* the younger ſon, and *Arſinoe* the younger daughter, ſhould jointly enjoy the iſland of *Cyprus*. He added this laſt article to appeaſe the people, and by that means eſcape their fury, which he was then in great fear of; for the iſland of *Cyprus* had for ſome time belonged to the *Romans*, as we have related elſewhere. This decree pleaſed all except *Pothinus*; for as he had been the cauſe of the breach between *Cleopatra* and her brother, and alſo of the expulſion of that princeſs, he had reaſon to apprehend, that ſhe, on her return, would deprive him of the great power he had at court, and perhaps of his life. To prevent therefore *Cæſar*'s decree from taking effect, he inſpired the people with new d jealouſies, giving out, that the *Roman* dictator had, by force, and againſt his inclination, beſtowed the crown on both; but that his true deſign was to place *Cleopatra* alone on the throne. When he had, by ſowing ſuch reports among the populace, ſtirred them up anew againſt *Cæſar*, for the *Egyptians* could not bear to be governed by a woman alone, he ſollicited *Achillas*, by private letters and meſſengers, to advance at the head of the army from *Peluſium*, where he was then encamped, to *Alexandria*, in order to drive *Cæſar* out of the city. The general was eaſily prevailed upon to fall in with his meaſures, and approaching *Alexandria* with twenty thouſand regular and well diſciplined troops, put all things there again in confuſion. *Cæſar*, who had but a ſmall number of forces with him, perſuaded the king to ſend out embaſſadors to e *Achillas*, ordering him to forbear uſing any violence, ſince he was well pleaſed with what *Cæſar* had decreed. *Dioſcorides* and *Serapion*, who had been embaſſadors at *Rome*, and had great authority at court, were employed on this occaſion; but *Achillas* was ſo far from complying with the king's orders, that he commanded the two embaſſadors to be ſeized, and put to death; and accordingly one of them was killed on the ſpot, and the other carried off by his own men for dead. *Cæſar* finding that *Achillas* would hearken to no propoſals, reſolved to keep within the walls of the town, not being in a condition to make head againſt the enemy in the open field. He therefore poſted his men ſo well in the ſtreets and avenues of that quarter of the town which he had taken poſſeſſion of, that he found no difficulty in ſupporting the f attack of the whole *Egyptian* army. *Achillas*, not being able to force that quarter, changed his meaſures, and went to attack the port, with a deſign to make himſelf maſter of the *Egyptian* fleet at anchor there, to the number of ſeventy-two ſhips, and by that means to ſhut up the *Romans* by ſea, and prevent them from receiving ſuccours and convoys on that ſide; but *Cæſar* prevailing there likewiſe, cauſed the fleet to be ſet on fire, and at the ſame time ſeizing the tower of *Pharos*, placed a ſtrong gariſon in it, and by this means ſecured his communication with the ſea, without which he muſt neceſſarily have been ſoon obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion. Some of the ſhips, when on fire, driving to the ſhore, communicated their flames to the

Cæſar *beſieged in* Alexandria.

[h] Florus, l. iv. c. 2. Dio, l. xlii. Suet. in Julio. Plut. in Cæſ. Liv. l. cxii. Cæs. ubi ſupra.

adjoining

The library in the quarter called Bruchium *burnt.*

adjoining houſes, which ſpreading into the quarter of the city called *Bruchium*, con- a
ſumed the noble library, which had been the work of ſo many kings, and contained at that time four hundred thouſand volumes [i].

Cæſar finding himſelf thus engaged, contrary to his expectation, in a dangerous war, diſpatched meſſengers into all the neighbouring countries, ſolliciting ſpeedy ſuccours. He wrote, amongſt others, to *Domitius Calvinus* his lieutenant in *Aſia*, properly ſo called, acquainting him with the danger he was in. That general, upon the receipt of his letter, immediately detached two legions, putting the one on board ſome tranſports which he had ready, and ſending the other by land. The former arrived very ſeaſonably; but the latter did not reach *Alexandria* till the war was over. But *Cæſar* was beſt ſerved by *Mithridates* of *Pergamus*, a man of great valour and b
experience in war; for he being ſent into *Syria* and *Cilicia* to haſten the ſupplies there, brought thoſe forces which extricated him out of danger, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel [k].

IN the mean time *Cæſar*, that he might not be forced to fight the numerous troops of the enemy till his ſuccours arrived, fortified that quarter of the city where he lay, with walls, towers, and other works, including within them the palace, a theatre adjoining to it, which he made uſe of as a citadel, and a paſſage to the harbour. *Cæſar*, from the very beginning of the tumult, had taken care to get the king into his power, that this war might ſeem to be undertaken only by a few malecontents, and not by his authority or approbation. While he was thus detained in *Cæſar*'s c
quarters, *Pothinus*, who attended him there as his governor and chief miniſter, carried on a private correſpondence with *Achillas*, and by letters ſecretly conveyed to him, gave him intelligence of all that paſſed, encouraging him to puſh on the war with vigour; but at length one of his letters being intercepted, and the treaſon thereby diſcovered, *Cæſar* cauſed him to be put to death. Hereupon *Ganymedes*, another eunuch, who was charged with the education of *Arſinoe* the king's younger ſiſter, fearing the ſame puniſhment, as having been privy to the treaſonable practices of *Pothinus*, ſecretly conveyed the young princeſs out of *Cæſar*'s quarters, and fled with her to the *Egyptian* army, who wanting one of the royal family to head them, were overjoyed at her arrival, and proclaimed her queen; but *Ganymedes*, who d
entertained thoughts of ſupplanting *Achillas*, cauſed an accuſation to be formed againſt him, as if he had betrayed the fleet which *Cæſar* had burnt in the harbour, and having by this means got him condemned and executed, he took on himſelf the command of the army, and the adminiſtration of all the affairs of that party; and indeed he was thoroughly qualified for the employment of a prime miniſter, being a man of great penetration and activity, and no probity. He contrived a thouſand artful ſtratagems to diſtreſs *Cæſar* during the courſe of this war, ſhewing himſelf at the ſame time a diſcerning ſtateſman and a crafty general; for inſtance, he found means to ſpoil all the freſh water in *Cæſar*'s quarters, and thereby reduced him to great ſtraits; for the *Alexandrians* having no other freſh water but that of the *Nile*, the whole city was e
vaulted underneath their houſes for the receiving and keeping of it. Once a year, on the great ſwell of the *Nile*, the water of that river came into the city by a canal cut for that purpoſe, and being by ſeveral ſluices let into the vaults, filled them all, they being built without any partitions in a general communication from one to another under the houſes. The water let in on this occaſion, ſerved for the common uſe of the inhabitants the whole year, every one having an opening in his houſe, not unlike the mouth of a well, through which the water was drawn in buckets or pitchers. *Ganymedes* having ſtopt up the communications between the vaults or reſervoirs in *Cæſar*'s quarters and thoſe of the reſt of the city, found means to turn the ſea-water into the former, and thereby ſpoilt all the freſh-water that was kept in them. This raiſed f
a general uproar among *Cæſar*'s ſoldiers, and he would have been obliged to abandon his quarters very much to his diſadvantage, had he not immediately ordered wells to be dug, and diſcovered, after he had ſunk them to an incredible depth, ſprings of freſh-water, which made amends for that which was ſpoiled [l].

AFTER this *Cæſar* receiving advice, that the legion which *Calvinus* had ſent him by ſea, was arrived on the neighbouring coaſts of *Libya*, but was detained there by contrary winds, advanced with his whole fleet to convoy it ſafely to *Alexandria*,

[i] Cæs & Dio, ibid OROS. l. vi. c. 15. SENEC. de tranquill. anim. c. 9. AUL. GELL. l. v. c. 17. AMMIAN. MARCEL. l. xxii. [k] A. HIRTIUS de bell. Alexandrin. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. vii. [l] HIRTIUS, PLUT. & Cæs. ibid.

being

a being then reduced almoſt to the utmoſt extremity, and his men quite tired out with the continual aſſaults of the enemy. *Ganymedes* immediately aſſembled all the *Egyptian* ſhips he could, with a deſign to intercept him on his return. *Cæſar* was unwilling to engage, being deſirous to get the legion ſafe into the city; but a *Rhodian* galley which was placed in his right wing, being attacked by ſeveral of the enemy's ſhips, he could not forbear aſſiſting his faithful allies, which brought on an engagement between the two fleets, wherein *Cæſar* gained a conſiderable advantage, and would have intirely deſtroyed the *Egyptian* fleet, had he not been obliged, by night coming on, to retire with his ſhips and legion into the harbour [m].

b To repair this and other loſſes, for *Cæſar* had by this time deſtroyed an hundred and ten *Egyptian* ſhips, partly in the harbour, and partly in the arſenal, *Ganymedes* drew together all the ſhips that were in the mouths of the *Nile*, and in the private arſenals, and having formed with them another fleet, entered the port of *Alexandria*. This produced another fight at ſea, in which *Cæſar* gained a ſecond victory, which was owing chiefly to the great valour and skill of the *Rhodians* in naval affairs. To make the moſt of the advantage he had got, he endeavoured to ſeize the town of *Pharos*, and the mole leading to it called the *Heptaſtadium*; but after he had landed his troops in the iſland, he was repulſed with the loſs of above eight hundred of his men, and was very near periſhing himſelf in his retreat; for finding the ſhip in which he endeavoured to eſcape ready to ſink, by reaſon of the numbers of thoſe who had

c crowded into it, he threw himſelf into the ſea, and with great difficulty ſwam to the next ſhip, whence he ſaw, to his great concern, the veſſel which he had left ſink with all the men [n]. And here we muſt not paſs over in ſilence a circumſtance which is omitted by *Hirtius*, but recorded by *Dion Caſſius* [o], *Plutarch* [p], *Suetonius* [q], and *Oroſius* [r]. Theſe tell us, that *Cæſar*, while he thus made his eſcape, carried his commentaries, which he had then with him, in one hand, holding it up the whole time, leſt the water ſhould reach them, and ſwam with the other. *Appian* relates this whole affair in a quite different manner; for he writes, that *Cæſar* being ſurrounded on a bridge by the enemy, was obliged to throw off his purple garment, and leap into the ſea, and that the king's ſoldiers purſuing him, he ſwam under water, raiſing up his head

d now and then, to one of his own ſhips, where he was known and taken up [s]. *Suetonius* tells us, that he held his purple coat in his mouth, dragging it after him, leſt it ſhould fall into the enemy's hands; and *Florus* [t], with whom *Plutarch* agrees [u], that he left it in the waves, either by chance or on purpoſe, that the enemy purſuing him might diſcharge their darts and arrows at his garment. *Appian* and *Dio* add, that the *Egyptians* having got it, fixed it on a trophy which they had ſet up for having put the *Romans* to flight, and ſeemed to be as much pleaſed and elated, as if they had taken *Cæſar* himſelf [w].

The *Alexandrians* finding that the *Romans* were rather encouraged than diſheartened by their late loſs, and were making the neceſſary preparations to repair it, ſent

e embaſſadors to *Cæſar*, demanding their king, and aſſuring him, that his compliance with their requeſt would gain over the multitude to him, and put a ſpeedy end to the war; For your keeping the king confined, and in a manner priſoner, ſaid they, is what chiefly provokes the populace, and prevents them from hearkening to any terms of an accommodation: allow him his liberty, and you will find them ready to lay down their arms, and come to an agreement. *Cæſar*, tho' well acquainted with the ſubtle and deceitful temper of the *Alexandrians*, readily complied with their requeſt, knowing that he hazarded nothing in giving them up their king's perſon; and that, if they failed in their promiſes, the continuation of the war, and the evils attending it, would be laid to their charge. Before he diſmiſſed the young prince,

f he exhorted him to take this opportunity of inſpiring his ſubjects with ſentiments of peace; to redreſs the evils which a war, very imprudently undertaken, had brought upon his dominions; to approve himſelf worthy of the confidence he repoſed in him by granting him his liberty, and to ſhew himſelf grateful for the ſervices he had rendred his father. *Ptolemy*, early inſtructed by his maſters in the art of diſſimulation and deceit, begged *Cæſar*, with tears in his eyes, that he would not obligehim to depart, aſſuring him, that he had rather live with him like a private perſon, than reign without him. The event ſoon ſhewed how little ſincerity there was in the

[m] Dio. Cass. l. xlii. Hirtius, ibid. [n] Hirtius, ibid. [o] Dio. l. xlii. [p] Plut. in Cæſar. [q] Suet. in Julio. [r] Oros. l. vi. c. 15. [s] Appian. de bell. civil. l. ii. p. 523. [t] Flor. l. iv. c. 2. [u] Plut. ibid. [w] Dio. ibid. & Appian. ubi ſupra. p. 484.

young king's tears and profeſſions of friendſhip; for he was no ſooner at the head of his troops, than he renewed hoſtilities with more vigour than ever. The firſt thing *Ptolemy*, who was intirely governed by *Ganymedes*, attempted, was to intercept with his fleet all *Cæſar*'s proviſions. This occaſioned a new fight at ſea near *Canopus*, in which the *Romans*, under the conduct of *Tiberius Nero*, had again the victory. In this engagement *Euphanor*, the *Rhodian* admiral, loſt his life and his ſhip, after having ſignalized himſelf in a very eminent manner [x]; but by this time *Mithridates* of *Pergamus* was drawing near with an army which he had raiſed with great expedition in *Syria*. a

Mithridates had been ſent, as we have related above, into *Syria* and *Cilicia*, to raiſe there what forces he could, and lead them into *Egypt*. In this commiſſion he acquitted himſelf with ſuch diligence and prudence, that he ſoon formed a conſiderable army, being greatly aſſiſted therein by *Antipater* the *Idumæan*, who not only joined him with three thouſand *Jews*, but prevailed upon *Hyrcanus*, who was then at the head of that nation, and the neighbouring princes of *Arabia* and *Cæle-Syria*, to ſend him conſiderable reinforcements. With theſe troops *Mithridates*, attended by *Antipater* in perſon, marched into *Egypt*; and on his arrival at *Peluſium*, took that important place by ſtorm. This advantage was chiefly owing to *Antipater*; for he was the firſt that mounted the breach, and thereby opened the way to the others. From *Peluſium* they advanced towards *Alexandria*; but as they approached the borders of the province of *Onion*, they found all the paſſes ſeized by the *Jews* who inhabited that part of *Egypt*; ſo that it was impoſſible for them to proceed any farther. This unexpected obſtruction would have rendered their deſign abortive, had not *Antipater*, partly by his own authority, and partly by that of *Hyrcanus*, from whom he brought letters to the *Jews*, prevailed upon them to embrace *Cæſar*'s party [y]. Their example was followed by the *Jews* of *Memphis*, and *Mithridates* was plentifully ſupplied by both. *Aſinius* the *Trallian*, who wrote an account of the civil war, tells us, that *Hyrcanus* himſelf invaded *Egypt* with *Mithridates*. As they drew near the *Delta*, *Ptolemy* detached a conſiderable body of troops to diſpute with them the paſſage of the *Nile*. This drew on a battle, in which *Mithridates* commanded one part of the army, and *Antipater* the other. *Mithridates*'s wing was ſoon obliged to give ground, being attacked by the *Egyptians* with incredible fury; but *Antipater*, who had defeated the enemy on his ſide, haſtening to his relief, the battle began anew, and the *Egyptians* were totally routed. The two victorious generals purſued the advantage, drove the enemy out of the field with great ſlaughter, and having taken their camp, obliged thoſe to repaſs the *Nile* who had the good luck to make their eſcape [z]. *Mithridates* immediately acquainted *Cæſar* with this victory, aſcribing with great ingenuity, if *Joſephus* is to be credited, the whole glory of it to *Antipater*. b c d

The king, upon advice that the troops he had ſent were defeated, advanced with his whole army againſt *Mithridates* and *Antipater*. At the ſame time *Cæſar*, leaving the city in the night-time, marched with all poſſible expedition to join *Mithridates*, before the *Egyptians* could fall upon him. Accordingly he was the firſt who brought him intelligence of the king's deſign. The *Egyptian* army appeared ſoon after; whereupon a bloody engagement enſuing, moſt of the enemy's forces were cut in pieces, and the king himſelf drowned in the *Nile*, as he was attempting to make his eſcape in a boat. His body was afterwards thrown on the ſhore, and there known by the gold cuiraſs which the *Ptolemies* of *Egypt* uſed to wear, as *Julius Capitolinus* informs us [a]. He had reigned from the death of his father *Auletes* three years and eight months. In this engagement twenty thouſand *Egyptians* were killed in the battle and the purſuit, and twelve thouſand taken priſoners. On *Cæſar*'s ſide five hundred only were killed, and about a thouſand wounded. Among the latter was *Antipater*, who fought with incredible bravery, and had a great ſhare in the victory [b]. e f

Cæſar, in confidence of this victory, returned to *Alexandria*, and entering that city without oppoſition, beſtowed the crown of *Egypt* on *Cleopatra*, obliging her to marry *Ptolemy* her younger brother. This was in effect giving it to *Cleopatra* alone, the young prince being then but eleven years old. The paſſion which *Cæſar* had conceived for that princeſs, was the ſole motive that prompted him to imbarque in this dangerous

[x] Hirtius & Dio, ibid. [y] Hirtius, ibid. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 14 & 15. Dio, ibid. [z] Hirtius & Joseph. ibid. [a] Hirtius & Dio, ibid. Liv. l. xii. Oros. l. vi. c. 16. Flor. l. iv. c. 2. Eutrop. l. vi. [b] Joseph. l. xiv. c. 15.

and

a and infamous war; and therefore having been attended with ſucceſs in ſo bold an enterprize, he took care that ſhe ſhould reap the advantages of his victory. The ſame paſſion detained him longer in *Egypt* than his affairs could well admit; for tho' he had ſettled all matters there in *January*, yet he did not leave that country till the latter end of *April*, paſſing his time in revels and banquets with *Cleopatra* and the *Egyptians* of her court. He took great pleaſure in diverting himſelf with her on the *Nile* in a large galley called *Thalamegos*, being attended by a fleet of four hundred ſail. *Suetonius* tells us, that he deſigned to ſail with her as far as *Æthiopia*, but that his troops refuſed to follow him [c]. He had even a mind to carry her with him to *Rome*, and there marry her, after having cauſed a law to paſs in the comitia, by
b which the *Roman* citizens ſhould be allowed to marry ſuch women, and as many, as they pleaſed. *Marius Cinna*, then tribune of the people, declared after *Cæſar*'s death, that, at his earneſt requeſt, he had prepared an harangue for the propoſing of that law to the people [d]. In this war *Cæſar* having taken *Arſinoe* priſoner, carried her to *Rome* with him, and there cauſed her to walk before his triumphal chariot, bound with chains of gold. After that ſhow was over he gave her liberty, but would not allow her to return to *Egypt*, leſt her preſence ſhould raiſe new troubles in that kingdom. The baniſhed princeſs took up her reſidence in the province of *Aſia*; for there *Antony* found her after the battle of *Philippi*, and, at the requeſt of *Ceopatra* her ſiſter, cauſed her to be put to death [e]. Before *Cæſar* left *Alexandria*, in acknow-
c ledgment of the aſſiſtance he had received from the *Jews*, he confirmed all the privileges they enjoyed in that city, and commanded a braſen pillar to be raiſed, whereon all thoſe privileges were engraved, with the decree confirming them [f]. What made him at laſt take his leave of *Egypt* and his beloved *Cleopatra*, by whom he had a ſon called from his own name *Cæſarion*, was the war with *Pharnaces* king of the *Cimmerian Boſphorus*, and ſon of *Mithridates* the laſt king of *Pontus*. The ſucceſs that attended that prince in the recovery of his father's dominions, rouſed *Cæſar* out of the lethargy into which *Cleopatra*'s charms had lulled him, and put him again upon action. He left part of his forces in *Egypt* to protect *Cleopatra*, and with the reſt marched into *Syria*.

d After *Cæſar*'s departure, *Cleopatra* enjoyed the crown without the leaſt diſturbance, having all the power in her own hands during the minority of her brother; but the young prince no ſooner attained to the fourteenth year of his age, when, according to the laws of the country, he was to ſhare the royal authority as well as the name; but ſhe cauſed him to be poiſoned in the fourth year of his reign, and from that time governed *Egypt* [g] without a partner. Not long after *Cæſar* being killed at *Rome*, and the famous triumvirate formed between *Antony*, *Lepidus* and *Octavius* to avenge his death, *Cleopatra* declared, without heſitation, for the triumvirs, and ſent to *Albienus* the conſul *Dolabella*'s lieutenant, four legions, which were the remains of *Craſſus* and *Pompey*'s armies, and part of the troops which *Cæſar* had left with her
e to guard *Egypt*. Theſe four legions were taken by *Caſſius*, who, by frequent meſſages, ſollicited *Cleopatra* to join him againſt the triumvirs; but ſhe being indebted to *Cæſar* for her crown, could, neither by ſollicitations nor menaces, be prevailed upon to aſſiſt his murderer. Hereupon *Caſſius* began his march towards the frontiers of *Egypt*, with a deſign to invade that kingdom; but being preſſed by *Brutus* to join him, he dropped that enterprize. *Cleopatra* being thus delivered from all apprehenſions of an invaſion, ſailed with a numerous fleet to join *Antony* and *Octavius*; but falling ſick, was obliged to return to *Egypt*, after having loſt a great number of her ſhips by a violent ſtorm [h].

Antony, after the battle of *Philippi*, having paſſed over into *Aſia* to ſettle all mat-
f ters there for the intereſt of the conqueror, was informed that *Cleopatra*, or at leaſt ſome of her governors, had ſent ſuccours to *Caſſius* againſt *Dolabella*. Hereupon he ſummoned the queen of *Egypt* to appear before him at *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*, whither he was then going to ſettle the affairs of that province. *Cleopatra*, convinced of the great power of her charms, by the proof ſhe had already ſo ſucceſsfully made of them on *Cæſar*, did not doubt but ſhe ſhould eaſily captivate *Antony*, and the more becauſe the former had been acquainted with her only when ſhe was very young, and had no knowledge of the world; whereas ſhe was going to appear before *Antony*

[c] Sueton. in Julio. Appian. l. ii. de bell. civil. p. 484. Joseph. l. xiv. c. 17. & l. ii. contra Apion. p. 1063. [d] Sueton. ibid. [e] Cæs. Dio, Hirtius, Appian. &c. ibid. [f] Joseph. ubi ſupra. [g] Joseph. Antiquit. l. xv. c. 4. Porphyr. in Græc. Euseb. Scalig. [h] Appian. l. iii. p. 376. & l. iv. p. 625.

at

at an age, when women unite to the bloom of their beauty a ripeneſs of underſtand- a
ing, which qualifies them to treat of, and conduct the greateſt affairs; for ſhe was then twenty-five years old, had a great deal of wit and humour, and was no leſs agreeable in her converſation than in her perſon. She provided herſelf with rich preſents, vaſt ſums of money, and above all with magnificent and ſumptuous habits and ornaments; and thus provided, embarqued on a ſtately galley, and attended with the reſt of her fleet, ſet ſail for *Cilicia*, croſſed the ſea of *Pamphylia*, and entering the *Cydnus*, arrived at *Tarſus*, where *Antony* waited for her. Never had there been ſeen in thoſe parts a more ſplendid equipage than her's. Her galley was gilt all over, the ſails of purple, and the oars platedover with ſilver. The queen appeared under a conopy of cloth of gold, raiſed on the deck, in the ſame attire and attitude as *Venus* was then gene- b
rally painted, being ſurrounded by a great many comely youths fanning her like *Cupids*, and beautiful virgins, repreſenting, ſome the *Nereids*, and others the *Graces*. The dales and hills ecchoed, as ſhe ſailed up the river, with the melodious ſounds of various inſtruments, with which the oars keeping time, ſeemed in a manner to double the harmony. The great quantity of perfumes that were burnt on the deck, ſpread their odours on each ſide of the river to a great diſtance, and filled the air with the moſt fragrant ſcents. As ſoon as it was known in the city that the queen of *Egypt* was drawing near, the citizens of all ranks and ages abandoning their houſes, and interrupting their moſt ſerious occupations, crowded out of the gates to meet her; inſomuch that *Antony*, who was diſtributing juſtice, and hearing cauſes in the c
forum, ſaw his tribunal all on a ſudden deſerted, not a ſingle perſon remaining with him but his lictors and domeſtics; and indeed no wonder that the whole city flocked to ſee her, a rumor being ſpread all over *Tarſus*, that the goddeſs *Venus* was coming to pay a viſit to *Bacchus*, and confer with him about the good of *Aſia*. She was no ſooner landed than *Antony* ſent to invite her to ſupper; but the queen anſwered, that, according to the rules of civility, he ought firſt to come to her, and that therefore ſhe expected to ſee him that very night in the tents which would be ſoon ſet up on the banks of the river. *Antony* complied with her invitation, and was received and entertained with a magnificence not to be expreſſed. *Antony* invited her in his turn for the next day, and no expence was ſpared; but, in ſpite of his d
utmoſt efforts, he owned his entertainment far inferior to the queen's, and was himſelf the firſt to ridicule the parſimony and plainneſs of his own, when compared with the ſplendor and elegance of *Cleopatra*'s. The more *Antony* converſed with the fair *Egyptian*, the more he was charmed with her converſation, which being attended with all poſſible ſweetneſs and gaiety, had attractions ſtill more irreſiſtable than her form and features. Little or no mention was made of the complaints which had been brought againſt her, and were indeed without foundation. She ſoon got ſo abſolute an aſcendant over her judge, that it was not in his power to refuſe her any thing ſhe asked, however repugnant to the laws of juſtice, humanity or religion [j]. At her requeſt aſſaſſins were diſpatched to *Miletus*, as *Appian* tells us [k], or to *Epheſus*, as e
Joſephus will have it [l], with orders to murder *Arſinoe*, which were accordingly executed in the very temple where ſhe had taken refuge. *Cleopatra*, to attach *Antony* the more to her perſon and intereſt, made daily entertainments during her ſtay at *Tarſus*, inviting him and the chief officers of his army to partake of them, and ſpending on thoſe occaſions immenſe ſums of money. In one of theſe banquets *Antony* expreſſing great ſurprize at the vaſt number of gold cups enriched with jewels which were diſplayed on all ſides, the queen told him, that ſince he admired ſuch trifles, he was very welcome to them, and immediately ordered her ſervants to carry them all to his houſe. The next day ſhe invited him anew, and deſired him to bring a good number of gueſts along with him. He accepted her invitation, and came attended f
with all the chief officers at that time in *Tarſus*. When the banquet was over, and the numerous company ready to depart, *Cleopatra* preſented them with all the gold and ſilver plate which had been made uſe of during the entertainment [m]. In one of theſe feaſts happened what *Pliny*, and after him *Macrobius*, relates of *Cleopatra*'s magnificence, or rather profuſeneſs. The queen had at her ears two of the fineſt and largeſt pearls that ever had been ſeen, each of them being valued at fifty-two thouſand five hundred pounds of our money. One of theſe ſhe cauſed to be diſſolved

[j] PLUT. in Anton. APPIAN. l. v. p. 671—676 DIODOR. SICUL. l. xlviii. p. 371. JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 23. [k] APPIAN. l. v. p. 676. [l] JOSEPH. l. xv. c. 14. [m] ATHEN. l. iv. p. 147, 148.

in

a in vinegar, and then ſwallowed it for no other end, but to ſhew the little account ſhe made of ſuch toys, and how much ſhe could ſpend on one draught. She was preparing in like manner to melt the other, when *Plancus*, who was preſent, ſtopt her, and ſaved the pearl, which was afterwards carried to *Rome* by *Auguſtus*, and being by his orders cut in two, ſerved for pendants to the *Venus* of the *Julian* family [n].

In the mean time *Antony* being obliged by his affairs to leave *Tarſus*, *Cleopatra* accompanied him as far as *Tyre*, and there taking her leave of him returned into *Egypt*. But the triumvir was ſo taken with her charms, that he could not now live without her; having therefore appointed *Plancus* to be his lieutenant in *Aſia Minor*, and *Saxa* in *Syria*, he haſtened after her to *Alexandria*, and there ſpent the whole enſuing winter with her in ſports, banquets, and all kinds of diverſions, treating
b each other every day at an immenſe and incredible expence. *Cleopatra*'s whole ſtudy was to amuſe him, and make him paſs his time agreeably. She never left him day or night, but was continually contriving new diverſions, that he might not have leiſure to reflect, or entertain thoughts of leaving her. *Antony* took particular pleaſure in angling; but being one day attended with very bad luck, and much concerned to appear before the queen without his uſual addreſs and good fortune, he ordered the fiſhermen he had with him to dive ſecretly under water, and faſten to his hook ſome of the largeſt fiſhes which they had taken in their nets. His orders being punctually executed, *Cleopatra* expreſſed in appearance great ſurprize and admiration every time he drew up his line, but being well appriſed of the artifice, ſhe cauſed
c one of her own people to dive ſecretly under water, and faſten to the triumvir's hook a large dry fiſh of that kind that was brought from the *Euxine* ſea into *Egypt*. When *Antony* drew up his line the whole company was highly diverted at the ſight of the ſalt-fiſh, and could not help laughing at the triumvir's extraordinary good luck; but he putting on a ſerious air, the queen took him in her arms, and diſplaying all her charms, Leave, ſaid ſhe, good general, leave the angling line to us kings and queens of *Pharos* and *Canopus*; it becomes you to take cities, kingdoms, and princes.

While *Antony* was thus amuſing himſelf with childiſh and trifling diverſions, *Labienus* at the head of the *Parthian* army made great conqueſts in *Syria*, which obliged
d him to take his leave of *Cleopatra* early in the ſpring. As he was on his march againſt the *Parthians* he altered his meaſures, and ſailed into *Italy* with two hundred ſhips againſt young *Octavius*, with whom he ſoon after reconciled himſelf, marrying by the advice of his friends his ſiſter *Octavia*, a woman of extraordinary merit, who was lately become a widow by the death of *Marcellus*. It was believed this marriage would make him forget *Cleopatra*; but his paſſion for the *Egyptian* ſoon reviving, after he had ſpent the winter with his new wife at *Athens*, he haſtened back to *Alexandria*, where he gave himſelf up to the ſame looſe and ſcandalous way of living, which he had followed the winter two years before. On his removing from *Alexandria* into *Syria* to purſue the war againſt the *Parthians*, he left her in *Egypt*; but
e before he ſet out on that expedition, he ſent for her into *Syria* againſt the advice of all his friends. On her arrival ſhe influenced him to commit ſuch flagrant acts of cruelty and injuſtice as rendered his name and government odious to the whole nation. Many *Syrian* lords were on falſe pretences put to death, that ſhe might have their forfeited eſtates. Among theſe was *Lyſanias* the ſon of *Ptolemy Mennæus*, prince of *Chalcis* and *Ituræa*, whom ſhe accuſed to *Antony* of having entered into an alliance with the *Parthians*. Upon this groundleſs accuſation, *Lyſanias* was condemned, and his dominions granted to her. The ſtay he made with her before he ſet out againſt the *Parthians*, and the hurry he was in to return to her again, were the occaſion of the many misfortunes that befel him in that unhappy expedition. On his return into
f *Syria*, having with much difficulty got to the borders of *Armenia*, inſtead of putting his army there into winter quarters, as his officers adviſed him, being impatient to ſee *Cleopatra*, he obſtinately purſued his march, in the depth of winter, over that mountainous country then covered with ſnow, which with the long march of three hundred miles he had made before he reached *Armenia*, ſo haraſſed his troops, that on his arrival in *Syria* he found that ſixty thouſand of them had periſhed in that deſtructive undertaking, moſtly by the hardſhips they had ſuffered on their long and fatiguing marches [o].

[n] Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 3. Arnob. l. iv. [o] Liv. epit. l. cxxx. Strab. l. xi. p. 525. Plut. in Anton. Dio. l. xlix. Flor. l. iv. c. 10. Vellei Patercul. l. ii. c. 82.

AS ſoon as *Antony* had got back into *Syria* he retired to *Leucecome*, a caſtle in *Phœnice*, lying between *Sidon* and *Berytus*, and there, having ſent for *Cleopatra*, paſſed his time with her in feaſting and revelling without ſhewing the leaſt concern for the loſs of his army. *Cleopatra* brought with her cloaths for the poor remains of his ſhattered troops, which with a large donative in money were diſtributed among the ſoldiers in *Cleopatra*'s name, though the money was given by *Antony*. Having thus quieted the ſoldiery, and made them amends for the hardſhips they had ſuffered, he returned with his beloved queen into *Egypt*, where he ſpent the remainder of the winter in all manner of luxury and voluptuouſneſs [q]. In the mean time the kings of *Parthia* and *Media* falling out about the diviſion of the booty, which they had taken from the *Romans*, the latter ſent an embaſſy to *Antony*, offering to join him againſt the *Parthian* with all his forces. At the ſame time news was brought him that the *Parthians* had taken up arms againſt their king, and that all things were there in the utmoſt confuſion. Hereupon *Antony*, reſolved to lay hold of ſo favourable an opportunity of being revenged on that nation, haſtened into *Syria* with a deſign to make the neceſſary preparations for a ſecond expedition againſt that formidable enemy. But *Octavia* being come as far as *Athens* in her way to *Antony*, *Cleopatra* was under no ſmall apprehenſion, leſt by her virtue, wiſdom, and the gravity of her manners ſhe ſhould recover the affection of her husband, and therefore employed all her arts to prevent their meeting. She affected to die for love, and having made herſelf lean and pale, by taking little nouriſhment, ſhe wrote to him that his abſence had caſt her into a languiſhing condition, and that ſhe muſt die unleſs he returned to her again. This brought the credulous lover back to *Alexandria*, where *Cleopatra* with tears, careſſes, reproaches, menaces, *&c.* prevailed upon him to put off his expedition into *Parthia*, and to order *Octavia* to proceed no further, but to wait for him at *Athens*. This ſcandalous behaviour of *Antony* towards *Octavia* was highly reſented by her brother *Octavianus*, and became the firſt cauſe of that war, which ended in the ruin of both theſe lovers [r].

EARLY in the ſpring *Antony* ſet out for *Syria* with a deſign to march from thence into *Parthia*. *Cleopatra* pretending that ſhe could not live without him, agreed to attend him to the banks of the *Euphrates*. To render his abſence leſs grievous to her before he ſet out, he beſtowed on her all *Cyrene*, *Cyprus*, *Cœle-Syria*, *Ituræa*, and *Phœnice*, with great part of *Cilicia* and *Crete*. But theſe provinces and kingdoms not ſatisfying her boundleſs ambition, ſhe ſollicited him very earneſtly to put to death *Herod* king of *Judæa*, and *Malchus* king of *Arabia Petræa*, that their kingdoms might thereupon be granted to her. But *Antony* would not by any means comply with her requeſt. However to quiet her, he was forced to give her that part of *Malchus*'s kingdom which bordered upon *Egypt*, and out of *Herod*'s the territory of *Jericho*, with the balſam-gardens. Theſe large grants gave great offence to the *Roman* people, and eſtranged their minds from *Antony* [s]. *Cleopatra* accompanied him as far as the *Euphrates*, and returning from thence by the way of *Apamea* and *Damaſcus*, came to *Jeruſalem*, where ſhe was ſplendidly entertained by *Herod*. During her ſtay in that city ſhe pretended to be in love with the king, and employed all her charms to draw him into a criminal converſation with her. The impudence of this attempt raiſed in him an irreconcileable averſion to her, which joined to the hatred he had juſtly conceived againſt her for the ill offices ſhe had done him with *Antony*, provoked him to ſuch a degree, that he reſolved now he had her in his power to put her to death. But his friends, whom he adviſed with, having laid before him the fatal conſequences that would unavoidably attend her death, he altered his mind, and continued to entertain her with all poſſible reſpect and ſplendor ſo long as ſhe ſtaid with him, and on her departure waited on her in perſon to the borders of her kingdom [t].

IN the mean time *Antony* having in defiance of the moſt ſacred oaths and ſolemn promiſes taken *Artabazes* king of *Armenia* priſoner, and thereupon reduced all that country, was preparing to return into *Egypt*. Before he left *Armenia* he agreed on a match between *Alexander*, one of his ſons, by *Cleopatra*, and a daughter of the king of *Media*, and then putting his army into winter quarters in *Armenia*, and the neighbouring countries, he haſtened back to *Alexandria*, which city he entered in a triumphal chariot, cauſing the booty, which he had taken, with king *Artabazes*, his wife and children, and other priſoners of diſtinction, to be carried before him in the

[q] FLOR. l. iv. c. 18. PLUT. ibid. [r] DIO. CASS. l. xlix. p. 411. PLUT. ibid. [s] JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xv. c. 4. & de Bell. Judaic. l. i. c. 13. PLUT. & DIO. CASS. ibid. [t] JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xv. c. 5.

ſame

a ſame manner as was uſually done in the triumphs at *Rome*. *Cleopatra* waited for the triumphing conqueror in the forum, being ſeated on a golden throne, which was placed on a ſcaffold over-laid with ſilver, and ſurrounded by the chief lords of her court in their beſt apparel. To her, thus placed on her throne, was preſented the king in golden chains, and with him the other priſoners. They were all ordered to kneel down before her, but not one of them could be prevailed upon to ſubmit to an obeyſance ſo mean and degrading. When news of this triumph was brought to *Rome*, the *Romans*, who looked upon this ceremony as peculiar to their city, conceived an implacable hatred to *Antony* for carrying it elſewhere to gratify a woman of a moſt infamous character [u].

b A FEW days after *Antony*, having feaſted at an immenſe charge all the people of *Alexandria*, ſummoned them to meet in the gymnaſium, and there being ſeated on a throne of gold, and *Cleopatra* by him on another, he made an oration to that numerous audience, wherein he proclaimed *Cæſarion*, the ſon of *Cleopatra* and *Julius Cæſar*, king of *Egypt* and *Cyprus* in conjunction with his mother. As he himſelf had three children by the ſame *Cleopatra*, viz. *Alexander*, *Ptolemy*, whom he ſurnamed *Philadelphus*, and *Cleopatra*, at the ſame time he gave to *Alexander Armenia*, *Media*, *Parthia*, and the reſt of the eaſtern countries from the *Euphrates* to *India*, when they ſhould be ſubdued; to *Cleopatra*, the twin-ſiſter of *Alexander*, *Libya* and *Cyrene*; and to *Philadelphus*, *Phœnice*, *Syria*, *Cilicia*, and all the countries of *Aſia Minor*
c from the *Euphrates* to the *Helleſpont*, conferring on each of them the title of *king of kings*. At the ſame time he obliged *Cleopatra* to take the name of *Iſis*, aſſuming to himſelf that of *Oſiris*; the former being the great goddeſs, and the latter the great god of the *Egyptians*. From thenceforth they both affected to appear in public in the dreſs which was deemed peculiar to thoſe deities [w]. By theſe follies he leſſened his character among all wiſe and ſober men, and daily alienated more and more the affections of the *Romans* from his perſon and cauſe, which *Octavianus* made good uſe of to haſten his ruin.

Antony, as ſoon as the ſeaſon allowed him to take the field, marched into *Armenia*, and having there rendezvouſed his troops, began his march into *Parthia*, and advanced
d as far as the banks of the *Araxis*, when news was brought him that *Octavianus* had ſtirred up the people of *Rome* againſt him, and was making the neceſſary preparations, as if he deſigned to come to an open rupture with him. Hereupon he dropt the *Parthian* expedition, and detaching *Canidius*, one of his lieutenants, with ſixteen legions to the coaſts of the *Ionian* ſea, he himſelf haſtened after them to *Epheſus*, to be there ready at hand to act in caſe of a rupture, which there was great reaſon to expect. In this journey he carried *Cleopatra* with him, which proved his ruin. His friends earneſtly entreated him to ſend her back to *Alexandria*, there to wait the event of the war. But the queen, fearing leſt in her abſence *Antony* ſhould hearken to an accommodation with *Octavianus*, and receive again *Octavia*, left no ſtone unturned to obtain leave
e to accompany him, and at laſt having by rich preſents gained *Canidius* to ſpeak in her favour, prevailed upon him to comply with her requeſt. Her chief argument was, that ſince ſhe contributed moſt to the expences of the war, for ſhe had advanced twenty thouſand talents towards it, it was but reaſonable that ſhe ſhould be allowed to accompany the perſon for whoſe ſake ſhe was at ſo great an expence. Beſides, *Canidius* repreſented that her departure would diſcourage the *Egyptians*, who made up the bulk of his maritime forces, that *Cleopatra* was not inferior in prudence or capacity to any of the princes in the army, and that *Antony* might, with great ſafety, depend upon and follow her advice in the moſt important and difficult affairs. *Antony* was eaſily perſuaded that *Cleopatra*'s preſence was neceſſary, and therefore repaired with
f her from *Epheſus* to *Samos*, whence he ſailed to *Athens*, and in both theſe places lived after his uſual manner, ſpending great part of the year in luxury, pomp, and voluptuouſneſs [x]. As *Antony* was well acquainted with *Cleopatra*'s character, during their ſtay at *Athens*, he began to ſuſpect, notwithſtanding the paſſion ſhe profeſſed for him, that ſhe had a mind to poiſon him, and therefore would not touch any diſh at their banquets till it had been taſted by others. The queen being appriſed of his fears, in order to cure him of them, and at the ſame time convince him that, if ſhe harboured deſigns of that nature, no precaution could guard him againſt them, cauſed the flowers to be dipt in poiſon, of which the garlands, uſed according to the cuſtom

[u] PLUT. & DIO. CASS. ibid. [w] DIO. CASS. l. l. p. 421. [x] PLUT. ibid. DIO. CASS. l. xlix. p. 416.

of

of thoſe times in public feaſts, were compoſed. When *Antony* began to be warm with wine, *Cleopatra* propoſed drinking the flowers of their garlands, and *Antony* in the height of his gaity falling in with that frolick, threw ſome of them into his cup, and was on the point of ſwallowing them with his wine, when the queen, taking hold of his arm, told him that the flowers were poiſoned, and that ſhe, againſt whom he took ſuch mighty precautions, had prepared the poiſon, adding, that if ſhe could poſſibly live without him, ſhe could, in ſpite of all his care, find means to get rid of him. She then commanded a criminal, already condemned, to be brought in, and to drink the wine in *Antony*'s cup, which immed ately put an end to his life [1]. This fully convinced him that his fears were ill-grounded, and made him thenceforth repoſe an intire confidence in her. a

In the mean time *Antony*, being informed that *Octavianus* was ſtirring up the people of *Rome* againſt him, called together the chief men of his party, and by their advice declared war againſt his adverſary, and at the ſame time ſent a bill of divorce to *Octavia* with meſſengers to drive her by force out of his houſe at *Rome*. *Antony*'s preparations for the war were ſo far advanced, that if he had attacked his rival without loſs of time, the advantage muſt have been unavoidably on his ſide, *Octavianus* not being then in a condition to make head againſt him either by ſea or land. But *Antony* to gratify his luxury put off taking the field to the next year, and continued to banquet and revel at *Athens* with *Cleopatra*, as in the moſt peaceable times. He never appeared in public without her; even when he adminiſtred juſtice on his tribunal in the forum, *Cleopatra* was to be placed on a throne by him; when he ſpoke to her he gave her no other title but that of queen and ſovereign, and often followed her on foot among the eunuchs, while ſhe was drawn in a ſumptuous and ſtately chariot. The aſcendant ſhe had gained over him inſpired her with hopes of becoming one day queen of *Rome*; for we are told that her uſual oath was, As I hope to give law in the capitol [2]. b c

While *Antony* was thus trifling away his time at *Athens*, *Octavianus* having got ready a conſiderable fleet and army, no longer delayed declaring war, but cauſed it to be decreed only againſt *Cleopatra* to avoid offending *Antony*'s friends, who were very numerous and powerful at *Rome*. What chiefly provoked *Octavianus* was *Antony*'s declaring *Cleopatra* to have been married to *Julius Cæſar*, and conſequently *Cæſarion*, whom ſhe had by him, to be his lawful ſon; which tended to deprive *Octavianus* of the inheritance of *Julius Cæſar*, ſince he held it only as his adopted ſon. War being declared, as ſoon as the ſeaſon would permit, the two armies took the field, and the fleets put to ſea. After ſeveral encounters both by ſea and land, *Anthony* was at laſt prevailed upon by *Cleopatra*, contrary to the advice of *Canidius*, who had the chief command of the army, to put the whole to the iſſue of a ſea-fight. This was the worſt counſel that could be given him, his land-forces being far ſuperior both in number and bravery to the enemy's; whereas he had been obliged to burn many of his ſhips for want of rowers and mariners, and the reſt were but very indifferently manned. But *Cleopatra* being well appriſed that, in caſe *Antony* ſhould be defeated, ſhe might with greater eaſe and ſafety make her eſcape by ſea than by land, perſuaded him to engage the enemy's fleet. This memorable battle was fought on the fourth of the nones of *September* at the mouth of the *Ambracian* gulph near the ſmall city of *Actium*, in ſight of both armies, the one being drawn up on the north, and the other on the ſouth-ſide of the ſtraits, there to wait the event of the action, which continued doubtful, till *Cleopatra*, frightened with the noiſe of the battle, which appeared very dreadful to her, betook herſelf to flight before ſhe was in any danger, and drew after her the whole *Egyptian* ſquadron, conſiſting of ſixty large ſhips. *Antony* ſeeing her fly, made after her, as if he had been quite deſtitute of his underſtanding, and by his flight yielded the victory to *Octavius*, which till then he had diſputed with great vigor and reſolution. The particulars of this memorable battle we ſhall relate more at length in the hiſtory of *Rome*, contenting ourſelves at preſent to touch upon ſuch circumſtances only as concern the affairs of *Egypt*. d e f

The next day *Octavianus* detached a ſquadron of his beſt ſailors in purſuit of *Antony* and *Cleopatra*; but they, deſpairing to overtake them, ſoon returned to the fleet. In the mean time the two fugitives, ſteering their courſe towards *Peloponneſus*, got ſafe to *Tænarus* in *Laconia*. *Antony* had been by *Cleopatra*'s orders

[1] Plin. l. xxi. c. 3. [2] Dio. Cass. p. 421, 422. Eutrop. l. 7.

taken

a taken on board her ſhip as ſoon as he came up with it, but had not ſeen her during this whole voyage. On his firſt entering her ſhip he ſat down in the prow; and there leaning his elbows on his knees, and his head on both his hands, he continued in that poſture reflecting with profound melancholy on his ill conduct, and the misfortunes he had brought on himſelf, till he got to *Tænarus*, where by the interpoſition of *Cleopatra*'s women, being brought together again, they converſed and lived as uſual. For *Antony* was ſo bewitched to this woman, that he ſtill continued his fondneſs to her even at this time, when he had all the reaſon in the world to abhor and deteſt her, as having been the cauſe of his ruin in the manner we have related [a].

b FROM *Tænarus Cleopatra* ſailed to *Alexandria*, and *Antony* to *Libya*, where he had left *Pinarius Scarpus* with a conſiderable body of troops to guard the frontiers of *Egypt* on that ſide. But on his landing he found that *Scarpus* with all the troops under his command had revolted to *Octavianus*; which unexpected diſappointment threw him into ſuch deſpair, that he was with much ado prevented by his friends from putting an end to his unhappy life. The only reſolution therefore he could now take was to follow *Cleopatra* to *Alexandria*, where ſhe was arrived a little before [b]. That crafty princeſs fearing ſhe might not be received by her ſubjects, were her misfortunes known, entered the harbour with crowns on the prows of her ſhip, as if ſhe had obtained ſome ſignal victory. By this means being admitted into her metro-
c polis, ſhe put all thoſe to death, who were any ways averſe to her, to prevent the tumults which ſhe feared they might raiſe when the true ſtate of her affairs ſhould be known [c]. *Antony* on his arrival in *Egypt* found her engaged in a very extraordinary undertaking. To avoid falling into the hands of *Octavianus*, who, ſhe foreſaw, would follow her into *Egypt*, ſhe undertook the carrying of her ſhips in the *Mediterranean* into the *Red-Sea*, over the iſthmus of ſeventy miles, which lay between them. Theſe ſhips ſhe deſigned to join to thoſe ſhe then had in the *Red-Sea*, and putting all her treaſures on board of them to go in queſt of ſome other place to ſettle in out of the enemy's reach. But the *Arabians*, who inhabited that coaſt, having, at the inſtigation of *Q. Didius*, who had ſeized on *Syria* for *Octavianus*, burnt all the ſhips that
d were carried over, and the others ſhe had there before, ſhe was forced to drop this enterprize [d]. *Antony* on his arrival at *Alexandria* declined ſeeing *Cleopatra*, and ſhut himſelf up in a houſe, which he cauſed to be built on the ſhore, ſequeſtering himſelf from the company and converſation of all men. For being forſaken by thoſe he moſt confided in, he pretended to act the part of *Timon*, the miſanthropiſt, or manhater; and therefore called this houſe his *Timonium*, there ſpending his time in ſolitude, and deteſting all men for the ſake of thoſe who had abandoned him, as if his misfortunes had been owing to them, and not to his own ill conduct and folly [e]. But he did not long reliſh this way of living; his paſſion for *Cleopatra* ſoon revived, and drew him from his retirement to the queen's palace, where he ſpent the remaining
e part of his life in his uſual exceſſes of luxury, voluptuouſneſs, and folly.

IN the mean time *Octavianus*, having ſettled the affairs of *Greece* and *Aſia Minor*, repaired to *Samos*, and there took up his winter-quarters. Early in the ſpring from *Samos* he paſſed over to *Rhodes*, where *Herod* king of *Judæa* came to offer him his aſſiſtance againſt *Antony* and *Cleopatra*. That prince had been greatly attached to the intereſt of *Antony*, had aſſiſted him to the utmoſt of his power, and continued faithful to him, till his caſe was grown abſolutely deſperate. On his return into *Egypt* he had ſent a ſpecial meſſenger to him with the beſt advice the ſtate of his affairs was then capable of; this was to kill *Cleopatra*, ſeize her kingdom, and with her treaſures raiſe a new army for the carrying on of the war. In caſe he followed his advice, he
f promiſed to ſtand by him to the utmoſt, and venture both his life and kingdom in his cauſe. But when he found that *Antony* would not hearken to his counſels, nor by any means be prevailed upon to abandon *Cleopatra*, he thought it high time to take care of himſelf, and endeavour to make up matters with *Octavianus* on the beſt terms he could [f]. From *Rhodes Octavianus* paſſed through *Aſia Minor* into *Syria*, with a deſign to invade *Egypt* on that ſide, while *Cornelius Gallus*, the famous poet, whom he had appointed to ſucceed *Scarpus* in *Libya* and *Cyrene*, entered it on the other. In the mean time *Antony* and *Cleopatra* tried, but without ſucceſs, to appeaſe *Octavianus*.

[a] PLUT. in Anton. DION CASS. ibid. [b] PLUT. ibid. EUTROP. l. vi. [c] DION CASS. l. li. p. 446.
[d] PLUT. ibid. DIO, CASS. l. li. p. 447. [e] PLUT. ibid. STRAB. l. xvii. p. 794. [f] JOSEPH. Antiq. l. xv. c. 10. & de Bell. Judaic. l. i. c. 15.

They ſent three different embaſſies to him, and even went ſo far as to offer themſelves a
ready to reſign all, and live a private life in *Athens*, or any other place, which he ſhould
appoint; the only thing they deſired was, that the kingdom of *Egypt* might be given
to *Cleopatra*'s children. Though *Cleopatra* joined her embaſſadors with *Antony*'s, yet
ſhe gave them inſtructions to treat ſeparately for herſelf, and ſent privately by them
to *Octavianus* a ſceptre, a crown and chair of gold, reſigning, as it were, all her power
and authority to him. *Octavianus* accepted *Cleopatra*'s preſents, and in public returned
her embaſſadors the following anſwer, *viz.* that if the queen of *Egypt* would lay
down her arms, and reſign her kingdom, he ſhould then conſider whether ſhe ought
to be treated with rigour or mercy; but privately he promiſed her impunity, and
even her kingdom, in caſe ſhe would put *Antony* to death [g]. As for *Antony*'s em- b
baſſadors he would not ſo much as ſee them, though they delivered up to him as a
preſent from their maſter *Q. Turullius* a ſenator, one of *Cæſar*'s murderers, and *An-*
tony's intimate friends. On the third embaſſy *Antony* ſent his own ſon with a great
ſum of money; which *Octavianus* took, but ſent him back his ſon without any anſwer,
though *Antony* had, among other things, offered to kill himſelf, provided *Octavianus*
would engage his word that the kingdom of *Egypt* ſhould be given to *Cleopatra*'s chil-
dren [h]. As *Octavianus* was deſirous of having *Cleopatra*'s perſon and treaſures in his
power, the former for the adorning of his triumph, and the latter for the diſcharg-
ing of the debts he had contracted on account of this war, he ſent her ſeveral kind
meſſages, promiſing to treat her with great kindneſs, provided ſhe would render her- c
ſelf worthy of his favour by killing *Antony*, who was the author of all her miſ-
fortunes. This ſhe could not be prevailed upon to do; but ſhe promiſed to deliver
both him and her kingdom into his hands. Agreeable to this promiſe, the ſtrong
and important city of *Peluſium* was by her private orders betrayed to *Octavianus*,
though in a condition to hold out a long ſiege. *Antony* not apprehending any danger
on that ſide, the place being well fortified and gariſoned, was gone to lay ſiege to *Pe-*
ritonium, the key of *Egypt*, on the weſtern ſide. As *Cornelius Gallus*, who held
that place for *Octavianus*, had no other forces with him but thoſe that had formerly
ſerved under *Antony*, he hoped that on his appearing before the town they would
again return to their former maſter, and deliver up the place to him. But when he d
approached the wall with a deſign to exhort them to return to their duty, *Gallus*
cauſed all the trumpets to ſound, ſo that not one word was heard of what he ſaid.
After this *Gallus* made a vigorous ſally, repulſed his land-forces, and having by a
ſtratagem hemmed in all his ſhips in the port, deſtroyed his whole fleet, not one of
them having been able to eſcape [i]. *Antony* hearing after this defeat that *Peluſium* was
taken, and that *Octavianus* was advancing towards *Alexandria*, haſtened thither to de-
fend the capitol. On his arrival *Cleopatra*, the better to conceal her treachery, cauſed
her jewels and moſt valuable effects to be removed from the palace to a monument of
an extraordinary height, and wonderful ſtructure, which ſhe had formerly cauſed to
be built near the temple of *Iſis*. Thither likewiſe ſhe conveyed a great quantity of e
perfumes, aromatic wood, flax, *&c.* giving out that, ſhould the town be taken, ſhe
would raiſe there a funeral pile, and conſume herſelf and her treaſures in the flames
to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands. This ſhe did, that *Antony* might
not diſtruſt her as being of intelligence with *Octavianus*; but the latter, not know-
ing her real intentions, was greatly alarmed; and apprehending that deſpair might
induce her to lay violent hands on herſelf, and deſtroy her treaſures, ſent daily kind
meſſages to her, giving her great hopes of a friendly and generous treatment, and in
the mean time advanced with great marches towards the city [k]. On his arrival he
encamped in the hippodromus, hoping to make himſelf ſoon maſter of the city by
means of the intelligence he held with *Cleopatra*, on which he relied more than on his f
troops. *Antony*, not miſtruſting *Cleopatra* in the leaſt, having made the neceſſary
preparations for a vigorous defence, ſallied out upon the enemy's horſe before they
had time to refreſh themſelves after their march; and having intirely defeated them,
returned victorious into the city, and among the loud acclamations of the *Alexan-*
andrians threw himſelf, armed as he was, at *Cleopatra*'s feet, and kiſſed her hand,
recommending to her one of his ſoldiers, who on that occaſion had diſtinguiſhed
himſelf in a very eminent manner. The queen immediately ſent for the ſoldier, and
in the preſence of the whole people preſented him with an armour and helmet of pure

[g] Dio Cass. l. li. p. 447. [h] Dio Cass ibid. p. 448. [i] Plut. & Dio Cass. ibid. [k] Plut. ibid. & Dio. p. 449.

gold;

a gold; which he accepting with great proteſtations of gratitude and loyalty deſerted that very night to the enemy [l]. After this *Antony* made another ſally, but was repulſed with great loſs, the *Egyptians* having by *Cleopatra*'s private orders abandoned him in the heat of the engagement. Hereupon his friends, who had watched more narrowly *Cleopatra*'s conduct, told him in plain terms that ſhe betrayed him, and maintained a correſpondence with the enemy. This *Antony* was ſo far from believing, that he expreſſed great wrath againſt thoſe who ſeemed to ſuſpect her, telling them that he might put a ſpeedy end to the war, if thoſe, who affected to be his friends, proved as faithful to him as his dear *Cleopatra*. Early next morning he went down to the harbour, and having drawn up his ſhips, he ſailed out with a deſign to
b attack the enemy's fleet. But the ſignal was no ſooner given for the engagement, than *Cleopatra*'s admiral, followed by all the *Egyptian* ſhips in compliance with her orders, went over to *Octavianus*. Hereupon *Antony* haſtened back to his land army, which he had drawn up on ſome eminences within the city; but was greatly ſurprized, when he found that they had all to a man both horſe and foot deſerted to the enemy. This opened *Antony*'s eyes, and made him give credit to what his friends had told him of the queen's perfidy. In this extremity not knowing whom to confide in, and having no forces to oppoſe the enemy, he ſent to challenge *Octavianus* to a ſingle combat; but he, ſmiling at this new propoſal, anſwered, that if *Anthony* was tired of his life, there were not wanting halters and daggers enow in *Alexandria*. The brave
c *Romans* looked upon ſuch challenges as the effects of deſpair, and not of valor. *Antony* ſeeing himſelf thus ridiculed by his enemy, abandoned by his friends, and, what moſt of all grieved him, betrayed by his beloved *Cleopatra*, flew full of rage and deſpair to the palace with a deſign to kill the perfidious queen. But ſhe by a timely flight eſcaped his fury, retiring to the abovementioned monument with two of her maids, and one of her eunuchs. There ſhe ſhut herſelf up, and cauſed it to be given out, that ſhe had killed herſelf to avoid falling into the enemy's hands. *Antony*, too credulous, did not allow himſelf time to examine a piece of news, which he ought not to have eaſily credited after *Cleopatra*'s late behaviour; but paſſing from an exceſs of rage to the moſt violent tranſports of grief, thought of nothing but fol-
d lowing her by putting a ſpeedy end to his unhappy life [m].

HAVING taken this deſperate reſolution, he ſhut himſelf up in his apartment with a faithful ſlave called *Eros*, who had long before promiſed to kill him when the deſperate ſtate of his affairs ſhould require that mournful office at his hands. Taking therefore his armour off, he put *Eros* in mind of his promiſe, and turning his back to him, commanded him to run him through with the ſword he put into his hand. But the ſlave, full of affection, reſpect, and fidelity for his maſter, ſtabbed himſelf with it, and fell dead at his feet. *Anthony* encouraged by his example, fell upon his ſword, and gave himſelf the wound, of which he afterwards died. But as he did not expire immediately, he begged ſome of his friends, who had broke into his
e apartment, to give him the laſt inſtance of their friendſhip and affection by completing what he had begun. But they all fled out of the room, leaving him wallowing in his blood. *Dercetæus*, one of *Antony*'s guards, concealing under his garment the ſword, with which he had given himſelf the mortal wound, haſtened to *Octavianus*, and ſhewing him the ſword covered all over with blood, acquainted him the firſt with the death of his rival. *Octavianus* at the ſight of the ſword withdrew without uttering a ſingle word to the innermoſt parts of his tent, and there with many tears lamented the unhappy fate of his collegue and relation. Having thus given, or pretended to give, vent to his grief, he called in his friends, and read to them the imperious and threatening letters, which *Antony* had wrote to him. He then ſent *Proculeius* into
f the city, ordering him to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to get *Cleopatra* alive into his power [n].

IN the mean time the tumult and noiſe, which the news of *Antony*'s death occaſioned all over the city, alarming *Cleopatra*, ſhe looked out from the top of the monument, and hearing that *Antony* had wounded himſelf, but was not yet dead, ſhe commanded *Diomedes* her ſecretary to bring him to her into the monument. *Diomedes* entering his room found him lying by the dead ſlave in a torrent of blood; but he no ſooner pronounced the name of *Cleopatra*, than he opened his dying eyes; and

[l] PLUT. ibid. DIO, 450. [m] PLUT. & DIO, ibid. [n] DIO CASS. p. 449, 450. LIV. l. CXXXIII. FLOR. l. iv. c. 11. VELLEI. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 87. STRAB. l. xvii. p. 793. SUETON. in Octav. c. 17. EUTROP. l. vii. OROS. l. vi. c. 19.

being

being informed that ſhe was ſtill alive, and deſired to ſee him, he ſuffered his wound a
to be dreſſed, and cauſed himſelf to be carried by the hands of his ſlaves to the gate
of the monument, which *Cleopatra* would not ſuffer to be opened for fear of ſome ſur-
prize. However ſhe ordered her ſervants below to faſten him to the ropes, which hung
from the top of the monument, and were made uſe of to pull up ſtones, that part
not being yet finiſhed. They obeyed her orders, and *Antony* being made faſt to the
ropes, *Cleopatra* aſſiſted by her two women with much ado drew him up, her ſervants
below raiſing him till he was out of their reach. Never was there a more moving ſight.
Antony, all bathed in his blood, with death painted in his face, was dragged up in the
manner we have related, turning his eyes, and extending his arms to *Cleopatra*, as
if he conjured her to receive his laſt breath; while ſhe, bathed in tears, underwent a b
fatigue ſhe had never been uſed to, for the poor ſatisfaction of taking her laſt farewell
of him, and ſeeing him die in her arms. As ſoon as ſhe had taken him in, ſhe laid
him on a bed; and there after having expreſſed her grief and concern in the moſt
tender and affecting terms, ſhe cut off his hair, according to the ſuperſtition of
the pagans, who looked upon this as a relief to thoſe who died of a violent death.
Antony, ſeeing *Cleopatra*'s affliction, called for ſome wine, and having by that means
ſomewhat raiſed his drooping ſpirits, he endeavoured to comfort her in the beſt manner
he could; he told her, that he thought himſelf happy as he died in her arms; that
as to his defeat he was not aſhamed of it, ſince it was no diſhonour for a *Roman* to
be overcome by a *Roman*; he adviſed her to conſult her own intereſt, to ſave her life c
and kingdom, provided ſhe could do it with honour; and laſtly, to truſt none of the
friends of *Octavianus* except *Proculeius*. With theſe words he expired, and the ſame
moment *Proculeius* arrived from *Octavianus*'s camp. But the queen kept in the mo-
nument, refuſing to ſurrender herſelf to him, unleſs he would promiſe her in the name
of *Octavianus* both the kingdom of *Egypt* and her liberty. Theſe were terms which
Proculeius could not grant; for *Octavianus*, having a great deſire to carry her in
triumph, had warned him not to promiſe her any thing that could prevent him from
treating her as a captive. However they had a long conference, *Cleopatra* ſtanding
within, and *Proculeius* cloſe to the gate without. In this conference ſhe begged the
kingdom of *Egypt* for her children, and inſiſted on having her liberty granted to her; d
on theſe two conditions ſhe offered to deliver into his hands both her perſon and her
treaſures. But *Proculeius* exhorting her only in general terms to confide in *Octavi-
anus*, and refer all things to his generoſity and good-nature, ſhe broke off the con-
ference, and retired. *Proculeius* made his report to *Octavianus*, who immediately ſent
Cornelius Gallus, a man of great learning and eloquence, to confer with her, being
greatly afraid leſt ſhe ſhould be driven by deſpair to lay violent hands on herſelf,
and to deſtroy her treaſures. While *Gallus* amuſed her with fine ſpeeches at the gate
of the monument, *Proculeius* having cauſed a ladder to be brought, ſcaled the wall,
and entering with two ſervants at the ſame place where *Antony* had been taken in,
haſtened down to the gate, where ſhe was conferring with *Gallus*. When *Cleopatra* e
ſaw him unexpectedly appear, ſhe drew a dagger, which ſhe always carried about
her, with a deſign to ſtab herſelf. But *Proculeius* flying to her, took her in his arms,
and forced the dagger out of her hands, before ſhe could make uſe of it. He after-
wards ſearched her, and ſhook her robes, leſt ſhe ſhould have any weapon or poiſon
concealed in them; and having exhorted her to be of good chear, and to confide in
the goodneſs and clemency of the conqueror, he ſent one to acquaint *Octavianus* that
the queen of *Egypt* was his priſoner. *Octavianus*, overjoyed at this news, ſent *Epa-
phroditus* one of his freedmen to guard her carefully, and prevent her from making any
attempt upon her own life, injoining him ſtrictly at the ſame time to treat her with
all poſſible complaiſance and reſpect °. f

IN the mean time *Octavianus* leaving his camp drew near the city of *Alexandria*, and finding the gates open entered it talking with *Arius*, a native of the place, who had been his preceptor, and leaning upon him with an air of familiarity, that his countrymen might honour him the more in ſeeing him thus honoured and favoured by their conqueror. He went directly to the gymnaſium, and having aſcended a tribunal, which he had cauſed to be erected there, he firſt commanded the inhabitants, who had fallen proſtrate on the ground before him, to riſe; and then in an elegant harangue told the multitude that he freely pardoned them in regard of their god

° PLUT. ibid. DIO, l. li. p. 450, 451.

Serapis,

a *Serapis*, on account of the beauty and greatneſs of their city, and for the ſake of *Arius* their fellow-citizen, for whom he had a great value and eſteem [p].

Octavianus, being now in poſſeſſion of *Alexandria*, ſent *Proculeius* to comfort the queen, and ask her in his name, whether ſhe had any requeſt to make him? *Cleopatra* received him with great kindneſs, and after returning many thanks to *Octavianus*, ſaid, that ſhe had but one favour to beg of him, which was, that he would give her leave to bury *Antony*. This he willingly granted, allowing her to perform the funeral obſequies with all poſſible ſplendor, and to ſpend on that occaſion what ſums ſhe pleaſed. And indeed ſhe ſpared no coſt to render the interment magnificent according to the *Egyptian* cuſtom; ſhe cauſed his body to be embalmed with the beſt
b perfumes of the eaſt, and placed it in the burying-place of the kings of *Egypt* [q]. As this mournful ceremony renewed her grief, ſhe was ſeized with a fever, which ſhe with great joy laid hold of as a pretence to abſtain from all food, and by that means put an end to her life. This her deſign ſhe imparted to *Olympus* her phyſician, who approved of it, and promiſed to bring her ſoon into a conſumption: But *Octavianus* being informed of her indiſpoſition, ſent phyſicians to her, whom he could confide in, and by uttering threats againſt her children prevailed upon her to follow their preſcriptions. When ſhe was pretty well recovered, *Octavianus* ſent *Proculeius* to acquaint her that he ſhould be glad to wait upon her, provided ſhe gave him leave; for he treated her with the utmoſt complaiſance, the better to conceal his deſign, which
c was to adorn his triumph with ſo noble and famous a captive. Though ſhe was greatly disfigured by her illneſs and grief, yet ſhe did not deſpair of inſpiring the young conqueror with ſentiments of tenderneſs and love, as ſhe had formerly done *Cæſar* and *Antony*. She was therefore overjoyed to hear that he intended to pay her a viſit, and as ſoon as he entered her room, ſhe threw herſelf at his feet, and afterwards in laying before him the ſtate of her affairs, exerted all her charms in hopes of conquering her conqueror. But whether her charms had no longer the ſame power, or that ambition was *Octavianus*'s ruling paſſion, he was not affected either with her perſon or converſation; the whole time ſhe ſpoke he kept his eyes fixed on the ground; and when ſhe had done ſpeaking, he returned her the following *Laconic* anſwer: *Woman,*
d *be of good chear; you ſhall have no harm done you* [r]. She was far from being inſenſible of this coldneſs and indifference, which ſhe looked upon as no good omen; but however diſſembling her concern, ſhe thanked him for the honour he had done her, and told him that in token of her gratitude ſhe deſigned to deliver up to him all the treaſures of the kings of *Egypt*. Accordingly ſhe put an inventory into his hands of all her moveables, jewels, and revenues. *Seleucus*, one of her treaſurers then preſent, accuſed her to *Octavianus* of having concealed part of her moſt valuable effects; which ſhe looking upon as an affront not to be bore, flew at him in a violent paſſion, and taking hold of him by the hair, gave him ſeveral blows in the face; then turning to *Octavianus*, who could not help ſmiling, Is it not very hard, ſaid ſhe, ſince you
e have been ſo good as to viſit me in my preſent condition, that one of my own ſervants ſhould thus inſult me in your preſence? I have, 'tis true, reſerved ſome jewels, not to adorn my own perſon, but to make a preſent of them to your ſiſter *Octavia*, and your wife *Livia*, that by their interceſſion you may treat an unfortunate princeſs with more favour and kindneſs. *Octavianus* was overjoyed to hear her talk in this manner, not doubting but ſhe had laid aſide all thoughts of deſtroying herſelf. He gave her leave to diſpoſe of the jewels ſhe had reſerved to whom and in what manner ſhe pleaſed; and having aſſured her that ſhe ſhould be treated with more generoſity and kindneſs than ſhe expected, he withdrew, imagining he had deceived her, whereas he was deceived himſelf [s]. For *Cleopatra* not doubting but *Octavianus* intended to
f make her ſerve as an ornament to his triumph, was firmly determined to avoid that ſhame by a voluntary death, and had no other thoughts than how to put her deſign in execution. She was narrowly watched by *Epaphroditus*, who never ſuffered her to go out of his ſight. In hopes therefore of finding ſome opportunity to deceive him, ſhe ſent one of her domeſtics to *Octavianus*, deſiring his permiſſion to pay her laſt duty at the tomb of *Antony*, and take her leave of him. *Octavianus* willingly complying with her requeſt, ſhe bathed the tomb with her tears, covered it with flowers, and with many ſighs and lamentations performed ſuch ceremonies as were

[p] Plut. in Anton. Dio ibid. p. 454. Julian. epiſt. 51. ad Alexand. Sueton. in Octav. c. 89. Senec. in lib. de clement. Oros. l. vi. c. 19. [q] Plut. & Oros. ibid. [r] Plut. ibid. Dio, l. v. p. 451. Flor. l. iv. c. 11. [s] Plut. ibid.

practiſed among the *Egyptians* on like occaſions. But *Epaphroditus* keeping cloſe to her the whole time under colour of attending her, ſhe returned to her apartment without having had an opportunity of attempting any thing on her own life. On her return ſhe was accoſted by a meſſenger from *Cornelius Dolabella*, who told her, that her time was ſhort, *Octavianus*, who was to march by land through *Syria*, having given orders that ſhe and her children ſhould, within three days, be put on board a veſſel which was ready in the harbour, and be conveyed by ſea to *Rome*. *Cornelius Dolabella* was one of *Octavianus*'s intimate friends; but as he was in love with *Cleopatra*, he had promiſed to give her timely notice of all his deſigns with relation to her perſon. Upon this meſſage *Cleopatra*, the better to amuſe *Epaphroditus*, commanded a noble entertainment to be prepared, and having invited to it ſome of her friends, ſhe ſhewed a more than uſual chearfulneſs during the feaſt. In the height of the mirth ſhe roſe from table, and having wrote a letter to *Octavianus*, ſhe gave it ſealed up to *Epaphroditus*, begging he would deliver it himſelf into his own hands, ſince it contained matters of the utmoſt conſequence. This was only a pretence to ſend *Epaphroditus*, who kept a watchful eye over her, out of the way. When he was gone, ſhe withdrew to her room attended by *Nairas* and *Charmion*, two of her women; and having there dreſſed herſelf in her royal robes, ſhe lay down on her bed, and asked for a basket of figs, which one of her faithful ſervants had brought her in the diſguiſe of a peaſant. Among the figs was concealed an aſp, a kind of ſerpent peculiar to *Egypt* and *Libya*, and of a very venomous nature; for thoſe who were bit by it fell immediately into a kind of lethargy, and died without any pain or uneaſineſs. This venomous inſect *Cleopatra* applied to her left arm, and that very inſtant falling, as it were, aſleep, expired in the arms of her two maids [u]. Other writers tell us, that *Cleopatra* having made a deep wound in her arm with her teeth, poured the poiſon of the aſp, which ſhe had prepared before-hand, into it, and gently expired [w]. In the mean time *Octavianus* having received from *Epaphroditus* and read *Cleopatra*'s letter, found from the contents of it that ſhe deſigned to lay violent hands on herſelf, ſince the whole ſubject of it was to beg that he would ſuffer her to be buried in the ſame tomb with *Antony*. He therefore immediately diſpatched ſome of his friends to ſee what had happened, and to prevent her, if ſtill alive, from attempting any thing on her own life. Theſe found the guards ſtanding at the gate, and miſtruſting nothing; but when they entered her apartment, they to their great ſurprize ſaw her lying dead on a golden bed in her royal robes, one of her maids likewiſe dead at her feet, and the other ready to expire. They immediately acquainted *Octavianus* with what had happened, who haſtened to the queen's apartment, ſaw her body, and not believing ſhe was dead, tried all poſſible means to recover her. But finding that all his endeavours were to no purpoſe, though he was very much grieved to ſee himſelf thus deprived of the chief glory and ornament of his triumph, yet he granted her laſt petition, and commanded her body to be buried with all poſſible pomp, and laid in the ſame tomb with *Antony* [x]. Thus died *Cleopatra* after ſhe had reigned from the death of her father twenty-two years, and lived thirty-nine. She was a woman of extraordinary parts, for ſhe is ſaid to have been thoroughly skilled in *Greek* and *Latin*, and beſides to have ſpoke with great eaſe and readineſs many other languages, converſing with the *Ethiopians*, *Troglodites*, *Jews*, *Arabians*, *Syrians*, *Medes* and *Perſians* without an interpreter, and always giving to ſuch of thoſe nations as had occaſion to addreſs her, an anſwer in their own language. She retained in the midſt of her pleaſures a taſte for polite learning, and erected in the place where the famous library ſtood, a new one no ways inferior to the former, inriching it with the two hundred thouſand volumes of the library of *Pergamus*, which *Antony* had preſented her with [y]. In her ended the family of *Ptolemy Lagus* the founder of the *Egyptian* monarchy, after it had ruled over *Egypt* from the death of *Alexander* two hundred and ninety-four years, or, as others will have it, two hundred and ninety-three, and three months. For from this time *Egypt* was reduced to a *Roman* province, and governed by a prætor ſent thither from *Rome*. The firſt, on whom *Octavianus* conferred that dignity, was *Cornelius Gallus*, the famous poet, who is the ſubject of *Virgil*'s tenth eclogue. *Cæſa-*

Cleopatra's death. Year of the flood 2990. Year before Chriſt 9.

[u] FLOR. l. iv. c. 11. VELLEIUS PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 87. DIO, l. li. p. 457. EUTROP. l. vii. OROS. l. vi. c. 19. [w] PLUT. in Anton. GALEN. in lib. de theriac. STRAB. l. xvii. p. 795. DIO, 452, 453. [x] DIO ibid. SUETON. in Octav. c. 17. OROS. ibid. PLUT. in Anton. [y] PTOL. in Can. PLUT. ibid. EUSEB. in Chron. PORPHYR. in Græc. EUSEB. SCALIGER. CLEMENS ALEXANDRIN. STROM. l. i.

rion,

a *rion*, *Cleopatra*'s ſon by *Julius Cæſar*, the conqueror cauſed to be put to death, becauſe he pretended to be the lawful heir, which the adopted ſon could not bear. Her children by *Antony* he treated with great kindneſs, as he did all her friends and ſervants. All the ſtatues of *Antony* he cauſed to be thrown down and broke to pieces, but left thoſe of *Cleopatra* ſtanding, having been prevailed upon by one *Archibilius*, who had been long in her ſervice, and made him a preſent of a thouſand talents, to ſpare them. *Octavianus* having thus reduced *Egypt*, returned to *Rome*, and in his triumph carried her image, ſince he could not her perſon, with an aſp fixed to her arm [z]. From this conqueſt of *Egypt* began the æra of the *Actiac* victory, by which the *Egyptians* afterwards computed their time, the *Philippic* æra, which commenced
b from the death of *Alexander*, and the beginning of the reign of *Philippus Aridæus* his ſucceſſor, having been in uſe among them till the reduction of their country by *Octavianus*. Though this æra had its name from the *Actiac* victory, yet it did not begin till near a full year after it, that is, till *Egypt* was intirely reduced; for the *Actiac* victory was gained on the ſecond of *September*, and the æra of that victory commenced on the twenty-ninth of the enſuing *Auguſt*, which was then the firſt day of the *Egyptian* month. As this month was the firſt of their year, from whence they began all their calculations, they thought it the moſt proper time to begin ſuch alterations in their year and æra, as the *Romans* on the conqueſt of their country took upon them to make in both. This æra ought, properly ſpeaking, to have been called
c the æra of the *Egyptian* conqueſt, ſince it had its beginning from that conqueſt. But the *Egyptians*, to avoid the ſhame of thus owning themſelves conquered, choſe rather to call it the æra of the *Actiac* victory, it being in their power, ſince this æra was uſed only in *Egypt*, to call it by what name they pleaſed [a].

[z] Plut. Dio. Flor. ibid. [a] Vide Macrob. Saturnal. l. i. c. 12. & Dio Cass. l. li. p. 457.

CHAP. III.

The Hiſtory of the Armenians.

SECT. I.

The deſcription of Armenia.

a WHENCE the tract we commonly call *Armenia* borrowed its name is not determined. The *Greeks* will have it ſo called from one *Armenus*, who after attending *Jaſon* in the *Argonautic* expedition ſettled in this country. Others tranſforming *Armenia* into *Aramia* derive its name from *Aram* the ſon of *Shem*, or from one of the kings of *Armenia* bearing that name [a]. *Bochart* [b] takes *Armenia* to be a contraction or compound of *Aar*, ſignifying in *Hebrew* a mountain, and *Mini* the name of a province in this country mentioned by *Jeremy* [c], and placed by that prophet between *Ararat* and *Aſhchenaz*. This opinion ſeems to be ſupported by the *Chaldee* interpreters, who both on this and a like paſſage in *Amos* [d], inſtead of *Mini* read *Armenia*; ſo that *Armenia* ſignifies the mountain or mountainous part of *Mini*, *Name.*

[a] Moses Charen. Hiſt. Armen. p. 49. [b] Bochart. Phaleg. l. i. c. 3. [c] Jerem. li. 27.
[d] Amos iv. 3.

or

or *Mynias*, as *Nicolas* of *Damaſcus* calls it. The name of *Mini*, *Menni*, and *Mynias* or *Mylias* was at firſt peculiar to one province; but in proceſs of time became common to the whole country. As to the word *Mini* or *Menni*, it is thought to be originally derived from an *Hebrew* word, ſignifying metal, ſeeing *Armenia* abounded with mines, as is plain from *Procopius* [e]. a

Diviſion. *Armenia* was anciently divided into the *Greater* and *Leſſer*, or *Armenia Major* and *Minor*. *Armenia Major*, which we ſhall treat of in the firſt place, was, according to *Strabo* [f], bounded on the ſouth by mount *Taurus*, ſeparating it from *Meſopotamia*; on the eaſt by both *Media*'s, *viz.* the *Great Media*, and that which was known under the name of *Atropatia*; on the north by *Iberia* and *Albania*, or rather that part of the *Caucaſus* which ſurrounds them both; on the weſt by *Armenia Minor*, or the mountains *Paryadres*, by ſome *Pontic* nations, and the *Euphrates*. *Ptolemy* divides all *Armenia* into three diſtricts, as we may call them; the firſt comprehending that part which lies between the *Cyrus* and the *Araxes*; the ſecond thoſe provinces which extend weſtward to the bending of the *Euphrates*; and the third all the country lying between the ſprings of the *Tigris*, and that part of the *Euphrates* which ſeparates *Commagene* from *Armenia Major*. *Ptolemy* enumerates in his firſt diviſion the following provinces; *Catarzene* towards the *Moſchick* mountains, probably the ſame as *Strabo*'s *Chorzene*; *Oſſarene* and *Motene*, both on the banks of the *Cyrus*; *Colthene* on the banks of the *Araxes*; *Soducene*, *Sibacene*, and *Sacapene*; theſe two laſt provinces extend to the mountain *Paryadres*. The ſecond diviſion comprehends the following provinces; *Baſiliſſene*, *Bolbene*, *Arſeta*, *Aciliſene*, *Auſtanitis*, and *Sophene*. In the third diviſion *Ptolemy* places *Azetene*, *Thoſpitis*, *Corinea*, *Bagrauandene*, *Gordene*, called alſo *Gorduene*, *Gordyene*, and *Corduene* from the *Gordyæan* mountains. To theſe we may add *Gorgodylene*, which *Strabo* [g] mentions as lying under the mountain *Niphates*; *Cholobetena* mentioned by *Stephanus* and *Bochart* [h], who conjectures it to have been ſo called from *Chul*, the ſon of *Aram*, and *Shem*'s grandſon; *Taurantium*, mentioned by *Tacitus* [i] and other ancient writers, *&c.* b c

Cities. *Ptolemy* enumerates a great many cities in *Armenia*, which we find mentioned by no other geographer or hiſtorian, and therefore ſhall take no notice of them here, but deſcribe ſuch only as we can give ſome tolerable account of. Among theſe the following are the moſt conſiderable; *Artaxata*, the metropolis of all *Armenia*, and from its foundation the reſidence of the *Armenian* kings. This city, as *Strabo* informs us [k], was built upon a plan which *Hannibal* gave to king *Artaxas* or *Artaxias*, who made it the capital of *Armenia*. It was ſituated upon an elbow of the river *Araxes*, which forms a kind of peninſula, and ſurrounded the town like a wall, except on the ſide of the iſthmus; but the iſthmus was ſecured by a rampart, and a broad ditch. This is the account *Strabo* gives us of that ſtrong town. But *Cornelius Nepos* in his life of *Hannibal* does not mention his journey into *Armenia*; he only ſays, that after the defeat of *Antiochus* he withdrew firſt to *Crete*, and from thence to *Bithynia*, where he died. *Plutarch* however [l] ſeems to confirm what *Strabo* advances, ſaying that *Hannibal*, after the overthrow of *Antiochus* by *Scipio Aſiaticus*, fled into *Armenia*, where he aſſiſted king *Artaxas* with his advice, and perſuaded him to build the city of *Artaxata* in a very advantageous ſituation. *Lucullus* after having defeated the *Armenians* under the command of their king *Tigranes* in two battles, would not venture, notwithſtanding the enemies were not able to keep the field, to lay ſiege to *Artaxata*, which he looked upon as impregnable. But *Pompey*, who ſucceeded him in the command of the army, preſſed *Tigranes* ſo hard, that he was obliged to deliver up his capital without ſtriking a blow. *Pompey* ſpared both the city and the inhabitants; but in *Nero*'s reign, *Corbulo* the commander in chief of the *Roman* forces in the eaſt, having forced *Tiridates* to yield up *Artaxata*, levelled it with the ground. *Tiridates* having thus loſt his metropolis, and with it his kingdom, went to *Rome* to throw himſelf at *Nero*'s feet; who not only reſtored him the diadem, but alſo gave him leave to take workmen with him to aſſiſt him in rebuilding *Artaxata*, which by way of acknowledgment he called *Neronia* from the name of his benefactor. The ruins of this city, according to the tradition of the *Armenians*, are ſtill to be ſeen at a place called *Ardachat*. The inhabitants of this place, ſays a late traveller [m], call the town *Ardachat* from the name of *Artaxias*, whom in the eaſt they call *Ardechier*. There d e

[e] PROCOP. l. i. de Bell. Perſic. [f] STRAB. l. xi. p. 363. [g] STRAB. l. xi. p. 363. [h] BOCHART. Phaleg. l. xi. c. 9. [i] TACIT. l. xiv. c. 23. [k] STRAB. l. xi p. 363, 364. [l] PLUTARCH. in Lucullo. [m] CHARDIN. voyag.

are


Septentrio
SCYTHIÆ PARS
PONTI EUXINI PARS
MARE CASPIUM
MARE ARAL
SOGDIANA
GABAZA
MARGIANA
BACTRIANA
ARIA
MEDIA MAGNA
ATROPATIA
ARMENIA MAJOR
CAPPADOCIA
COLCHIS
ALBANIA
IBERIA
PONTUS
PHRYGIA
Sophene
Gordiæi
ADIABENE
ASSYRIA
MESOPOTAMIA
SYRIA
CILICIA
CYPRUS
Cœlesyria
Samaria
Idumæa
Ammon
Moab
ARABIA PETRAEA
Saraceni
Thamydeni
CHALDÆA
PARACHATENE
SUSIANA
PERSIA
PARTHIA sive PARTHIENE
CARMANIA DESERTA
CARMANIA
GEDROSIA
ARIASPAE Euergetæ
ARACHOSIA
Bubacene
INDIA
INTRA GANGEM
INDIA EXTRA GANGEM
Sogdorum regio
Musicani
Brasti
Sabi regnum
Sabatæ
Gandaridæ
SINUS PERSICUS
MARE ERYTHRAEUM
ARABIA FELIX
Sabæi
PANCHAIA
Thurifera regio
ARABICUS SINUS
OCEANUS INDICUS
SINUS GANGETICUS
Vertex Taprobanæ
Lestarum regio
The KINGDOMS of ARMENIA, PONTUS, CAPPADOCIA, MEDIA &c.
Occidens
Meridies
I. Basire sculp.

a are here ſome remains of a ſtately palace, which the *Armenians* take to be the palace of *Tiridates*, who reigned in the time of *Conſtantine the Great*; one front of this building is but half ruined, a great many pillars of black marble and of an extraordinary ſize are ſtill ſtanding, and many other fine antiquities, which the inhabitants call *Tact-Tardat*, that is, the throne of *Tiridates*. *Tavernier* alſo [m] mentions the ruins of *Artaxata*, between *Erivan* and mount *Ararat*, but does not ſpecify them. The ancient geographers mention another city bearing the ſame name, and likewiſe ſituated on the *Araxes*, but in the northern part of *Media* known among the ancients by the name of *Atropatia*. This ſome moderns have confounded with the metropolis of *Armenia*.

b THE other cities of note in ancient times were, *Sebaſtia* ſeated on the banks of the *Euphrates* not far from the mountain *Taurus*, ſo called from *Auguſtus*, whom the *Greeks* ſtyled *Sebaſtos*. *Armoſata* or *Arſamoſata*, once a very conſiderable city, and of the greateſt note after *Artaxata*. It was ſituated between the *Tigris* and the *Euphrates*, which has made ſome place it in *Meſopotamia* [n], though *Pliny*, *Polybius*, and *Tacitus* call it in expreſs words a city of *Armenia*. *Tigranocerta* built by *Tigranes* in the time of the *Mithridatic* war, and ſo named from its founder, the word *Certa* in the *Parthian*, *Armenian*, and *Syriac* languages, ſignifying a city. It was ſeated in the ſouthern part of *Armenia*, on the top of a ſteep hill between the ſprings of the *Tigris* and the mountain *Taurus*. This city *Tigranes* peopled with the inhabitants of divers
c nations which he had conquered, and inriched, we may ſay, with the wealth of all *Armenia*; for there was not one *Armenian* from the higheſt to the loweſt that did not contribute towards the embelliſhing of it. *Lucullus* took it without great reſiſtance, the inhabitants, as being of different nations, not agreeing among themſelves; and found in it, beſides an immenſe quantity of other valuable things, no leſs than eight thouſand talents in ready money. *Artagera*, where the emperor *Caius* received the wound of which he died [o]. *Carcathiocerta* called by *Strabo* [p] the metropolis of *Sophene*, which province is waſhed by the *Euphrates*, but placed by *Pliny* [q] near the *Tigris*. *Colonia* the ſtrongeſt place of all *Armenia*, when poſſeſſed by the *Romans*. In latter ages *Theodoſiopolis*, built by the emperor *Theodoſius*, of whom it borrowed
d its name. It was a great and wealthy city, and in thoſe days accounted impregnable (A). *Chorſa* placed by *Ptolemy* on the banks of the *Euphrates*, and taken by ſome for the preſent city of *Cars*, which made *Sanſon* place the city of *Cars* on the *Euphrates*, though that river runs at a great diſtance from it (B).

[m] TAVERNIER voyage au Levant. [n] LUCAS HOLSTENIUS in annot. ad Ortelium. [o] VELLEIUS PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 102. ZONARAS, Tom. 2. p. 167. [p] STRAB. l. xi. p. 363. [q] PLIN. l. vi. c. 9.

(A) 'Tis generally believed that *Erzeron* is the ancient city of *Theodoſiopolis*, which a late judicious traveller (1) does not think improbable, provided we ſuppoſe that the inhabitants of *Artze* retired to *Theodoſiopolis* after the demolition of their own city, which ſuppoſition is not ill-grounded. For *Cedrenus* informs us, that in the reign of *Conſtantine Monomachus*, who died about the middle of the eleventh century, *Artze* was a great and wealthy borough, inhabited by the merchants of different nations, who confiding in their numbers and ſtrength, would not retire with their effects to *Theodoſiopolis*, during the wars between that emperor and the *Mohammedans*. By theſe the place was beſieged, and the inhabitants made ſuch a vigorous defence, that the general of the *Mohammedans* apprehending the town might be relieved, cauſed it to be ſet on fire on all ſides, ſacrificing the booty to his reputation. *Cedrenus* tells us, that an hundred and forty thouſand ſouls periſhed in the ſiege by fire or ſword. The huſbands, ſays he, leaped into the flames with their wives and children in their arms. The conqueror found abundance of gold arms, which the fire could not conſume. As the town was reduced to aſhes, it is not unlikely that the few inhabitants, who outlived the deſtruction of their country, retired with the foreign merchants to *Theodoſiopolis*, which, according to *Cedrenus*, was ſituated cloſe by it. The *Turks*, thinking perhaps *Theodoſiopolis* too long and troubleſome a name, give it that of *Artzerum*; that is, *Artze* of the *Greeks* or *Chriſtians*; from *Artzerom* comes *Erzeron*. We muſt not confound this city of *Theodoſiopolis* with another of the ſame name on the river *Aborras* in *Meſopotamia*, which the emperor *Anaſtaſius*, as *Procopius* informs us, fortified with ſtrong walls. 'Tis commonly believed that *Orthogul*, father of the famous *Othoman*, the firſt emperor of the *Turks*, took *Erzeron*; but it is certain that the *Armenians* had a king of their own even in the reign of *Selim* the firſt. Some writers, miſled by the ſimilitude of names, take *Erzeron* to be the city of *Aziris* placed by *Ptolemy* in *Armenia Minor*.

(B) *Cars* is the laſt town of *Turky* towards the frontiers of *Perſia*. It is built on a riſing ground, expoſed to the ſouth-ſouth-eaſt. It is defended by a caſtle built on a ſteep rock, and has behind it a deep valley watered by a river, which not far from thence diſembogues itſelf into the *Arpagi*, without ever coming near the city of *Erzeron*, contrary to the deſcription *Sanſon* has given us of it. Theſe two rivers joined together are known by the name of *Arpagi*, and ſerve as a frontier to the two empires. *Sanſon* places *Cars* at the conflux of the two imaginary branches of the *Euphrates*, which according to him form a conſiderable river that waters *Erzeron*. The *Arpagi* falls into *Araxes*, or *Aras*, as the *Turks* and *Perſians* call it.

(1) *Tournefort. Voyage au Levant.*

Rivers. As to the rivers of this country, *Strabo* enumerates ſix of great note among the ancients, *viz.* the *Lycus* and *Phaſis* falling into the *Pontus*; the *Cyrus* and *Araxes* diſcharging themſelves into the *Caſpian* ſea; and the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, which diſembogue themſelves into the *Perſian* gulf. The *Lycus*, the *Phaſis*, and the *Cyrus*, though they riſe in *Armenia*, yet are more properly reckoned by moſt of the ancient geographers rivers of *Pontus*, *Colchis*, and *Albania*, ſince the two former waſh but the skirts of *Armenia*, and the latter ſprings from the hills of *Iberia*, which ſeparate that country from *Armenia*, whence it is by ſome accounted a river of *Iberia*, but by the generality of geographers after *Ptolemy*, of *Albania*; where being increaſed with ſeveral others, it becomes a very conſiderable ſtream. The *Araxes*, or, as the *Turks* call it, the *Aras*, ſprings from the ſame mountain as the *Euphrates*. This mountain *Strabo* [r] calls *Abus*, and places it between the mountain *Niphates* and *Nibarus*; *Domitius Corbulo*, who had been upon the ſpot, gives it the name of *Aba*; *Nutianus*, who had alſo viſited the country, calls it *Capotes*; and *Euſtathius* with *Dionyſius Periegetes* ſtyle it *Achos*. Springing from this mountain, which is part of mount *Taurus*, it continues its courſe eaſtward to the city of *Atropatene*; from thence bending its courſe northweſtward, it flows cloſe by *Azara* and *Artazata*, and falls at length into the *Caſpian* ſea (C). It is too rapid to bear a bridge, and carried away thoſe which the maſters of the world built over it. On the banks of this river have appeared the moſt famous warriors of antiquity, *Xerxes*, *Alexander*, *Lucullus*, *Pompey*, *Mithridates*, &c. The modern geographers, who make this river flow from mount *Ararat*, muſt certainly miſtake the river which runs near *Aſcourlon* for the *Araxes*. The *Euphrates* ſprings from the ſame hill as the *Araxes*, and immediately divides itſelf into two branches, which the ancient hiſtorians call the ſources of the *Euphrates*. The firſt flows from eaſt to ſouth, and running between the mountains, at the foot of which the town of *Erzeron* is ſituated, continues its courſe ſouthward to a little borough called *Mommacotum*. The other ſtream flows northward to the town of *Elijah*, and thence bending weſtward along the road to *Tocat*, is obliged by the diſpoſition of the ground to turn ſouthward at *Mommacotum*; where it joins the other branch, which is far more conſiderable. The town of *Erzeron* is not ſeated on the banks of the *Euphrates*, as the modern geographers place it, but in a peninſula formed by the two branches of the *Euphrates*, the firſt of which runs a day's journey diſtance from *Erzeron*, and the other a day and a half, or rather two days journey. But we have already deſcribed the whole courſe of this river [s] (D). The *Tigris*, according to *Strabo* [t], riſes on the ſouth ſide of mount *Taurus*; according to *Pliny* [u], in a great plain of *Armenia*, which he calls *Elegoſine*, runs through the lake *Arethuſa*, and meeting with mount *Taurus* buries itſelf underground, and appears again on the other ſide of that mountain. This breaking out of the river *Strabo* evidently miſtook for its firſt riſe, for in all the reſt he agrees with *Pliny* and *Ptolemy*. This river runs with an incredible rapidity, whence it had the name of *Tigris*, which in the language of the *Medes* ſignifies an arrow. It continues its courſe, after it has paſſed under the huge bulk of mount *Taurus*, waſhing the eaſtern skirts of *Meſopotamia*, which it divides from *Aſſyria*, till mixing with its fellow-traveller the *Euphrates* at *Apamea* in *Chaldea*, it falls at length into the *Perſian* gulf. Many writers take theſe four rivers, *viz.* the *Euphrates*, the *Tigris*, the *Phaſis*, and

[r] Strab. l. xi. p. 363. [s] Hiſt. Univerſ. l. i. p. 909. [t] Strab. l. xi. p. 259. [u] Plin. l. vi. c. 27.

(C) *Strabo* and many others (2) ſay that the *Araxes* falls into the *Caſpian* ſea near the mouth of the *Cyrus*; but *Pliny* (3), *Plutarch* (4) and *Appianus* (5), make it diſcharge itſelf into the *Cyrus*. *Ptolemy* (6) divides the *Araxes* into two branches, and deſcribes one joining the *Cyrus*, the other he makes fall into the *Caſpian* ſea. All our modern maps make the *Araxes* diſembogue itſelf into the *Cyrus*.

(D) *Procopius* ſeems to have known nothing of the two branches of the *Euphrates*. For he calls one of the branches the *Tigris*, and the other the *Euphrates*. There is, ſays he, a mountain in *Armenia* five miles and a half from *Theodoſiopolis*, whence iſſue two great rivers; that which flows to the right is called the *Euphrates*, the other the *Tigris*; whereas *Strabo* tells us in expreſs words that the ſprings of theſe two rivers are two hundred and fifty miles diſtant from each other. *Pompey*, as we are informed by *Florus*, was the firſt that built a bridge over this river, which he did in purſuing *Mithridates*. This bridge in all likelihood was built near the elbow, which this river makes, after its two branches are joined at *Mommacotum*. For our modern travellers ſeem to agree in this, that the battle between *Pompey* and *Mithridates* was fought in the plain of *Erzeron*, and *Mithridates* is ſaid to have paſſed by the ſources of the *Euphrates* on his retreat into *Colchis*, a few years before *Lucullus* had ſacrificed a bull to this river in order to obtain a favourable paſſage.

(2) *Strab. l.* xi. *c.* 346. (3) *Plin. l.* vi. *c.* 9. (4) *Plutarch. in Pomp. p.* 634. (5) *Appian. Mithridat. p.* 401. (6) *Ptolem. l.* 5. *c.* 13.

the

a the *Araxes* to be the four rivers mentioned by *Moſes*, as coming out of the terreſtrial paradiſe. They ſuppoſe the *Phaſis* to be the *Piſon*, and the *Araxes* or *Aras* the *Gihon*. But of this ſubject, and the various ſuppoſitions and opinions relating thereunto we have treated elſewhere at large [w] (E). Beſides theſe rivers there were ſeveral others of leſs note, namely, the *Muſis* mentioned by *Pliny* [x], as diſcharging itſelf into the *Araxes*; *Nicephorius* running, according to *Tacitus* [y], between *Tigranocerta* and *Artaxata*, and falling into the *Euphrates*; *Niphates* mentioned by *Lucan* [z] and *Silius Italicus* [a], and ſpringing from a mountain of the ſame name.

Mountains. THE moſt conſiderable mountains of this country are the *Moſchick* mountains ſeparating the weſtern parts of *Armenia* from *Colchis*; ſome writers will have them ſo called from *Meſech* or *Moſoch* the ſon of *Japhet*. *Paryadræ* extending from the *Moſ-*
b *chick* mountains to the borders of *Armenia Minor* and *Pontus*. *Maſius* bounding the province of *Sophene* to the ſouth, as *Antitaurus* does to the north. *Niphates* well known to the poets, and famous for the ſprings of the *Tigris*. *Abus* from which iſſues the *Euphrates*. The *Gordyæan* mountains, which ſeparate, according to *Strabo* [b], the province of *Sophene*, and the reſt of *Armenia* from *Meſopotamia*. Of the mountains of *Ararat*, whereon the ark reſted, we have treated elſewhere [c].

The ſoil. THIS country is very hilly and mountainous, but the hills are here and there interſperſed with fruitful and moſt beautiful dales and valleys. All ſorts of grain are but very indifferent in *Armenia*; in moſt places it yields but four-fold. If they had not the conveniency of watering their lands, they would be almoſt barren. What the
c country produces is almoſt intirely owing to the painful labour of the inhabitants, who either actually water it by hand, or dig trenches and other conveniences of that kind, for the fecundation of their fields. The wine of this country is cried down by the generality of our modern travellers. One of theſe [d] has ſtarted an objection which tends to overthrow the tradition of the ark's reſting on one of the mountains of *Armenia*: for the olive, ſays he, is not found thereabouts, nor in any part of *Aſia* beyond *Aleppo*, except one ſingle place near *Casbin* in *Perſia*. However it ſeems to have been otherwiſe anciently, for we are told by *Strabo* [e], that the olive grew in *Gogarene*, a province of *Armenia*. The cold is ſo extraordinary here, that all manner of fruit are more backward than in moſt of the northern countries. The hills are covered with
d ſnow the whole year round, and it ſometimes falls even in the month of *June*. *Lucullus*, when appointed to command the *Roman* army in *Armenia*, was greatly ſurprized to find the whole country covered with ſnow at the autumnal equinox, to ſee moſt of the rivers frozen up, and vaſt numbers of the horſes of his army dying every day by reaſon of the coldneſs of the waters. *Alexander Severus* was no better pleaſed with this country, having loſt on his march through it great part of his army, the cold being then ſo exceſſive, that many of the ſoldiers, as *Zonaras* informs us, were frozen under their tents, and others loſt their hands and feet, being obliged to incamp in the ſnow. A modern traveller tells us [f], that even in the middle of *July* he often found ice about the ſprings before the riſing of the ſun, notwithſtanding it was exceed-
e ing hot in the day-time; this cold keeps every thing ſo back, that the corn, as the ſame traveller obſerved, was not at that time of the year a foot high, and the other fruits of the earth ſcarce ſo forward as they are about *Paris* at the end of *April*. Their method of plowing the land is ſomewhat ſurprizing, for they uſually put to one plough ten or twelve yoke of oxen, each yoke having a driver, and this to make deeper furrows, experience having taught them, that it was neceſſary to go very deep, either to mix the upper ſoil, which is too dry, with that which lies beneath and is leſs ſo, or to preſerve the ſeed from the hard froſts; for were it not on ſome ſuch conſideration, they would not be at ſuch an expence. Notwithſtanding all this, we

[w] Hiſtor. Univerſ. Vol. I. p. 53. & ſeq. [x] PLIN. l. vi. c. 9. [y] TACIT. l. xv. c. 24. [z] LUCAN. l. iii. v. 245. [a] SILIUS ITALIC. l. xiii. v. 765. [b] STRAB. l. xi. p. 359. [c] Hiſt. Univerſ. Vol. I. p. 168. [d] TOURNEFORT. Voyage, lett. 7. [e] STRAB. l. xi. p. 800. [f] TOURNEFORT. ubi ſupra.

(E) The commentators on the book of *Geneſis*, even thoſe who are moſt confined to the literal ſenſe, do not think it neceſſary in order to fix the ſituation of *Eden*, to find a river, which divides itſelf into four branches, conſidering the great alterations that may have been occaſioned by the flood; but think it enough to ſhew the heads of the rivers mentioned by *Moſes*, namely, the *Euphrates*, the *Tigris*, the *Piſon* and *Gihon*. And thus taking the *Phaſis* for *Piſon*, and the *Araxes* for *Gihon*, they come to place the terreſtrial paradiſe in the beautiful vales of *Georgia*, and namely in the country of the *Three Churches* about ſixty miles diſtant from the ſprings of the *Euphrates* and *Araxes*, and about as many from thoſe of the *Phaſis*. The extent of *Eden* muſt at leaſt have reached to the ſprings of theſe rivers, and thus comprehended all *Media*, and part of *Armenia* and *Iberia*.

are

are told, that the corn would be quite burnt up were not the fields frequently watered either by hand, or by trenches dug for that purpoſe. Perhaps great plenty of water is neceſſary to diſſolve the ſalt and nitre wherewithal the ſoil in moſt parts of *Armenia* is impregnated, and which would burn up the roots, if the clods were not well moiſtened with a proportionable quantity of liquid. a

Antiquity. As to the origin of the ancient *Armenians*, *Herodotus*, and after him *Stephanus*, derives them from the *Phrygians* by reaſon of ſeveral *Phrygian* words that were crept into the ancient language of the *Armenians*; but this may be aſcribed to the communication they had, as merchants, with the *Phrygians*, as they likewiſe had with other neighbouring nations. And we are moreover told, that a colony of the *Aſcanians*, who were *Phrygians*, ſettled in *Armenia*, which the prophet *Jeremy* ſeems to b
inſinuate in joining *Ararat* (that is, *Armenia*, as it is agreed on all hands) with *Aſchenaz*, who is generally believed to have been the founder of the *Phrygian* nation, and therefore is taken for the *Phrygians*, ſeeing the name of the founder is commonly uſed in ſcripture for the nation he founded. Other writers ſuppoſe *Hul* or *Chul* the ſon of *Aram*, and *Meſech* the ſon of *Japhet*, to have been the progenitors of the ancient *Armenians*; which opinion has no better foundation than the ſmall ſimilitude we find between *Meſech* and *Moſchick*, between *Chul* and *Cholna* the name of a town in *Armenia*. *Beroſus* tells us, that the ark reſted in *Armenia*, and that *Noah* going from thence left his mother, his wife, and ſeveral of his deſcendants to people the country, ſuppoſing thereby *Noah* to have remained many years after the flood in *Armenia*[l]. c
Strabo takes them to be originally *Syrians*, or rather conſiders the *Syrians* and *Armenians* as two tribes of one and the ſame nation. This opinion *Bochart*[k] looks upon as the moſt probable, finding a great agreement between theſe two nations both in manners and language. In proceſs of time many foreigners ſettled among them, namely *Phrygians*, *Greeks*, and *Perſians*, as *Strabo*[l] and *Ptolemy*[m] witneſs.

Government. *Armenia* was advanced very early to the honour of a kingdom. *Beroſus* makes one by name *Scytha* the firſt king thereof, and *Barzanes* his ſucceſſor, which *Barzanes*, he informs us, was conquered and driven out by *Ninus*; wherein he is greatly miſtaken; for beſides that the word *Scytha* was never heard of till many ages after, as we ſhall ſhew in its proper place, *Barzanes* was not conquered by *Ninus*, as *Diodorus Siculus* d
informs us, but having made a peace and alliance with him, joined his forces againſt the *Bactrians*. Some writers by *Scytha* underſtand *Hul*, and will have him ſucceeded by *Barzanes*: After the death of *Barzanes*, they tell us, that *Armenia* was divided into ſeveral petty kingdoms, which is vouched alſo by *Pliny*[n]. *Plutarch* mentions one *Araxes* king of *Armenia*[o], who in a war with the *Perſians* being aſſured by an oracle that he ſhould return home loaded with ſpoils, provided he ſacrificed his two daughters, cauſed the two daughters of one *Mieſalcus*, a nobleman of his court, to be ſacrificed in their ſtead, flattering himſelf that he had thereby complied with the oracle. But *Mieſalcus* did not fail to revenge the death of his daughters by that of the king's daughters, and purſued the prince himſelf ſo cloſe, that he was drowned in endea- e
vouring to ſave himſelf by ſwimming over the river then called *Helmus*, but ever after by the king's name, *Araxes*. The *Armenians* were in proceſs of time ſubdued by the *Medes*, to whom they were made, as we read in *Xenophon*, tributaries by *Aſtyages*. However they continued to be ruled by kings of their own country; for *Tigranes* and *Sabaris*, in whom we are told the royal family of the *Armenian* kings was extinguiſhed, were the ſons of that king whom *Cyrus* afterwards ſubdued. We find no mention of kings, but only of prefects appointed by the kings of *Perſia*, during the whole time they continued ſubject to that empire; whence we may conclude, that after the death of *Tigranes* and *Sabaris*, *Armenia* became a province of *Perſia*. *Alexander the Great* having poſſeſſed himſelf of *Armenia*, made *Mithrines* f
governor of both *Armenia*'s; *Mithrines* was ſucceeded by *Phrataphernes*, and he by *Orons*, both appointed by *Perdiccas*. After the death of *Orons* the *Armenians*, if we believe *Diodorus*, ſhook off the *Macedonian* yoke, and ſet up kings of their own; one of theſe, according to him, was *Ardoates*, who with a powerful army aſſiſted *Ariarathes* III. king of *Cappadocia*; the ſame author mentions another king of *Armenia* contemporary with *Nicomedes* I. king of *Bithynia*. Theſe two princes may, for aught we know, have ſeized on the crown of *Armenia*; but we are very ſure that the country was again brought under ſubjection by the *Macedonians*, there being nothing

[l] Berosus, l. iii. [k] Bochart. Phaleg. l. i. c. 9. [l] Strab. l. 16. [m] Ptolom. l. v. c. 13.
[n] Plin. l. vi. c. 9. [o] Plutarch. de fluviis.

more

a more certain, than that *Armenia* was held by *Antigonus*, and after him by *Seleucus* and his poſterity to the time of *Antiochus the Great*; that is, to the ſixth generation. During the minority of *Antiochus*, *Zadriades* and *Artaxias*, governors of *Armenia*, joining their forces together, ſeized on the country they had been ſet over, and adding ſome of the neighbouring provinces to it, while *Antiochus*'s troops were employed elſewhere, erected not one, but two kingdoms, *viz.* that of *Armenia Major*, which *Artaxias* kept for himſelf; the other of *Armenia Minor*, which fell to *Zadriades*. Of theſe two kingdoms only our intent is to write here, ſeeing whatever is ſaid of the more ancient kings of *Armenia*, is altogether uncertain, and over-caſt with ſuch a miſt, that it is impoſſible to give any tolerable account of them. The *Armenians* b tell us of *Haikh*, *Amaſia*, and a great many others, which, as we find them mentioned by no authors of any credit, we hardly think it worth our while to take any notice of. What the primitive government of *Armenia* may have been we know not; but under the latter kings it was abſolute and arbitrary, their princes being, as appears from hiſtory, quite uncontroled by the ſubject.

Laws and religion.

We have no ſyſtem of their laws, and ſcarce wherewithal to form any particular idea of them; but we are not ſo much at a loſs for what concerns their religion; for *Strabo* tells us, that the *Armenians*, *Medes* and *Perſians* worſhipped the ſame deities, and of the religion of the ancient *Perſians* we have already given a very particular and diſtinct account. However the chief deity of the *Armenians* ſeems to have been c the goddeſs *Tanais*, or, as ſome ſtile her, *Anaitis*. To her ſeveral temples were erected all over *Armenia*, but more eſpecially in the province of *Acileſina*, where ſhe was worſhipped in a particular manner. Here ſhe had a moſt rich and magnificent temple with a ſtatue of ſolid gold, and ineſtimable workmanſhip. This temple was plundered by the *Roman* ſoldiers in *Mark Antony*'s wars with the *Perſians*; on which occaſion it was reported, and univerſally believed, that the firſt, who laid ſacrilegious hands on the treaſure and ſacred utenſils, was ſtruck blind by the deity of the place, and ſo terrified that he died ſoon after. But many years after *Auguſtus* being entertained at *Bononia* by an old commander, who had ſerved in the *Perſian* war, and inquiring about the truth of this report, the officer frankly owned that he was the d man, and added that the only evil that happened to him on that occaſion was a plentiful eſtate, which was altogether owing to that ſacrilege. In honour of this goddeſs, and in her temple the *Armenians* uſed to proſtitute their daughters, it being a cuſtom among the young women to conſecrate their virginity to *Tanais*, that is, to her prieſts. *Baris* was another deity peculiar to the *Armenians*, and had a ſtately temple erected to him, as *Strabo* informs us; but after what manner he was worſhipped we find no where mentioned. *Juvenal* [p] charges them with foretelling future events, by examining the entrails of pigeons, of dogs, and ſometimes of children. Others tell us, that they uſed human ſacrifices, which ſeems to be in ſome degree confirmed by what we have related above out of *Plutarch*.

Their learning and arts.

e We can ſay nothing particular of their learning and arts, but what we have from writers of no great credit. *Beroſus* [q] tells us, that *Noah* inſtructed here his poſterity in all manner of human and divine ſciences, and committed to writing many natural ſecrets, which the prieſts alone were allowed to learn, no body elſe being ſuffered to ſee thoſe writings. He adds, that he left among the *Armenians* books of religious ceremonies, that he taught them aſtronomy, and the diſtinction of years and months, and that he was on this account ſtiled by them *Olybama* and *Arſa*, that is, heaven and ſun; that they dedicated many cities to him, and even worſhipped him under the name and title of *Jupiter Sagus*, accounting him the ſoul of the heavenly bodies. The *Armenians* tell us, that *Noah* taught them husbandry, and the planting of vines, and f ſhew to this day ſome vines which they pretend to be of *Noah*'s planting; for they ſuppoſe him to have been their firſt king, and in quitting *Armenia*, to have left behind him his mother, his wife, and ſeveral of his deſcendants to people the country. Theſe and many ſuch-like fables are looked upon by the preſent *Armenians* as truths not to be called in queſtion.

The language of the ancient *Armenians* was, according to *Strabo*, much the ſame with that of the *Syrians*; at leaſt it is very plain from *Poliænus* [r], that they uſed the *Syriac* characters. The modern *Armenians* uſe two languages, the vulgar and the learned; the latter, if we believe them, has no affinity with the other oriental lan-

[p] Juvenal. Satir. 6. [q] Berosus, l. iii. [r] Polyænus. l. iv.

guages, is very expreſſive, and inriched with all the terms of religion, and of arts and ſciences; which, if true, ſhews that the *Armenians* were formerly men of much greater learning than they are at preſent. This language is to be found only in their ancient manuſcripts, and is uſed in divine ſervice. To underſtand it well is reckoned a great accompliſhment, and is all that is requiſite to be admitted into the order of the *Vertabiets*, who make ſuch a noiſe among the *Armenians*. The *Vertabiets* are doctors, and their province is to preach, and inſtruct the people; when they once underſtand the literal language, and have got by heart a few ſermons of *Gregory Altenaſi*, a great maſter of it, and, as we may call him, their chief claſſic, they are abundantly qualified for that eminent degree (F). a

Their trade. Though the modern *Armenians* are perhaps the greateſt traders on the earth, yet we find no mention of any commerce carried on by them in ancient times. *Sha-Abbas the Great*, king of *Perſia*, is ſaid to have been the firſt, who, conſidering the œconomy and indefatigable induſtry of this people, put them upon trade, and ſettled a colony of *Armenians* at *Julfa*, the famous ſuburb of *Iſpahan*, deſcribed by moſt of our modern travellers. This place contains at preſent above thirty thouſand inhabitants, all *Armenians* and merchants (G). Though none of the ancients have mentioned the trade of the *Armenians* in former ages, yet the eaſy and ſafe navigation of the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, and the example of their next and moſt induſtrious neighbours the *Syrians*, may perhaps have induced them to carry on a trade as well for their own growth, as for foreign productions; neither do we ſee by what other means they could acquire the great wealth they enjoyed under ſome of their kings. But as we find no mention of their trade in ancient hiſtory, we ſhall take no farther notice of it. b c

SECT. II.

The reigns of the kings of Armenia Major.

Artaxias. Our intent is to write of thoſe kings only that reigned in *Armenia* after that people had ſhaken off the *Macedonian* yoke, which happened in the beginning of the reign of *Antiochus the Great*, when *Zadriades* and *Artaxias*, whom he had appointed governors or prefects of *Armenia*, entering into a conſpiracy, and uniting their forces, ſtirred up the *Armenians* to a revolt, and cauſed themſelves to be proclaimed kings of the provinces which were under their juriſdiction. As *Antiochus* d

(F) The *Vertabiets* are ordained, but their proper function is to preach. Their ſermons generally turn upon very ill-contrived parables, upon paſſages of the ſcripture ill underſtood, and worſe explained, and upon ridiculous traditions: however they deliver themſelves with a great deal of gravity, and theſe diſcourſes procure them as much credit and authority as the patriarch himſelf has. They challenge the ſole power of excommunicating. After exerciſing themſelves for ſome time in the villages and boroughs, they are with abundance of ceremonies admitted to the degree of doctor by an old *Vertabiet*, who puts into their hands a paſtoral ſtaff, which they are allowed to hold while they preach, and alſo to ſit; whereas the biſhops, who are not *Vertabiets*, are obliged to preach ſtanding. They live on the gatherings that are made for them after their ſermons, which, we are told, are very conſiderable, eſpecially in places where the caravans ſtop. They obſerve celibacy, and faſt very rigorouſly three quarters of the year, abſtaining not only from meat, but alſo from fiſh, eggs, and milk,

(G) *Sha-Abbas*, by ſettling a numerous colony at *Julfa*, and other colonies of *Armenians* in divers other parts of the kingdom, had two things in view, namely to ſecure his dominions from being attacked by the *Turks*, and to inrich them by trade and commerce. As *Armenia* was the chief place where the *Turks* uſed to make their attempts to penetrate into *Perſia*, he unpeopled it ſo as to make it impoſſible for them to maintain an army in that country. The inhabitants of *Julfa*, the moſt populous and greateſt city of *Armenia*, were ordered to retire with their effects to *Iſpahan*, from whence they were ſoon after removed to the other ſide of the river *Zenderou*, to ſeparate them from the *Mohammedans*, who deſpiſed them on account of their religion. This new ſettlement they called *Julfa* in memory of their ancient habitation, the ruins whereof are to be ſeen to this day on the banks of the *Araxes*, between *Erivan* and *Tauris*. The inhabitants of *Nacſivan* alſo were diſperſed into ſeveral parts of the kingdom, and above twenty thouſand *Armenian* families tranſplanted into the ſingle province of *Guilan*. The king having thus ſecured his frontiers, employed the *Armenians* in carrying on the ſilk trade, truſting them at firſt with a great many bales, to carry by caravans into foreign countries, on condition they ſhould pay at their return for each bale a certain price ſettled by perſons of judgment before their departure. For their greater encouragement, he allowed them by way of reward for their pains and induſtry whatever they could get above the price agreed on, which was very reaſonable. The ſucceſs anſwered the hopes both of the king and the merchants, and ſilver and gold, which to that time had been very ſcarce in *Perſia*, began to appear in great plenty at the return of the caravans. To that expedient the wealth of *Perſia* is owing even to this day.

was

a was then very young, and his troops employed againſt other rebels, their attempts were attended with ſucceſs beyond expectation, which encouraged them to purſue their conqueſts, and extend the boundaries of their new, but ſmall, kingdom. Accordingly invading with a conſiderable army the neighbouring countries, they took from the *Medes* the provinces of *Caſpiana*, *Phaunitis*, and *Baſoropida*; from the *Iberians Chorzena*, and *Gogarena* on the other ſide the *Cyrus*; from the *Chalybes* and *Moſſynæci*, *Pareneta*, and *Xerxena*, which bordered on *Armenia Minor*. By theſe new acquiſitions, *Armenia* from a ſmall province became all on a ſudden ſo conſiderable a kingdom, that *Juſtin* in enumerating thoſe of his time, gives it the preference in wealth, power, and extent to any other, that of *Parthia* alone excepted. The b conquerors having thus inlarged their new territories, divided their conqueſts into two kingdoms; and on this occaſion the diviſion of *Armenia* into the *Greater* and *Leſſer* was firſt introduced. *Zadriades* kept for himſelf that part which lay next to *Cilicia*, calling it the kingdom of *Armenia Minor*, and yielded the far greater part to *Artaxias*, which began to be known under the name of *Armenia Major*. *Antiochus* did not fail to lead a powerful army againſt them, but was not able to recover one ſingle province of the many they had uſurped. Wherefore after many unſucceſsful attempts, he at laſt concluded a peace with them, deſigning to fall upon them again after he had ſettled the affairs of his kingdom, which was then rent into ſeveral parties. But they in the mean time entering into an alliance with the *Romans*, ſecured to themſelves and c their poſterity the provinces which they had uſurped. *Artaxias* built the famous city of *Artaxata*, the metropolis of *Armenia*, and the ſeat of the kings of that country: Some ſay, as we have hinted above, that he followed therein the direction of *Hannibal*, whom they ſuppoſe to have fled into *Armenia*, after the defeat of *Antiochus* by *Scipio Aſiaticus*. But it is not at all probable, that *Artaxias*, who owed, we may ſay, his crown to the *Romans*, and reigned under their protection, would entertain a ſworn enemy of theirs. *Artaxias* enjoyed his kingdom peaceably to the reign of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, by whom his army was cut in pieces, and himſelf made priſoner, and put in irons [e]. We read of an embaſſy ſent by him, four years after this misfortune, to *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia*, ſolliciting that prince to put to death *Mithrobuzanes*, d one of the two ſons of *Zadriades*, who had fled to him for ſhelter, and to aſſiſt him in the recovering of his kingdom. But *Ariarathes* ſharply rebuked the embaſſadors, and was ſo far from complying with their requeſt, that he reſtored *Mithrobuzanes* to his father's kingdom; and moreover declared, that he would give no manner of aſſiſtance to one who could think him capable of committing ſuch an infamous piece of treachery.

Artaxias *defeated by* Antiochus Epiphanes. *Year of the flood* 2824. *Year before Chriſt* 165.

By whom *Artaxias* was ſucceeded is uncertain, the *Armenian* hiſtory being interrupted here with a chaſm of about ſeventy years, for ſo many paſſed between the defeat of *Artaxias* and the reign of *Tigranes the Great*; which interruption may perhaps be owing, not to the want of writers, but of any thing worth writing performed by the e intermediate princes. All we know of this time is, that *Tigranes* was by his father delivered up to the *Parthians* as an hoſtage, whence it is plain, that the *Armenians* had warred with the *Parthians* to their diſadvantage. The *Parthians* ſet *Tigranes* at liberty upon the news of his father's death, having firſt obliged him to yield up to them a conſiderable part of his kingdom by way of ranſom [f].

Tigranes being thus reſtored to his father's kingdom, was prevailed upon in the beginning of his reign by *Mithridates Eupator*, to enter into an alliance with him againſt the *Romans*, whoſe power began to give jealouſy to all the princes of *Aſia*. One of the articles of agreement between theſe two kings was, that *Mithridates* ſhould have the conquered cities and countries, and *Tigranes* the captives and plunder. In virtue f of this treaty, *Tigranes* was to invade *Cappadocia*, which *Mithridates* had been lately obliged by a decree of the ſenate of *Rome* to give up to *Ariobarzanes*. But before either of the princes took the field, a marriage was ſolemnized with all poſſible pomp and magnificence between *Tigranes* and *Cleopatra*, daughter to *Mithridates*. Aſſoon as the nuptial ſolemnities were over, *Mithridates* ſent his elder brother *Socrates* to invade *Bithynia*, and drive from that throne *Nicomedes*, whom the *Romans* had appointed king; and *Tigranes*, according to his engagement, ordered *Mithridates* and *Bagoas*, his two chief commanders, to fall upon *Cappadocia*, which they reduced without the leaſt oppoſition; *Ariobarzanes*, who was but a very mean-ſpirited prince, having abandoned

Tigranes. *Year of the flood* 2914. *Before Chriſt* 95.

Invades Cappadocia.

[e] Appian. Syriac. p. 117. & 131. Porphyr. apud Hieronym. in Daniel. c. 11. p. 537. Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 3. Appian. in Syriac. p. 118.

[f] Strab. l. xi.

doned

I

doned his kingdom, and fled to *Rome*, upon the firſt news of their march. *Tigranes* having thus got poſſeſſion of *Cappadocia*, enriched himſelf with the booty, but yielded the country to *Ariarathes*, *Mithridates*'s ſon, whom he cauſed to be proclaimed with great pomp, and univerſal ſatisfaction of the people [t]. In the mean time the *Syrians* being haraſſed with a long and inteſtine war of the *Seleucidæ*, who could not agree among themſelves, invited *Tigranes* to take poſſeſſion of their country, which he did accordingly, driving out the *Seleucidæ*, who were not in a condition to oppoſe him, and obliging *Antiochus Pius* not only to yield that part of *Syria* which he poſſeſſed, and extended from the *Euphrates* to the ſea, but likewiſe great part of *Cilicia*. *Tigranes* muſt have made peace with the *Romans* ſoon after his expedition into *Cappadocia*, and left *Mithridates* in the lurch; for in the council of the *Syrians*, after they had reſolved to call in a foreign king, three princes being propoſed, namely *Mithridates* king of *Pontus*, *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*, and *Tigranes* king of *Armenia*; the latter was unanimouſly choſen, and *Mithridates* rejected for no other reaſon but his being at war with the *Romans* [u]. *Tigranes* enjoyed *Syria* without the leaſt diſturbance for the ſpace of eighteen years, till he was driven out by *Pompey*, and *Syria* reduced to the form of a *Roman* province. With this new addition of ſtrength *Tigranes*, giving the reins to his aſpiring and unbounded deſire of power, invades *Armenia Minor*, kills king *Artanes*, who met him on the frontiers at the head of a conſiderable army, diſperſes his troops, and in one campaign reduces the whole kingdom. From *Armenia Minor* he marches his victorious army againſt the *Aſiatic Greeks*, the *Adiabenians*, the *Aſſyrians*, and the *Gordians*, carrying all before him, and obliging the people, where-ever he came, to acknowledge him for their ſovereign. From this ſecond expedition he returned loaded with an immenſe booty, which he ſoon after increaſed with the ſpoils of *Cappadocia*, invading that kingdom the ſecond time at the inſtigation of *Mithridates*, who had been obliged by the *Romans* to withdraw his forces from thence. From *Cappadocia Tigranes*, beſides the other booty, brought back into *Armenia* no fewer than three hundred thouſand captives, having ſurrounded the country with his numerous army in ſuch manner that no one could eſcape him. Theſe together with the priſoners he had taken in his two firſt expeditions, he employed to build, and afterwards to people, a large and noble city, which he founded in the place, where the crown of *Armenia* had been firſt put upon his head, calling it from his own name *Tigranocerta*, that is, the city of *Tigranes* [w]. In the mean time *Mithridates*, who had concluded a peace with the *Romans*, but with no other deſign than to gain time, and ſtrengthen his party, ſent a ſolemn embaſſy to *Tigranes*, inviting him to enter into an alliance againſt the common enemy. *Metrodorus Scepſius* was at the head of this embaſſy, a man had in ſuch reſpect and veneration by *Mithridates*, that he was commonly called the king's father: he was at firſt a philoſopher of great note, and afterwards raiſed by the king to the dignity of a judge with ſuch an unbounded authority, that it was not lawful to appeal from his ſentence to the king himſelf. So great was the opinion *Mithridates* had of his honeſty. *Tigranes* before he returned any anſwer to this embaſſy, preſſed *Metrodorus* to tell him honeſtly, whether he thought it adviſeable for him to enter into a war with the *Romans*. *Metrodorus* at firſt declined giving any anſwer to ſuch an unſeaſonable queſtion, but being at laſt prevailed upon by the preſſing inſtances of the king, replied, As I am an embaſſador, I adviſe you to join your father-in-law againſt the *Romans*; as a counſellor, I am for your living in peace and amity with ſo powerful a people. *Tigranes* informed the king of what he had ſaid, ſuppoſing he would not take it amiſs, nor entertain a worſe opinion of his embaſſador on the ſcore of his ſincerity. But it fell out otherwiſe, as was commonly believed, *Metrodorus* dying on the road as he was returning home, not without ſuſpicion of poiſon. *Tigranes*, who had betrayed him, to expreſs his concern, cauſed his body to be interred with the utmoſt magnificence. This prince at firſt refuſed to join *Mithridates* againſt the *Romans*, but in the end was prevailed upon by the importunity of his wife *Cleopatra* to ſend him conſiderable ſupplies [x], though he never came heartily into that war, not caring to provoke the *Romans*, who on their ſide kept fair with him, taking no notice, for the preſent, of the ſupplies he had ſent to *Mithridates*. This unfortunate prince was ſoon after, upon the defeat of his army by *Lucullus*, forced to fly for ſhelter into *Armenia*, where he met with a very cold reception from his ſon-in-law, who would neither

Tigranes is choſen king of Syria.

Reduces Armenia Minor, and other countries.

Sends ſupplies to Mithridates.

a b c d e f

[t] JUSTIN. l. xxxviii. c. 3. APPIAN. in Mithridatic. p. 176. [u] JUSTIN. l. xl. c. 1, 2. [w] APPIAN. in Mithridatic. p. 216. STRAB. l. xi. p. 532. [x] STRAB. l. xiii. p. 609, 610.

a neither treat with him, nor ſee him, nor acknowledge him for his relation; however he promiſed to protect his perſon, and allowed him, in one of his caſtles, a princely retinue, and a table ſuitable to his former condition [y]. This total overthrow of *Mithridates* might well have made *Tigranes* open his eyes, and oppoſe with all his might the growing power of ſo formidable an enemy. But inſtead of that, leaving the *Romans* to purſue their conqueſts, he marches at the head of a very numerous army againſt the *Parthians*, with a deſign to recover the ſeventy vallies which the *Parthians* had extorted from him before they ſet him at liberty. Theſe he eaſily retook, and not ſatisfied with what had formerly belonged to the crown of *Armenia*, added to them all *Meſopotamia*, the countries that lay about *Ninus* and *Arbela*, and the fruit- *Reduces* Meſo-
b ful province of *Migdonia*, with the great and ſtrong city of *Niſibis*, called by the potamia.
Greeks Antiochia Migdonica, the *Parthians*, though at that time a mighty people, flying every-where before him [z]. From *Meſopotamia* he took his march towards *Syria* to quell a rebellion which had been raiſed there by *Cleopatra*, ſurnamed *Selene*, who, after the death of her husband *Antiochus Pius*, reigned jointly with her ſons in that part of *Syria* which *Tigranes* had not ſeized on. The malecontents were quickly reduced, that part of *Syria* which *Cleopatra* poſſeſſed, brought under ſubjection, and the queen herſelf taken priſoner, and confined to the caſtle of *Seleucia*, Phœnice.
where ſhe was ſoon after put to death by *Tigranes*'s order [a]. From *Syria* he paſſed into *Phœnice*, which he ſubdued either intirely, or in great part, ſpreading far and
c wide the terror of his arms; inſomuch that all the princes of *Aſia*, except thoſe that were joined in alliance with the *Romans*, either in perſon, or by their deputies, ſubmitted and paid homage to the conqueror. Among the others, *Alexandria* queen of *Judæa*, upon a report that *Tigranes* with an army of five hundred thouſand men was ready to fall upon her kingdom, diſpatched embaſſadors, loaded with rich preſents, to aſſure him, that ſhe and the whole nation of the *Jews* coveted nothing more than *And all* Syria
the friendſhip of ſo powerful a prince, which they were willing to cultivate by all *to the borders of* Egypt.
the good offices that lay in their power. The king, who was then employed in the ſiege of *Ptolemais*, which city not long after ſurrendered, commended them for undertaking ſo long a journey to do him homage, and bidding them be of good chear,
d ſent them back into *Judæa* [b]. *Appian* tells us, that *Tigranes* over-ran all the *Syrian* nations on this ſide the *Euphrates* to the borders of *Egypt* [c]; and *Lucullus* in *Plutarch* expreſsly ſays, that he made himſelf maſter of *Paleſtine*. But on the other hand, *Eutropius* [d] and *Joſephus* [e] write that he ſtopt in *Phœnice*, and was maſter but of part of that country. And now *Tigranes*, elated with a long and uninterrupted ſeries of victories and proſperous events, began to look upon himſelf as invincible, and far above the level of other crowned heads: he aſſumed the haughty title of *king of kings*, and had many kings waiting upon him in the nature of menial ſervants: he never appeared on horſeback without the attendance of four kings running by his horſe in livery: and when he gave anſwers to the nations that applied themſelves to
e him, they ſtood on either ſide the throne with their hands claſped together, that attitude of all others being accounted then among the orientals the greateſt acknowledgment of vaſſalage and ſervitude [f].

By this time *Lucullus* having intirely reduced the kingdom of *Pontus*, and want- Lucullus *ſends* Appius Claudius *to demand of him* Mithridates.
ing a pretence to fall upon *Tigranes*, ſent *Appius Claudius*, his wife's brother, with the character of embaſſador, to demand of him *Mithridates*, who, as we have hinted before, had retired into *Armenia*, and lived there under the protection of his ſon-in-law *Tigranes*. *Appius* on his journey perſuaded ſeveral princes, and among the others *Zarbienus*, king of the *Gordians*, to ſide with the *Romans* in caſe of a rupture between them and *Tigranes*. The embaſſador not finding the king at *Epidaphne*, or *Antioch*,
f he being gone from thence a few days before his arrival to reduce ſome cities of *Phœnice*, and being ordered to wait there till he returned, employed that time in ſoliciting the neighbouring cities to ſhake off the *Armenian* yoke, and join the *Romans* aſſoon as their army ſhould appear in thoſe parts, which they did accordingly. *Tigranes* being at laſt returned to *Antioch*, *Appius* in the audience which he had, told him abruptly, that he was come to demand *Mithridates*, as belonging to *Lucullus*'s triumph; and, in caſe he did not readily comply with his demand, to proclaim war againſt him. *Tigranes*, though no ways accuſtomed to ſuch freedom of ſpeech, anſwered with a

[y] Memnon. c. 48. Appian. ibid. [z] Plutarch. in Lucullo. Strab. l. xi. p. 532. Joseph. l. xiii. c. 24. Oros. l. vi. c. 3. [a] Strab. l. xvi. p. 749. [b] Joseph. Antiquitat. l. xiii. c. 24. [c] Appian. in Syriac. p. 118. [d] Eutrop. l. vi. [e] Joseph. ubi ſupra. [f] Plut. in Lucull.

great deal of temper, that he had not himſelf approved of *Mithridates*'s proceedings; but yet could not help having ſome regard for a man ſo nearly related to him; that all the world would condemn him, if he delivered his father-in-law into the hands of his ſworn enemies; he was therefore unalterably reſolved to ſtand by him, and protect him in his adverſe fortune; and if the *Romans* ſhould on that ſcore make war upon him, or invade his dominions, he was in a condition to pay them back in their own coin. He was greatly offended that *Lucullus* in his letter did not give him the title of *king of kings*, and therefore in his anſwer would not ſo much as give him the title of *general*. He offered great preſents to *Appius*, both for himſelf and *Lucullus*; but he accepted only of a gold cup, fearing the king might take it amiſs, if he rejected them all [e]. In the mean time *Tigranes* being informed that *Zarbienus* king of the *Gordians* had entered into a private alliance with the *Romans*, put him, his wife and children to death; and returning into *Armenia*, received with the greateſt pomp and magnificence imaginable his father-in-law *Mithridates*, whom to that time he had not admitted to his preſence, though the unhappy prince had reſided a year and eight months in his dominions; they held ſeveral private conferences, and in the end *Mithridates* was ſent back into *Pontus* with ten thouſand horſe to make a diverſion by raiſing there what diſturbances he could [f].

Whom he refuſes to deliver up.

a

b

ON the other hand *Lucullus* hearing of the king's reſolution, performed at *Epheſus* the vows which it was cuſtomary for the *Roman* generals to perform after having ſubdued a powerful enemy; ſo confident was he of ſucceſs. From *Epheſus* he marched back into *Pontus*, and from thence, after reducing the ſtrong city of *Sinope*, he began his march to *Armenia* with two legions only, and three thouſand horſe, having left *Sornatius* in *Pontus* with ſix thouſand men to keep that kingdom in awe, and defeat the deſigns of *Mithridates* [g]. He took his rout through *Cappadocia*, where his army was abundantly ſupplied with all manner of proviſions by *Ariobarzanes*, whom he had lately reſtored to that kingdom; and arrived in a few days at the *Euphrates*, which he paſſed without the leaſt oppoſition, where it ſeparates *Cappadocia* from *Armenia* (H). Having now entered the enemy's country, he detached two parties, one to beſiege a city, wherein he was informed that *Tigranes*'s concubines and great part of his treaſures were kept; the other under the command of *Sextilius* to block up *Tigranocerta*, in hopes of drawing the king to a battle. But *Tigranes*, after having put to death the ſcout that brought him the firſt intelligence of the *Romans* arrival, made towards mount *Taurus*, which he had appointed for the place of the general rendezvous [h]. *Lucullus* diſpatched *Muræna* in purſuit of the king, who having overtaken and engaged him in a narrow paſs, put the *Armenians* to flight, and, beſides all the king's baggage and carriages, carried back with him a great many priſoners, the king having fled in the beginning of the skirmiſh. *Sextilius* was attended with the like ſucceſs againſt a large body of *Arabians*, which he fell in with, as they were marching to join the king; for *Lucullus* had ſent out ſeveral parties to ſcour the country, and prevent the innumerable forces that were in full march on all ſides, from drawing into one body. But notwithſtanding all the diligence *Lucullus* could uſe, the king's army daily increaſed to a great degree, the *Gordians*, *Medes*, *Arabians*, *Adiabenians*, *Albans*, *Iberians*, and moſt of the inhabitants of the neighbouring kingdoms, flocking to him in great bodies, not ſo much out of any affection to the king, as upon a ſtrong perſuaſion, that the *Romans* were come into thoſe quarters with a deſign to ranſack the country, and plunder their wealthy temples: this opinion, which was induſtriouſly ſpread abroad by *Tigranes*, armed, we may ſay, all *Aſia* againſt *Lucullus* [i]. With theſe ſupplies the king's army, before he left mount *Taurus*, conſiſted, according to *Plutarch*'s [k] computation, of twenty thouſand archers and ſlingers,

Lucullus *marches into* Armenia.

c

d

e

f

[e] STRAB. l. xvi. p. 749. MEMNON. c. 48. [f] MEMNON. c. 57. & PLUT. in Lucul. [g] SALUST. hiſtor. l. iv. apud Nonium. MEMNON. c. 58. PLUT. APPIAN. ibid. [h] PLUTARCH. in Lucull. APPIAN. ubi ſupra. [i] PLUTARCH. ubi ſupra. CIC. in orat. pro lege Manilia. [k] PLUT. ubi ſupra.

(H) *Plutarch* informs us (7), that the *Euphrates*, being at that time ſwelled to an extraordinary height by reaſon of the winter rains, upon the arrival of *Lucullus* began to abate, inſomuch that the waters being reduced by the next morning within their banks, afforded him an eaſy and ſafe paſſage. Whereupon the inhabitants began to look upon him as a god, and were confirmed in their opinion by what they reckoned a great prodigy; for no ſooner had he paſſed the river, but one of the oxen conſecrated to the *Parian Diana*, though wild, and never caught without great difficulty by the barbarians, came of its own accord to offer itſelf to *Lucullus* for a ſacrifice. He offered alſo a bull to the deity of the river in thankſgiving for his ſafe paſſage.

(7) *Plutarch. in Lucull.*

fifty-

a fifty-five thouſand horſe, and a hundred and fifty thouſand foot all armed cap-a-pe, beſides thirty-five thouſand pioneers. But *Lucullus* was ſo far from being under any apprehenſion on account of the enemies numbers, that on the contrary the only thing he feared was, that *Tigranes* ſhould follow *Mithridates*'s advice, which was not to engage the *Romans*, but by ravaging the country diſtreſs them for want of proviſions, a leſſon he had learnt the year before at his own expence, ſince *Lucullus* by that means had made his army moulder away; and then carried ſeveral ſtrong places without ſtriking a blow. To divert the king from this reſolution, *Lucullus* determined to decamp, and joining *Sextilius* at *Tigranocerta*, to carry on the ſiege of that place in good earneſt, perſuading himſelf that *Tigranes* at the head of ſo numerous
b an army would never ſit ſtill, and ſuffer his wealthy metropolis to be taken and plundered under his eyes. As *Lucullus* imagined, ſo it fell out; for *Tigranes* having ſummoned a council of war, it was there unanimouſly reſolved to attack the *Romans*, and relieve the place, before the enemy could receive any new ſupplies; and *Taxiles*, whom *Mithridates* had ſent to diſſuade the king from venturing a battle, was in danger of loſing his head for diſapproving their reſolution. Purſuant to this determination, while the *Romans* were buſied in carrying on their attacks before *Tigranocerta*, the king's army all on a ſudden appeared on the tops of the neighbouring hills, and was welcomed with loud ſhouts and acclamations by thoſe who were in the city, the hills and dales echoing on all ſides *victory, victory*. The *Armenians* within the town
c flocking to the walls, menaced from thence the *Romans*, ſhewing them the king's forces on the hills. *Lucullus* finding by the enemies motions that they were reſolved to come to an engagement, left *Muræna* with ſix thouſand foot to continue the ſiege, and marched himſelf with ten thouſand foot only, and about a thouſand horſe, to meet the king, who upon a view of the *Roman* camp, turning to thoſe who attended him, *If theſe men*, ſaid he, *come as embaſſadors, there is enow of them; but if they come as enemies, they make but a very indifferent appearance* [l]. As *Lucullus* was drawing up his forces to paſs a river which parted the two camps, and to attack the enemy, one of his officers ſuggeſted to him, that that day was marked in the kalendar as unlucky, the *Romans* under the conduct of *Cepion* having been defeated on that very
d day by the *Cimbrians*: the general replied calmly, *It is therefore incumbent upon us to behave ourſelves with more gallantry, that ſo diſmal a day may henceforth become a day of joy and mirth for the people of* Rome [m]. The *Armenians* ſuffered *Lucullus* to ford the river without the leaſt moleſtation, which he had no ſooner done, than charging the enemy in perſon at the head of his ſmall army, to encourage his men, who were under no ſmall apprehenſion, he forced the right wing to give ground, and with great ſlaughter of the enemies penetrated to the very centre. The *Romans*, thus encouraged by the example of their general, plied the *Armenians* ſo warmly with their javelins, that the whole army began to give way, and ſoon after betook themſelves to a precipitous flight. The *Romans* purſued them a hundred and twenty fur-
e longs, trampling all the way on heaps of dead bodies, till night coming on, obliged them to give over the dreadful carnage [n]. In this battle *Lucullus* performed the duty both of an experienced commander, and a gallant ſoldier; whereas *Tigranes* behaved himſelf in a moſt cowardly manner, having quitted the field in the very beginning of the engagement, and, attended only by a hundred and fifty horſe, ſaved himſelf in one of his caſtles [o]. *Plutarch* informs us [p], that on the enemies ſide there fell a hundred thouſand of the foot, and that but few of the cavalry eſcaped; whereas of the *Romans* five men only were killed, and a hundred wounded. *Antiochus* the philoſopher, mentioning this fight [q], ſays, that the ſun never beheld the like; and *Livy*, that the *Romans* never fought at ſuch a diſadvantage as to numbers, the conquerors
f not equalling the twentieth part of the conquered (1). *Tigranes* on his flight meeting

Tigranes defeated by Lucullus.

[l] Memnon. c. 59. Plut. ubi ſupra. Appian. Xiphilin. ex Dione. [m] Plut. ubi ſupra. & in Camill. & in Apophthegmat. [n] Memnon. c. 59. Appian. in Mithridatic. [o] Memnon. & Plutarch. ubi ſupra. Oros. l. vi. c. 3. & Xiphilin. in epitome Dionis. [p] Plutarch. ubi ſupra. [q] Antioch. Philoſoph. in comment. de diis.

(1) *Phlegon* ſays, that of the *Armenians* five thouſand only were ſlain, and a great many made priſoners. *Oroſius* on the other hand writes (8), that thirty thouſand were ſlain in the battle, and a great many in the flight. *Plutarch*'s account ſeems to be greatly exaggerated, conſidering that the *Romans* were but eleven thouſand, or at moſt, according to the computation of *Eutropius*, *Sextus Rufus*, and *Jornandes*, eighteen thouſand.

(8) *Oros. l.* xvi. *c.* 3.

his

his ſon in as forlorn a condition as himſelf, reſigned to him, not without many tears, his diadem and royal robes, bidding him ſhift for himſelf, and ſave thoſe royal enſigns; the young prince delivered them to a truſty friend, who, being taken by the *Romans*, conſigned them to *Lucullus* [r]. a

IN the mean time *Mithridates* having levied a conſiderable army, was marching to join *Tigranes*; when he received the diſmal account of his overthrow, and ſoon after met the king himſelf quite diſheartened, and in a great dread of being taken by the *Romans*. *Mithridates* no ſooner ſaw him, but diſmounting from his horſe, he tenderly embraced him, and condoling his misfortune, reſigned to him his own retinue, and royal apparel. Having by this friendly treatment cheared him up, he encouraged him, inſtead of bewailing unfruitfully his preſent diſaſter, to rally his troops, raiſe new ſupplies, and with freſh vigour renew the war, not queſtioning but by a prudent conduct he might eaſily repair in another campaign all the loſſes he had ſuffered in that. *Tigranes* was ſo taken with this obliging deportment, that he not only promiſed to follow *Mithridates*'s advice, but moreover committed the whole management of the war to his conduct [s], owning him fitter to deal with the *Romans* than himſelf. This conference was no ſooner over, but *Tigranes* diſpatched meſſengers to all his prefects, enjoining them to raiſe what forces they could: *Magdates*, who had been governor of *Syria* for the ſpace of fourteen years together, was ordered to abandon that kingdom, and haſten with his army to the king's aſſiſtance: embaſſadors were ſent in the joint names of *Mithridates* and *Tigranes* to the neighbouring princes, particularly to *Arſaces* king of *Parthia*, ſolliciting them to riſe up in arms againſt the common enemy, whoſe unbounded ambition aimed at nothing leſs than the empire of all *Aſia* [t] (K). b c

WHILE the confederate kings were thus preparing to renew the war with more vigour than ever, *Lucullus* was employed in reducing the ſtrong-holds of *Armenia*. From the field of battle he marched back to *Tigranocerta*, which town was a few days after delivered up to him by the *Greek* mercenaries that were there in garriſon. Theſe *Mancæus*, governor of the place, diſtruſting their loyalty, had not only diſarmed, but was moreover going to ſeize them; which the *Greeks* ſuſpecting, provided themſelves with cudgels, and wrapping their garments about their arms inſtead of bucklers, fell upon the *Armenians*, and ſtripping thoſe they knocked down, enabled themſelves with their armour to attack and gain ſome of the forts, which they immediately delivered up to the *Romans*, and thereby put them in poſſeſſion of the town (L). d

Tigranocerta taken by Lucullus.

From

[r] MEMNON. PLUTARCH. OROS. XIPHILIN. ubi ſupra.
[s] PLUTARCH. ubi ſupra. MEMNON. c. 59.
[t] APPIAN. in Syriac. p. 118, 119, 133.

(K) Among the remains of the fourth book of *Saluſt*'s hiſtory, we read the entire letter of *Mithridates* to *Arſaces* on this occaſion; he extenuates the late victory, aſcribing it rather to the raſh and imprudent conduct of *Tigranes*, who engaged the enemy in narrow places, than to the *Roman* valour. Then addreſſing *Arſaces*, "But you, ſays he, who are lord "of the great city of *Seleucia*, and the powerful "kingdom of *Perſia*, who poſſeſs immenſe riches, "and are one of the greateſt potentates of *Aſia*, can "you think the *Romans* will ever ſuffer you quietly "to enjoy what the gods have liberally beſtowed "upon you? They are at war with all mankind, "but exert their cruelty chiefly on thoſe who "have wherewithal to glut their avarice. They "pillage kingdoms, ſell the inhabitants for ſlaves, "plunder the temples of the gods, acknowledging "no other law but their own arbitrary will and "pleaſure. However we are ſtill in a condition, "with your aſſiſtance, to defeat their impious de"ſigns. By ſhutting up the paſſes which lead from "*Armenia* into *Meſopotamia*, you may eaſily make "their army moulder away for want of proviſions, "and thereby gain to yourſelf the glory of ſuppreſ"ing great robbers, and relieving great kings. And "this is what I earneſtly intreat you to do, unleſs "you had rather increaſe one day with the addition of your own kingdom the power of the com"mon enemy, than by our friendſhip become a "conqueror yourſelf". However *Arſaces*, or rather *Farorus*, (for *Arſaces* was a name common to all the *Parthian* kings) could not be prevailed upon to come into *Mithridates*'s meaſures, having promiſed to the embaſſadors of *Lucullus* a ſtrict neutrality.

(L) So *Plutarch* and *Appian* (9), who agree in each particular. But *Dio* (10) informs us, that the inhabitants, moſtly *Cilicians*, upon a difference that aroſe between them and the *Armenians*, let the *Romans* into the town by night. *Memnon* ſays, that *Tigranes*'s commanders, having no hopes of relief, procured good conditions for themſelves, and ſurrendered the town to *Lucullus*, who beſides many other things of great value, found in the king's coffers eight thouſand talents in ready money: he allowed the ſoldiers to plunder the city, and moreover gave to each of them eight hundred drachma's; having found many players, gathered together from all parts by *Tigranes*, who was about to dedicate a new theatre, he employed them in interludes, which he exhibited for the diverſion of the ſoldiery (12): the wives of the chief officers he ſent back untouched to their husbands, and by that means gained them over to his ſide: the *Greeks* he ſent to their own country, giving them wherewithal to defray the expences

(9) *Plutarch. in Lucull. & Appian. in Mithridatic.* (10) *Dio, l.* XXXV. (11) *Memnon. c.* 59. (12) *Plutarch. ubi ſupra.*

a From *Tigranocerta Lucullus* marched into the ſmall kingdom of *Gordyene*, where he celebrated with the utmoſt pomp and magnificence the obſequies of king *Zarbienus*, whom *Tigranes* had put to death for entering into a private alliance with the *Romans*. *Lucullus* himſelf, after a ſhort ſpeech in commendation of the deceaſed, put fire to the funeral pile, which was the moſt ſtately and ſumptuous that ever had been ſeen in *Aſia*, being adorned with all the enſigns of royalty, and the richeſt ſpoils that were found in *Tigranocerta*. In this kingdom *Lucullus* found, beſides immenſe ſums of gold and ſilver, ſuch ſtore of proviſions, as enabled him to purſue the war without putting the republic to any manner of charges[t].

In the mean time the two confederate kings having levied new forces, were taking
b the field, and had appointed their troops to rendezvous in the ſpacious plains on the other ſide mount *Taurus*: Whereupon *Lucullus*, leaving *Gordyene*, began his march, and paſſing the *Taurus*, encamped cloſe by the enemy. There happened ſeveral skirmiſhes between the parties that were ſent out to forage, without any conſiderable advantage on either ſide; but *Lucullus* could by no means draw them to a general engagement. Whereupon he reſolved to decamp and lay ſiege to *Artaxata*, where *Tigranes* had left his wife and children with the greater part of his treaſures. But he had ſcarce formed his camp when the enemy appeared, and ſat down cloſe by him, with the ſmall river of *Arſimia* between the two camps. *Lucullus* did not allow them time to fortify their camp, but immediately drawing out his forces, paſſed the
c river, and charged the *Mardian* and *Iberian* horſe, in whom *Tigranes* chiefly confided, with ſuch vigour, that after a faint reſiſtance they betook themſelves to flight, and put the whole army in confuſion. The *Romans* purſued them all night with great ſlaughter, took the chief officers priſoners, and returned the next day to the ſiege loaded with an immenſe booty. In this battle there fell on the enemy's ſide more officers and perſons of diſtinction than in the former, though the ſlaughter was not near ſo great. *Mithridates* being under great apprehenſion of falling into the *Romans* hands, fled in the very beginning of the battle, and his example was ſoon followed by *Tigranes*, who withdrew into the moſt remote parts of his dominions. The *Romans* however could not prevail upon the governor of *Artaxata*, either by threats
d or promiſes, to ſurrender the city; and in the mean time great quantity of ſnow falling, and the cold growing very ſevere, though it was no later in the year than the autumnal equinox, the ſoldiers requeſted *Lucullus* by their tribunes to break up the ſiege, and allow them to retire into winter quarters; which he rejecting with indignation, the whole army having cauſed the retreat to be ſounded, retired in the dead of the night from before the city, and abandoned the enterprize, notwithſtanding all *Lucullus* could ſay or do to put them in mind of their duty. However he prevailed upon ſome of the legions to follow him into *Migdonia*, a warm and fruitful country, and there in hopes of a great booty to lay ſiege to *Niſibis* or *Antiochia Migdonica*[u]. This city was built by the *Macedonians*, as *Joſephus* informs us[w], and had
e been taken ſome years before from the *Parthians* by *Tigranes*, who had placed there many things of great value. It was very ſtrong of itſelf, and defended by a numerous body of choſen troops commanded by *Guras* brother to *Tigranes*, having under him *Callimachus*, who was famed for his skill in fortification, and had lately defended the city of *Amiſus* with incredible bravery. The *Romans* met with a warmer reception than they expected, but nevertheleſs after ſome months carried the place, having by the favour of a dark and ſtormy night, which had obliged the centinels to abandon their poſts, got over the ditch, and ſcaled the wall, without being perceived by the enemy. Thoſe who fled into the caſtle, ſurrendered upon terms, among whom *Guras*, who was treated very generouſly by *Lucullus*;
f but *Callimachus* he loaded with chains for having ſet on fire the city of *Amiſus* after the *Romans* had got poſſeſſion of it, and thereby deprived him of an opportunity of obliging the *Greeks* by preſerving it, as he intended to do. *Callimachus* promiſed to diſcover great ſums of gold which lay hid under-ground, provided he would give him his liberty; but could not by any means appeaſe his reſentment[x]. Here *Lu-*

Tigranes and Mithridates defeated by Lucullus.

The Roman ſoldiers mutiny againſt Lullus.

Niſibis taken by the Romans.

[t] Plutarch. ubi ſupra. [u] Plutarch. ubi ſupra. [w] Joseph. l. xx. c. 2. [x] Plutarch. ubi ſupra. & Dio.

expences of their journey: he gave alſo leave to the *Cappadocians*, *Cilicians*, *Iberians*, &c. who had been tranſplanted thither againſt their will, to return to their reſpective homes: and thus by the ruin of one, many cities, recovering their inhabitants, were reſtored to their ancient ſplendor, and ever afterwards looked upon *Lucullus* as their founder.

cullus paſſed the winter to the great ſatisfaction of the ſoldiery; but as he was preparing a
early in the ſpring to take the field, and march out againſt *Mithridates* and *Tigranes*,
who had again invaded *Cappadocia*, the legions refuſed to follow him, nor could he
bring them to a ſenſe of their duty, though he went in perſon from tent to tent,
embracing the moſt refractory, and intreating them with tears in his eyes to ſerve
but one campaign more, which, he aſſured them, would put an end to the war, and
inrich the conquerors with the ſpoils of two wealthy kingdoms. But all was to no
purpoſe; the mutineers, throwing their empty purſes at his feet, replied, that as he
had inriched himſelf alone, ſo he ſhould carry on the war by himſelf. Thus was
that great commander forced to ſit ſtill, and ſuffer the enemy to plunder before his
eyes the allies of the *Roman* people, and recover in great part the countries which b
he had taken from them. This ſedition was ſtirred up and fomented by *P. Clodius*, brother to *Lucullus*'s wife, a man of a reſtleſs and mutinous temper, and whom
Lucullus for his baſe behaviour had turned out of a commiſſion, which he himſelf
had given him. *Clodius* was ſupported by *Pompey*'s party at *Rome*, where *Lucullus*
was charged with ſpinning out the war in order to be continued in the command of
the army, which he employed, ſaid his enemies, not in ſubduing kings, but in plundering their countries, and inriching himſelf with the booty. The charge perhaps
was not ill-grounded; for had *Lucullus* after the firſt or ſecond battle purſued *Tigranes*,
he might very eaſily have prevented his raiſing a new army, and thereby have put an
end to the war; but the hopes of booty made him after both battles abandon the c
enemy, and attack thoſe places in which he had heard the king's treaſures were kept;
and truly the riches, which he heaped up in this and the *Mithridatic* war, are almoſt
inconceiveable. This gave his enemies a plauſible pretence to ſtir up the people
againſt him, having employed the forces of the republic in carrying on a war for his
own private ends. Whereupon a law was at laſt publiſhed by *C. Manlius*, tribune of
the people, whereby *Lucullus* was injoined to reſign to *Pompey* the legions and provinces under his command, together with the whole management of the war againſt
Mithridates and *Tigranes*. This law was greatly oppoſed, but to no effect, by the
nobility, who, though they did not approve of *Lucullus*'s conduct, yet could not
help thinking him highly injured by the people; ſince *Pompey* was ſent rather to d
take poſſeſſion of the ſpoils of a conquered enemy, than to carry on a war, and to
triumph rather than to fight [y]. *Lucullus* met *Pompey* at the caſtle of *Danala* in
Galatia, and endeavoured to perſuade him to return, ſince *Pontus* and *Armenia* were
already as good as conquered, and the kings not in a condition to oppoſe the *Roman*
forces; but *Pompey* anſwering that he could not do otherwiſe than obey the orders of
the republic, a quarrel aroſe between them, *Lucullus* upbraiding *Pompey* with an
unbounded ambition, and *Pompey Lucullus* with an inſatiable avarice; and neither
could be ſaid, as *Velleius Paterculus* obſerves, to lay any thing to the other's charge
that was not true [z]. At laſt *Pompey* removed his camp, forbidding under ſevere
penalties any one to come near *Lucullus*, or obey him; and *Lucullus* ſet out on his e
journey to *Rome*, where he was received by the ſenate with all poſſible marks of
honour and eſteem. He brought along with him great ſtore of valuable books,
with which he furniſhed his library, that was always open to men of learning [a].

Pompey ſent to ſucceed Lucullus *in the command of the army.*

The ſon of Tigranes *takes up arms againſt his father.*

IN the mean time *Mithridates* and *Tigranes* had over-run *Cappadocia*, and recovered
all *Armenia*, with great part of *Pontus*, and would have gained greater advantages,
had not *Tigranes*'s ſon, by name alſo *Tigranes*, taking up arms againſt his father,
obliged him to divide his troops. The father and ſon coming to a pitched battle,
the latter was put to flight, and forced to ſave himſelf in *Parthia*, where being
joined by the diſcontented *Armenians*, he perſuaded *Phrahates* king of the *Parthians*
to declare war againſt his father, and invade *Armenia*; which he did at the head of f
a very numerous army, laying ſiege to *Artaxata*, and obliging *Tigranes* the elder to
hide himſelf in the mountainous parts of his kingdom [b]. *Phrahates* finding the city
in a condition to ſtand a long ſiege, left part of his forces with *Tigranes* the younger,
and returned home; which *Tigranes* the father hearing, he immediately abandoned
the faſtneſſes of the mountains, and falling upon his ſon at the ſiege of *Artaxata*,
diſperſed the rebels with great ſlaughter, and entered his metropolis in triumph.
Tigranes the ſon fled firſt to *Mithridates*, but finding him reduced to great ſtraits,
having been overcome a few days before by *Pompey*, with the loſs of forty thouſand

[y] PLUTARCH. ubi ſupra. [z] VELLEIUS PATER. l. ii. c. 33. PLUTARCH. in Pompeio. [a] ISIDOR. Origin. l. vi. c. 3. & PLUTARCH. in Pompeio & Lucullo. [b] LIV. l. c. APPIAN. p. 242. DIO, l. XXXVI.

men,

men, he went over to the *Romans*, and led them into *Armenia* againſt his father, as an ally of *Mithridates*. By his advice *Pompey* marched againſt *Artaxata*, where the king then reſided, who hearing of his march, diſpatched deputies to him, offering to ſurrender the city upon certain conditions, which *Pompey* rejected at the inſtigation of *Tigranes* the younger, tho' the deputies brought along with them in chains the embaſſadors that *Mithridates* had ſent to ſollicit ſuccours againſt the *Romans*. Hereupon the king being quite diſpirited, and not in a condition, after the revolt of his ſon, to withſtand the enemy, took a reſolution to go and meet *Pompey* in perſon, and, as he had a great opinion of his clemency and good-nature, to put himſelf, without any reſerve, into his hands, and acquieſce to ſuch conditions as he ſhould think fit to grant him. Accordingly he ſet out for the camp, which was within fourteen miles of the city, and was met at ſome diſtance by a party of *Roman* horſe detached from the army to eſcort him. As he entered the works, two lictors ſent by *Pompey* deſired him to diſmount, nobody being allowed to come into the *Roman* camp on horſeback. The king readily obeyed, and unbuckling his ſword, delivered it into their hands. As ſoon as *Pompey*, who went on foot to meet him, appeared, pulling off his diadem, he threw himſelf at his feet; but *Pompey* embracing him, raiſed him up, and with his own hand put the diadem again on his head. He afterwards conducted him to his tent, and there gave him audience, ſitting between him and his ſon, who did not ſo much as riſe up when his father came in, nor take any notice of him [c]. The king expatiated in commendation of *Pompey*, ſaying, that he was come not to propoſe, but to accept whatever conditions he ſhould think fit to offer him; that he did not look upon it as any diſparagement to his royal dignity to own himſelf conquered by one whom fortune had raiſed above the reſt of mankind, and that he had ſuch an opinion of his juſtice, honour and generoſity, as to think himſelf ſafer in his camp than he could be in his own metropolis. *Pompey* afterwards invited them both to ſupper; but the ſon abſented himſelf, which was the firſt thing that made *Pompey* conceive ſome jealouſy of him [d]. The next day *Pompey*, after hearing both parties (for *Tigranes* had appealed to him for juſtice againſt his ſon) reſtored the kingdom of *Armenia* to the father, with the greateſt and beſt part of *Meſopotamia*; but ſet a fine upon him of ſix thouſand talents for making war upon the people of *Rome* without cauſe. To the ſon he gave the government of the provinces of *Gordyene* and *Sophene*; but the treaſures that were kept in the latter he adjudged to the father, becauſe, without them, he could not pay the fine. The ſon being thus diſappointed, endeavoured firſt to make his eſcape, and afterwards, by private meſſengers, ſollicited the inhabitants of *Sophene* not to deliver the treaſures to his father; which *Pompey* taking very much amiſs, cauſed him to be kept in irons, and even then he found means to ſtir up *Phrahates* king of the *Parthians*, whoſe daughter he had married, againſt the *Romans*, and to form a conſpiracy againſt his father's life; whereupon *Pompey* ſent him in chains to *Rome*, where he was kept in the houſe of *L. Flavius* a ſenator, till the tribuneſhip of *P. Clodius*, who being bribed with a large ſum of money, ſet him at liberty, in ſpite of *Pompey* and the ſenate [e]. The father willingly yielded to the *Romans Cappadocia*, *Cilicia*, *Syria*, and that part of *Phœnice* which he poſſeſſed, contenting himſelf with his paternal kingdom, and not only paid the fine laid upon him, but moreover made large preſents to *Pompey*, and to all the officers and ſoldiers of his army, which gained him the title of a friend and ally of the *Roman* people [f]. He afterwards waged war with *Phrahates* II. king of the *Parthians*, by whom he was overcome, and would have been driven out of his kingdom, had not a peace been ſoon concluded between them by the mediation of *Pompey* [g]. He ever afterwards cultivated a ſtrict friendſhip and amity with the *Romans*; inſomuch that he not only refuſed to receive *Mithridates*, who fled to him after he had been routed by *Pompey* near mount *Stella*, but even offered a reward of one hundred talents to any one that ſhould put him to death. His ſecond ſon alſo, by name *Sariaſter*, took up arms againſt him; but, by the aſſiſtance of the *Romans*, that rebellion was ſoon quelled. He died in the eighty-fifth year of his age, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Artuaſdes*, called by *Joſephus* [h] *Artabazes*, by *Oroſius* [i] *Artabanes*, and by others *Artoadiſtes*.

And leads Pompey *into* Armenia.

Tigranes puts himſelf into Pompey's *hands.*

Who reſtores him to the kingdom of Armenia.

Tigranes *dies.*

[c] Cicero pro Sextio. Eutrop. l. vi. Dio, Appian. ubi ſupra. Plut. in Pomp. & Lucull. [d] Vel. Patercul. l. ii. c. 37. & Dio, ubi ſupra. [e] Plut. & Dio, ubi ſupra. Cic. in orat. pro domo ſua. [f] Plut. ubi ſupra. Strabo, l. xi. p. 530. Vel. Pater. l. ii. c. 37. [g] Dio, l. xxxvii. Plut. ubi ſuppra. & Appian. p. 244. [h] Joseph. l. i. bell. Judaic. c. 13. & l. xv. c. 5. [i] Oros. l. xvi. c. 19.

Artuaſdes. *Year after the flood* 2962. *Before Chriſt* 37.

Artuaſdes I. out of a private grudge he bore to *Artavaſdes* king of *Media*, adviſed *Marc Antony*, as he was marching at the head of a powerful army againſt the *Parthians*, to invade *Media*, offering to ſerve him in perſon as a guide, and to aſſiſt him with all his forces. *Marc Antony* followed his advice; but in the mean time *Artuaſdes* being privately reconciled to the king of *Media*, he led the *Roman* army a long way about, over mountains, and thro' roads that were almoſt impracticable; inſomuch that they were obliged to leave behind them moſt part of their baggage, and all their warlike engines. At laſt he brought them into the province of *Atropatene*, where *Statianus*, who commanded a body of twenty thouſand *Romans*, being ſet upon by the *Medes* and *Parthians*, while his men were tired with their long and tedious march, was killed, and his whole army cut in pieces. *Polemo* king of *Pontus*, who had joined the *Romans*, was taken priſoner, and with him a great many commanders of diſtinction, who were come to ſerve in the *Roman* army; but of the *Romans* themſelves not one out-lived that battle. After this overthrow *Artuaſdes* marched back with his forces into *Armenia*, leaving *Marc Antony* at the ſiege of *Phrahata* in *Media Atropatena*, which he was ſoon after obliged to raiſe, and make a precipitate retreat into *Armenia*, being cloſely purſued the whole way by the joint forces of *Parthians* and *Medes*. After twenty-ſeven days march he paſſed the *Araxes*, which divides *Media Atropatena* from *Armenia*; and having here muſtered his army, found that he had loſt in that expedition twenty thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe, with all the military engines, and baggage of the army [k]. He was met on the frontiers of *Armenia* by *Artuaſdes*, whom he was ſo far from upbraiding with his treachery, that, on the contrary, he received him with greater demonſtrations of friendſhip and kindneſs than ever he had done before. Thus he diſſembled his reſentment for the preſent (and nobody was a greater maſter of the art of diſſembling than he) for fear of provoking the king, who had a powerful army on foot; whereas the *Romans* were in extreme want of all things, and no-ways in a condition either to face an enemy or purſue their march. He prevailed upon *Artuaſdes*, what by promiſes, what by his obliging behaviour, to allow his troops winter-quarters in *Armenia*; which being granted, he haſtened to the caſtle of *Leucocome* between *Berytus* and *Sidon*, where he had appointed *Cleopatra* to meet him. During his ſtay here he invited *Artuaſdes* into *Egypt*, pretending to have ſome affairs of great moment to impart to him; but the king, ſuſpecting his real deſign, excuſed himſelf, as tho' the affairs of his kingdom required his preſence. *Antony* ſuſpecting that the king miſtruſted him, to remove all jealouſy, ſent *Q. Dellius* to him, with the character of embaſſador, to propoſe a match between the king's daughter and his ſon *Alexander*, whom he had by *Cleopatra*; and then removed, as it was now the beginning of the ſpring, to the city of *Nicopolis* in *Armenia Minor*. From *Nicopolis* he diſpatched meſſengers to *Artuaſdes*, inviting him, as an ally of the *Roman* people, and a friend in whom he repoſed an intire confidence, to come and aſſiſt him with his advice in the war which he was about to undertake againſt the *Parthians*. The king again excuſed himſelf at firſt, but was in the end prevailed upon, partly by his friends, partly by *Antony*'s promiſes and repeated expreſſions of friendſhip and kindneſs, to wait upon him in his camp, where he was immediately ſeized, and by *Antony*'s order loaded with chains, and forced, thro' fear of a more ſevere treatment, to diſcover his treaſures, which *Antony* appropriated to himſelf. The *Armenians*, upon the news of the king's captivity, placed his eldeſt ſon *Artaxias* on the throne, who having ventured a battle with the *Romans*, was defeated, and obliged to ſhelter himſelf among the *Parthians*, leaving his new kingdom a prey to the inſatiable avarice of *Antony*, who returning into *Egypt* with a great booty, entered *Alexandria* in triumph, *Artuaſdes*, with his wife and children, being led by his chariot in golden chains. He afterwards preſented them to *Cleopatra* ſitting in a chair of gold; but neither the king, nor any of the *Armenian* captives could be induced to give her the title of queen, tho' *Antony* had commanded her to be honoured by all with the title of *queen of kings*. *Antony* beſtowed the kingdom of *Armenia* on *Alexander* his ſon by *Cleopatra*, whom he married to *Jotape* the daughter of *Artavaſdes* king of the *Medes*. As for *Artuaſdes* king of *Armenia*, he was not long after put to death by *Antony*'s orders, and his head ſent as a preſent to his rival the king of *Media* [l].

a b c d e f

Artuaſdes *treacherouſly taken, and put in irons by* Mark Antony.

Is put to death.

[k] Dio, p. 407. Vellei Patercul. l. ii. c. 8. Plut. in Anton. Liv. l. cxxx. p. 475. Joseph. l. xv. c. 5. Oros. l. vi. c. 11. Plut. in Antonio.

[l] Dio, l. xlix.

Artaxias,

a *Artaxias*, the eldeſt ſon of *Artuaſdes*, was by the *Armenians* proclaimed king upon the firſt news of his father's captivity; but being overcome by the *Romans*, as we have mentioned above, was obliged to abandon his kingdom, and fly into *Parthia*, from whence he ſoon returned at the head of a numerous army of *Parthians* and *Armenians*, and having defeated the *Medes* who were joined in alliance with *Alexander*, recovered his paternal kingdom; but did not long enjoy it, being ſtrangled, as *Tacitus* informs us [m], by the treachery of his neareſt friends, or driven from the throne, as we read in *Joſephus* [n], by *Archelaus* king of *Cappadocia*, and *Claudius Tiberius Nero* afterwards emperor. Artaxias II. *Year after the flood* 2967. *Before Chriſt* 32.

Artaxias II. being put to death, or, as others will have it, driven from the throne, Tigranes II.
b the kingdom of *Armenia* was by *Tiberius*, whom *Auguſtus* had ſent to ſettle the affairs of the eaſt, beſtowed on his younger brother *Tigranes*. *Tiberius* himſelf put the crown on his head, honouring him with the title of a friend and ally of the *Roman* people [o]. *Tigranes*, after a ſhort reign, was by *Tiberius*'s orders put to death, without any regard to the intimate friendſhip that had once paſſed between them, for keeping a private correſpondence with the enemies of *Rome*. He was ſucceeded, if we believe *Tacitus*, by his ſons [p], who performed nothing worth mentioning, the *Armenian* kings being now mere deputies of the *Roman* officers who governed the eaſtern provinces.

After the death of *Tigranes* and his ſons, the kingdom of *Armenia* was given by Artuaſdes II.
c *Auguſtus* to *Artuaſdes*, whom ſome will have to have been the ſon of *Artaxias* II. but the *Armenians*, already tired with the *Roman* yoke, drove him out, and called in *Phrahates* king of *Parthia*, chuſing to live in ſubjection to the *Parthians* rather than to the *Romans* [q]. This revolt gave great uneaſineſs to *Auguſtus*, who, as he was now ſtricken in years, could neither head the army in perſon, nor had he any one whom he could truſt with the command of it, *Tiberius* having withdrawn himſelf from all public affairs. At laſt he pitched upon *Caius*, whom he had not long before adopted, a youth of no experience, and quite unfit for ſuch an expedition, being then only in the nineteenth year of his age; however, at the approach of the *Roman* army, which was commanded, under *Caius*, by *Marcus Lollius*, whoſe daughter or niece
d *Caius* had married, *Phrahates* withdrew his army from *Armenia*, and ſued for peace; which *Caius* readily granted him, on condition that he ſhould give no manner of aſſiſtance to *Tigranes*, who, on the retreat of the *Parthians*, had cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed king [r]. *Caius* having now to deal with *Tigranes* alone, drove him in a few days out of *Armenia*; from whence, the war being ended there, and *Artuaſdes* reſtored to the throne, he marched into *Syria*. In the mean time *Artuaſdes*, or, as ſome ſtile him *Artabazes*, being dead, *Tigranes* ſent embaſſadors to *Auguſtus* with Tigranes III.
rich preſents, begging of him the kingdom of *Armenia*. As in his letter to *Auguſtus* he did not write himſelf king, the emperor accepted the preſents, and in his anſwer enjoined him, not without giving him hopes of obtaining his requeſt, to wait upon
e *Caius*, who was at that time in *Syria* [s]; but *Tigranes* truſting more to his ſword than the emperor's fair words, having raiſed a conſiderable body of *Armenians*, made himſelf maſter of ſeveral ſtrong holds, and thereby got poſſeſſion of great part of *Armenia*. This obliged *Caius* to quit *Syria*, and march his army back into the countries which he had left a few months before as quite ſettled. On his arrival, having put to flight and diſperſed *Tigranes*'s army, which was not in a condition to make head againſt him, he ſat down before the caſtle of *Artagera*. The governor of the place, not at all daunted at the ſight of ſo powerful an army, invited *Caius* to a private conference, as if he deſigned to betray the caſtle; and having inſenſibly drawn the unwary prince cloſe to the wall, dangerouſly wounded him, and got ſafe
f into the city. This treachery incenſed the *Romans* to ſuch a degree, that betaking themſelves to their arms, they carried the place by aſſault, and levelled it with the ground, after having put all the gariſon to the ſword (M). The other cities of

[m] Tacit. l. ii. Annal. c. 3. [n] Joseph. l. xv. c. 5. [o] Sueton. in Octav. c. 9. Dio, l. liv. p. 526. [p] Tacitus, ubi ſupra. [q] Flor. l. iv. c. 12. Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 100. Tacit. Annal. l. ii. c. 3. Dio, in Zonara & excerpt. a Fulv. Urſino. Sext. Ruf. in breviario. [r] Dio, legat. 39. in excerpt. ab Urſin. edit. [s] Dio, in excerpt. legat. a Fulv. Urſin. edit. Sextus Ruf. in brev.

(M) *Florus* relates the fact thus (13): *Domitius*, whom *Tigranes* had made governor of *Artaxata*, feigning a revolt, fell upon *Caius* while he was peruſing a paper which he had given him, as containing

(13) *Flor. l. iv. cap. ult.*

Armenia ſubmitted to the conqueror, and *Tigranes* being again driven out, *Ariobarzanes*, a *Mede* by birth, was, at the requeſt of the *Armenians*, placed by *Caius* on the throne [t]. After the reduction of *Armenia*, *Caius* falling into a lingering diſtemper occaſioned by his wound, reſigned the command of the army, and begged *Auguſtus* to give him leave to lead a private life in ſome remote corner of the earth, and not oblige him to ſhew himſelf at *Rome*, ſince the indiſpoſition of his body had, in no ſmall degree, likewiſe affected his mind. *Auguſtus* intreated him to return at leaſt into *Italy*; and he, with great reluctancy, undertook the journey, but died at *Limyra* a city of *Lycia* [u]. a

Ariobarzanes. *Ariobarzanes* did nothing worth mentioning. He was ſucceeded by *Vonones*, whom
Vonones. the *Armenians* choſe for their king, he being driven by his own ſubjects from the b
kingdom of *Parthia*, which *Auguſtus* had beſtowed upon him. *Vonones* was ſoon
obliged to abandon his new kingdom by *Artabanus* king of the *Parthians* and *Medes*,
Orodes. who had turned him out of his own. In his room he placed his own ſon, by name *Orodes*, who was not long after overcome by *Germanicus*, and forced to yield the crown to *Zeno* the ſon of *Polemo* king of *Pontus*, who, after his acceſſion to the crown, was called *Artaxias*, from the city of *Artaxata*, where he received the crown from *Ger-*
Artaxias III. *manicus* [w]. *Artaxias* enjoyed the crown peaceably for the ſpace of ſixteen years, and
Arſaces. was ſucceeded by *Arſaces*, whom his father *Artabanus* ſent, upon the news of *Arta-*
xias's death, to invade *Armenia*. *Arſaces*, with the aſſiſtance of the *Medes* and *Parthians*, without much trouble, got poſſeſſion of that kingdom; but was treache- c
rouſly murdered in the firſt year of his reign by his own ſervants, at the inſtigation of *Mithridates Iberus* and his brother *Pharaſmenes* king of *Iberia*, whom *Tiberius* had ſtirred up againſt him. *Artabanus* hearing of his ſon's death, ſent back his other ſon *Orodes* into *Armenia*, at the head of a numerous army, which was routed by *Pharaſ-*
menes, who ſingling out *Orodes* himſelf, dangerouſly wounded him, and would have diſpatched him, had not his guards come timely to his reſcue. *Pharaſmenes* being maſter of the field, took ſeveral cities by ſtorm, and amongſt others *Artaxata*, which he diſmantled. The *Parthians* being thus again driven out of *Armenia*, that king-
Mithridates Iberus. dom was given by *Tiberius* to *Mithridates Iberus* [x].
Year of the flood 2971. *Year before Chriſt* 28. IN the beginning of his reign, *Artabanus* having recovered his own kingdom, d
invaded *Armenia* the third time, and reduced great part of it, without any regard to the menaces of *Tiberius*; nay, in his anſwer to the emperor's letter commanding him to withdraw his forces from *Armenia*, he upbraids him with his parricides, murders, cruelty, incontinence and lazineſs; adviſes him to put an end to his ſcandalous and worthleſs life, and rid the world of ſuch an abominable monſter, by laying violent hands on himſelf; and adds, that as he had invaded *Armenia*, ſo he deſigned, after the reduction of that kingdom, to fall upon *Syria* [y]; but his deſign was prevented by the governor of *Syria*, who not only oppoſed his entering into that kingdom, but drove him out of *Armenia*. In the mean time *Caligula*, who had ſucceeded *Tiberius*, conceiving ſome jealouſy of *Mithridates Iberus*, cauſed him to be ſent in chains to e
Rome, where he was kept cloſe priſoner till the reign of *Claudius*, by whom he was reſtored to his kingdom [z]. During his impriſonment at *Rome*, the *Parthians* had ſeized on moſt of the ſtrong holds of *Armenia*, which he ſoon recovered with the aſſiſtance of his brother *Pharaſmenes* and the *Roman* legions. The *Romans* reduced the forts and cities, while the *Iberians*, under the command of *Pharaſmenes*, kept the field to make head againſt *Demonactes* general of the malecontent *Armenians*, who having ventured a battle, was ſlain, and his whole army cut in pieces. This victory

[t] TACIT. Annal. l. i. [u] VELL. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 102. ZONAR. ex Dion. TACIT. Annal. l. i. c. 3. SUETON. in Octavio. [w] JOSEPH. l. xviii. c. 3. TACIT. Annal. l. iii. c. 4. SUET. in Tiberio. c. 49. [x] TACIT. Annal. l. vi. c. 31 & 33. JOSEPH. l. xviii. c. 6. DIO, l. lviii. p. 638. [y] SUETON. in Tiber. c. 66. DIO, l. lix. p. 661. [z] DIO, l. lx. p. 670.

ing an account of the treaſures lodged in the city. He was wounded, adds *Florus*, but ſoon recovered. The *Romans*, having carried the place by aſſault, ſet fire to it, into which the governor, who was wounded, throwing himſelf, gave with his death ſatisfaction to *Caſar*, who out-lived him. *Sextus Rufus*, in his breviary, follows *Florus*; but as this had been tranſacted in *Parthia*, and not in *Armenia*, ſubjoins, that the *Parthians*, to atone for ſuch a piece of treachery, did then, for the firſt time, give hoſtages to *Octavianus Caſar*, and reſtored the enſigns which they had taken in the *Caſſian* war. He confounds what *Suetonius* (14) wrote of the *Parthians* with what others relate of the *Armenians*, miſtaking all along *Claudius* for *Caius*, which led *Jornandes* into the ſame miſtake, and alſo *Georgius Syncellus* in his *Greek* chronicle.

(14) *Sueton. in Octaviano, c.* 21.

put

a put *Mithridates* in poſſeſſion of all *Armenia* [a]; but he did not long enjoy his king- Mithridates.
dom, being taken off by a ſtorm, which broke out from a quarter whence he leaſt expected it. The fact is thus related by *Tacitus* [b]; *Pharaſmenes* had a ſon, by name *Rhadamiſtus*, a daring young man, of extraordinary parts, and no leſs beloved by his own countrymen for his obliging behaviour, than eſteemed by the neighbouring nations in regard of his military exploits. The uncommon affection which the *Iberians* of all ranks ſhewed him, joined to the eager deſire which he had betrayed on ſeveral occaſions of aſcending the throne, gave his father, who was advanced in years, no ſmall uneaſineſs. To divert him therefore from attempting any thing upon his own perſon or kingdom, he cunningly turned his thoughts upon *Armenia*, telling him, that that kingdom belonged of right, not to *Mithridates*, but to himſelf, who
b had reſcued it from the *Parthians*; and that the world might very juſtly condemn him as a mean-ſpirited prince, and an unkind father, ſhould he ſuffer his brother to enjoy quietly a kingdom that was due to his own ſon. Having thus inflamed the young man's ambition, they both agreed that the ſafeſt way to compaſs their deſign was at firſt to uſe policy; and that *Rhadamiſtus* pretending to fall out with his father, ſhould fly to his uncle *Mithridates*, as not being able to brook the ill-treatment he met with at home from his father and ſtep-mother. *Mithridates* pitying his condition, received and entertained him as if he had been his own child; but this kindneſs did not prevent *Rhadamiſtus* from privately ſtirring up to ſedition ſuch of the chief men as he found diſaffected to *Mithridates*; whom after he had gained and diſpoſed for a
c revolt, feigning a reconciliation with his father, he returned home, and acquainted him to what paſs he had brought matters by policy. *Pharaſmenes* thinking it now neceſſary to employ force, under pretence that *Mithridates* had diſſuaded the *Romans* from lending him any aid againſt the *Albanians*, ſent his ſon at the head of a powerful army to invade *Armenia*, and take revenge of ſuch an unnatural proceeding. This unexpected irruption, and the revolt of ſeveral chief lords of *Armenia*, obliged *Mithridates*, not knowing whom to truſt, to ſhut himſelf up in the caſtle of *Gorneas*, a place looked upon as impregnable, and defended by a *Roman* gariſon, *Cælius Pullio* being governor, and *Caſperius*, a man of no leſs honeſty than courage, his centurion. *Rhadamiſtus* having attempted in vain to reduce the place by force, and tired out his
d men without making any progreſs in the ſiege, had recourſe to another method, which was to offer the governor, whom he knew to be venal, a large ſum of gold, on condition he delivered *Mithridates* into his hands. *Pullio* ſhewed no diſinclination to this propoſal; but *Caſperius* openly proteſted, that no bribes ſhould ever prevail upon him to betray an ally of *Rome*, or ſuffer the kingdom of *Armenia*, a gift of the *Roman* people, to be ſhamefully ſold; however he agreed to a ſuſpenſion of arms, with a deſign to try in the mean time, whether he could perſuade *Pharaſmenes* to call home his ſon, and, in caſe of refuſal, to acquaint *T. Venidius Quadratus* governor of *Syria* with the poſture of affairs in *Armenia*. *Caſperius* was ſcarce departed, when *Pullio*, lying now under no check, began openly to treat with the enemy, and being
e gained with large ſums, forced, rather than perſuaded, *Mithridates* to conſent to an interview with his nephew. The time and place being appointed for the conference, *Mithridates* went out of the caſtle, attended by a ſmall guard, and was received with all the marks of friendſhip and reſpect by *Rhadamiſtus*, who falling down at his feet, embraced them, giving him, with great ſhew of tenderneſs, the title of father, and ſwearing by all the gods, that he ſhould not receive any hurt at his hands, either by the ſword, or by poiſon. Afterwards he invited him into a neighbouring grove, pretending he had cauſed a ſacrifice to be got ready there, that the peace might be confirmed, and their ancient friendſhip renewed in the preſence of the gods. It was a cuſtom among the orientals in thoſe days, in concluding a peace, or ſtriking an
f alliance, to join their right-hands, and bind together the thumbs of the contracting parties with a running knot, which, by one of the company, was drawn ſo tight, as to make the blood ſtart out at the leaſt prick. This blood they mutually licked, deeming their friendſhip ever after ſacred and inviolable, as being ratified by each other's blood. The perſon who was to perform this ceremony between *Mithridates* and *Rhadamiſtus*, taking hold of *Mithridates* unawares, threw him down on the ground, and others running in, loaded him with chains, and hurried him away, his wife and little children filling the air with their cries, till they were alſo apprehended,

[a] Tacit. Annal. l. xi. c. 8 & 9. [b] Idem, Annal. l. xii. c. 10.

and

and all thruſt into covered waggons, where they were kept under a ſtrong guard, a
Mithridates *treacherouſly murdered by his nephew* Rhadamiſtus. till *Pharaſmenes*'s pleaſure was known. That wicked prince, without any regard to the ties of friendſhip or blood, ordered his brother and daughter, who was wife to *Mithridates*, to be put to death without delay; which order was executed by his ſon, who, mindful of the oath he had taken not to hurt them by poiſon or the ſword, cauſed them to be laid on the ground, and preſſed to death. *Mithridates*'s children, who were very young, underwent the ſame fate, tho' *Rhadamiſtus* had received no ſuch orders, becauſe they bewailed their father's misfortune. The whole family of
Rhadamiſtus. *Mithridates* being thus extinct, *Rhadamiſtus* took poſſeſſion of the kingdom of *Armenia*; which when *Quadratus* governor of *Syria* underſtood, he ſummoned a council of the chief officers, to adviſe with them about the meaſures that were to be taken b on ſuch an extraordinary emergency. He himſelf was for purſuing with fire and ſword the authors of ſo cruel and treacherous an action; but moſt of the counſellors were of opinion, that no notice ſhould be taken of the death of *Mithridates*, alledging, that it was not their buſineſs to diſcountenance, but rather to promote, all manner of wickedneſs and treachery among the barbarians, that being odious to each other, and divided among themſelves, they might the more eaſily be kept in awe and ſubjection to *Rome*. They added, that the *Roman* princes, being well appriſed of this policy, had beſtowed *Armenia* ſometimes upon one, and ſometimes upon another family, with no other view than to raiſe jealouſies among the enemies of *Rome*, and ſet them together by the ears. This opinion prevailed; but however, leſt they ſhould forego c their right to the diſpoſal of *Armenia*, they diſpatched meſſengers to *Pharaſmenes*, injoining him to withdraw his troops from that kingdom. In the mean time *Julius Pelignus*, governor of *Cappadocia*, a noted coward, and no leſs contemptible for his perſon, than infamous for his vices, but highly in favour with the emperor *Claudius*, with whom he had formerly lived in great intimacy, having drawn together the auxiliaries of the provinces, as if he deſigned to recover *Armenia*, began to ravage and plunder the neighbouring provinces, without diſtinction of friend or foe. At laſt being abandoned by his own people, he had recourſe to *Rhadamiſtus*, whom he encouraged being gained by rich preſents, to aſſume the title of king of *Armenia*, and aſſiſted in perſon at his coronation; which when the governors of the neighbouring provinces d heard, that the ignominy of ſuch an infamous action might not redound upon them, they ſent *Helvidius Priſcus* with a legion into *Armenia*, to compoſe the unſettled ſtate of affairs in that kingdom; but were obliged to recal him before he could execute his commiſſion, being informed that *Tiridates*, at the head of a formidable army of *Parthians*, was already arrived on the frontiers, with a deſign to aſſert the ancient right of his family to that crown.

Tiridates was brother to *Vologeſis* king of *Parthia*, who, tho' he laid claim to the kingdom of *Armenia* as held by ſome of his anceſtors, and had even named his younger brother *Tigranes* to that crown, as ſoon as he aſcended the throne of *Parthia*, yet, as he did not care to engage in a war with the *Romans*, had kept quiet at home during e the reign of *Mithridates Iberus*, whom they had placed on the throne; but when he heard that *Rhadamiſtus*, by the murder of that prince, and deſtruction of his family, had uſurped a crown to which he had no imaginable right or title, he then aſſembled all his forces, and heading them in perſon, marched into *Armenia*, to aſcertain his claim by dint of arms. *Rhadamiſtus*, not daring to face ſo formidable an enemy,
Rhadamiſtus *driven out by the* Parthians. retired with his *Iberians* in proportion as the *Parthians* advanced. The cities of *Artaxata* and *Tigranocerta* voluntarily ſubmitted, and the other ſtrong holds were ready to follow their example; but in the mean time winter coming on, which proved very ſevere, and a great ſcarcity of proviſions enſuing, ſuch a mortality began to rage in the *Parthian* army, as obliged *Vologeſis* to abandon the enterprize, and in f all ſpeed return home.

UPON their departure, *Rhadamiſtus* again invaded *Armenia*, now more outrageous and bloody than ever, as incenſed againſt a people that had already abandoned him, and were ſtill ready to revolt on the firſt occaſion; inſomuch that the *Armenians*,
Returns, but is driven out again by the Armenians. tho' inured to ſlavery, could not brook his tyrannical government. Having therefore formed a conſpiracy, they roſe up in arms, ſecured the king's guards, and inveſted the palace, with a deſign to retaliate upon him his cruelty towards *Mithridates*; but both he and his wife *Zenobia* found means to make their eſcape on horſeback. *Zenobia*, who was big with child, being ſoon tired with the violence of the motion, and not able to keep up with her husband, begged him to deliver her by an g

honourable

a honourable death from an ignominious captivity. At firſt he embraced her with great tenderneſs, and encouraged her to bear the fatigue of the flight a little longer; but at laſt, finding that ſhe was ready to faint away, and being ſtruck with fear, leſt, if he left her, ſome other might poſſeſs her, he drew his ſcymiter, and having wounded her, dragged her to the banks of the *Araxes*, committing her body to the water. He himſelf purſued his flight full ſpeed, till he reached *Iberia* the kingdom of his father. In the mean time ſome ſhepherds finding the body of *Zenobia* floating near the ſhore, with manifeſt ſigns of life, and gathering from her beautiful aſpect that ſhe was of no mean rank, bound up her wound, and carried her to *Artaxata*; from whence, her name and misfortune being known, ſhe was conveyed, at the b expence and care of that city, to *Tiridates*, who received and entertained her as a queen [b].

Tiridates.

Not long after *Rhadamiſtus* returned again into *Armenia*, at the head of a powerful army of *Iberians*; but was anew driven out by the *Parthians*, who being ſoon obliged, by their inteſtine broils, to return home, that unhappy kingdom was the fourth time invaded by *Rhadamiſtus*, and he the ſame year forced by the *Parthians*, after they had ſettled their own affairs, to abandon it. The *Armenians* being thus haraſſed, and their country near quite deſtroyed by the *Parthians* and *Iberians*, reſolved to ſend a ſolemn embaſſy to *Rome*, to lay the ſtate of their deſolate nation before the emperor *Nero*, and beg him to give them a king that could deliver them c from the unexpreſſible calamities they groaned under. Hereupon the emperor appointed *Domitius Corbulo* to ſettle the affairs of *Armenia*, and divided the forces of the eaſt, ſo that part of the auxiliaries, with two legions, were to remain in *Syria*, under the command of *Numidius Quadratus* governor of that province, and an equal number of allies and *Romans* was aſſigned to *Corbulo*, with an addition of the cohorts and other troops which wintered in *Cappadocia*. The confederate kings were ordered to make ready their forces, and obey either, according to the exigencies of the war. The legions were completed, and poſted on the borders of *Armenia*; bridges were made on the *Euphrates*, and all things got ready to invade the *Parthian* territories; however, both *Corbulo* and *Quadratus* thought fit, before they began hoſtilities, to d exhort *Vologeſes* by meſſages to prefer peace to war, and, by the delivery of hoſtages, to maintain that reverence towards the *Roman* people which his anceſtors were wont to pay. *Vologeſes*, to gain time, and to remove, under the name of hoſtages, ſuch as might aſpire to the crown, delivered up the moſt illuſtrious of the family of *Arſacides*. They were received by *Hiſteius* a centurion, whom *Quadratus* had diſpatched to the king for this very end; which *Corbulo* no ſooner heard than he ſent *Arrius Varus*, prefect of a cohort, to take them; and hence a quarrel aroſe between the centurion and the prefect. The deciſion of the difference being referred to the hoſtages themſelves, and the deputies who conducted them, they preferred the pretenſions of *Corbulo* (N) [c].

e In the mean time *Vologeſes* having, with the utmoſt expedition, drawn together his troops, openly declared, that he would neither ſuffer his brother *Tiridates* to be driven from a kingdom which he himſelf had conferred upon him, nor to hold it as a gift from any other power. On the other ſide *Corbulo* was reſolved to recover what had been formerly gained by *Lucullus* and *Pompey*; and moreover, the *Armenians* implored the protection both of the *Romans* and *Parthians*, tho' they were, generally ſpeaking, more addicted to the latter, as being linked with them in marriages, and not unlike in manners. To *Corbulo* it proved a far greater labour to bring his troops under diſcipline than to ſubdue the enemy; for the legions brought out of *Syria*, by a long peace grown lazy and idle, bore with much impatience the toils of war. f There were many veterans among them that had never ſtood centry, nor had ever ſeen a camp or intrenchment, having fulfilled the time of their ſervice in cities, where they gave themſelves up to all manner of debauchery. *Corbulo* therefore having diſcharged ſuch as were unfit for military duties, cauſed levies to be made in *Cappadocia* and *Galatia*, and to theſe was added a legion from *Germany*, with ſome troops of

[b] Tacit. Annal. l. xii. c. 10.

[c] Tacit. Annal. l. xii. c. 2.

(N) This occaſioned a miſunderſtanding between the generals: *Quadratus* complained, that he had been unjuſtly deprived of what he had compaſſed by his own counſels; and *Corbulo*, on the contrary, maintained, that the king had ſhewn no inclination to deliver hoſtages, till he himſelf, being appointed general, had changed his hopes into fear. *Nero*, to put an end to their jarrings, ordered by an edict, that, for the ſucceſsful conduct of *Quadratus* and *Corbulo*, the laurel ſhould be annexed to their faſces.

horſe, and a detachment from the cohorts. To inure the ſoldiery to hardſhips, he a
kept the army encamped in the open fields the whole winter, tho' the froſt was ſo
violent, that they could not, without much labour, break the ground in order to
pitch their tents. Many loſt the uſe of their limbs by the cold; and ſome, as they
ſtood centry, were frozen to death. The fate of one ſoldier was very remarkable;
for his hands, as he carried a bundle of wood, mortified, and, as he ſtill claſped
the burden, dropped from his arms as if they had been cut off. *Corbulo* himſelf, in a
thin habit, and bare-headed, whether they marched or worked, was continually
encouraging them, more by his example than by ſpeeches. As many, refuſing to
bear the rigour of the ſeaſon, began to deſert, he had recourſe to ſeverity; for he
did not proceed as in other armies, where the firſt and alſo the ſecond offence was b
forgiven; but inſtantly put to death ſuch as deſerted their colours. *Corbulo* had
poſted his cohorts in convenient places, under the command of *Pactius Orphitus*, whom
he warned not to engage the enemy under any pretence whatſoever, but to keep
within his trenches, and wait for greater forces; but he, upon the arrival of ſome
few troops of horſe, who raſhly demanded battle, having engaged the enemy, con-
trary to the general's orders, was ſhamefully put to flight. This event gave great
concern to *Corbulo*, who, after having bitterly reproached *Pactius* and the other
commanders, expelled them all from the camp, ordered them to lie without tents or
defence, and kept them under this ignominious puniſhment, till they were releaſed
at the interceſſion of the whole army. c

Corbulo having thus brought his ſoldiers under good diſcipline, early in the ſpring
invaded *Armenia*; but could by no means draw *Tiridates* to a battle, tho' his army
was ſuperior in number to that of the *Romans*. Having therefore divided his forces,
he ordered his ſeveral lieutenants to attack at once divers quarters; and at the ſame
time directed king *Antiochus* to fall upon that part of *Armenia* which bordered upon
his dominions. *Pharaſmenes* too, king of *Iberia*, having put to death his ſon *Rha-
damiſtus*, and thereby freed himſelf from all apprehenſion of diſturbances at home,
ravaged thoſe parts of *Armenia* which lay contiguous to his kingdom. The *Inſe-
chians*, a nation never before confederate with the *Romans*, being gained over by
Corbulo, poſſeſſed themſelves of ſeveral ſtrong holds, and from thence infeſted, with d
continual incurſions, ſuch as adhered to the *Parthians*. *Tiridates* being thus ſur-
rounded on all ſides by enemies, diſpatched embaſſadors to *Corbulo*, to expoſtulate,
in his own name and that of the *Parthians*, upon what ſcore it was, that, after he
had ſo lately delivered hoſtages to the *Romans*, and renewed with them his former
friendſhip, he muſt yet be driven out of *Armenia*, a kingdom ſo long enjoyed by his
anceſtors. He added, that his brother *Vologeſes* had not as yet taken up arms, becauſe
they both deſired to put an end to all differences by the way of accommodation rather
than by the ſword; but if war were ſtill to be obſtinately purſued by the *Romans*, he
hoped that the *Arſacides* would not find themſelves forſaken by that courage and
fortune, which their enemies had often tried to their coſt. *Corbulo*, who was well e
informed, that not a deſire of peace, but the revolt of *Hyrcania* was what kept *Volo-
geſes* from aſſiſting his brother in perſon, in his anſwer to this embaſſy, adviſed *Tiri-
dates* to recur to the emperor, and acknowledge his ſovereignty, by accepting the
crown as a gift of the people of *Rome*, aſſuring him, that by cloſing with the mea-
ſures which he ſuggeſted, he ſhould enjoy the kingdom of *Armenia*, without any
Tiridates *driven out by* Corbulo. diſturbance from the *Romans*. Hereupon *Tiridates* propoſed an interview with the
Roman general; for which the time and place being appointed, *Tiridates* delared,
that he would come attended only by a guard of a thouſand horſe, but would not
reſtrain *Corbulo* to any number of troops, provided they came diſarmed, as a proof
of their diſpoſition to peace. From this propoſal *Corbulo* was fully convinced, that f
nothing but ſnares could be intended; however, diſſembling all his apprehenſions,
he returned anſwer, That matters which concerned the intereſt of both nations, would
be more properly diſcuſſed in preſence of both armies, and accordingly choſe a place
fit for drawing up his forces. On the day appointed, he advanced with his troops
in battle array; but *Tiridates* did not appear till it was very late, and at ſuch a
diſtance that he could hardly be heard; ſo that *Corbulo* ordered his men to retire to
their ſeveral camps; and ſoon afterwards dividing them into three bodies, invaded
Armenia, and reduced moſt of the ſtrong holds held by *Tigranes*. He ſtormed in
perſon the fort of *Volandum*, and put to the ſword all that were arrived to full age,
without the loſs of one man. Equal ſucceſs attended the other commanders, who, g
in

a in one day, took three caſtles by ſtorm; inſomuch that all the others voluntarily ſubmitted. Such a ſeries of good fortune encouraged the *Roman* general to attempt the ſiege of *Artaxata*; which *Tiridates* having in vain endeavoured to prevent, the citizens opening their gates, made an unreſerved ſurrender; whereby their perſons were ſaved, but the city was fired, and laid level with the ground, the walls being of ſuch a wide circuit, that they could not be defended without a numerous gariſon, which *Corbulo* could not ſpare, and at the ſame time proſecute the war. After the demolition of *Artaxata*, he marched his army againſt *Tigranocerta*, which not only ſubmitted to the conqueror, but moreover preſented him with a golden crown, as a token of hoſpitality and friendly reception; whereupon the town was ſpared, and
b the inhabitants left in the full enjoyment of their former privileges.

Tigranes.

Crobulo having thus ſubdued all *Armenia*, *Tigranes* was preferred by *Nero* to that crown. He was the ſon of that *Alexander* who was put to death by his father *Herod the Great*, and of *Glaphira* daughter to *Archelaus* king of *Cappadocia*. Upon the new monarch *Nero* beſtowed a guard of a thouſand legionary ſoldiers, three cohorts, and two wings of horſe, to ſupport him in maintaining his new kingdom. As he had lived many years at *Rome* in the quality of a hoſtage, he was intirely addicted to the *Roman* intereſt, and aſſumed no more power than if he had been one of their deputies. Several parts of *Armenia* were ſubjected to the neighbouring kings, *Pharaſmenes*, *Polemon*, *Ariſtobulus*, and *Antiochus*, by way of reward for their ſervices againſt *Tiri-*
c *dates* and the *Parthians*. *Corbulo* having thus ſettled the affairs of *Armenia*, withdrew into *Syria*; which province was aſſigned to him upon the death of *Numidius Quadratus* the late governor. In the mean time *Vologeſes*, hearing that his brother was driven from the throne, and a ſtranger eſtabliſhed king of *Armenia*, raiſed two powerful armies, one of which he ſent into *Armenia* under the conduct of *Moneſes*, an experienced officer; and the other he headed in perſon, with a deſign to make an inroad into the *Roman* provinces; but *Moneſes* being obliged to raiſe the ſiege of *Tigranocerta*, and *Corbulo* having in time diſpoſed his troops along the banks of the *Euphrates*, ſo as to obſtruct the enemy's march into *Syria*, which province *Vologeſes* intended to invade in perſon, the *Parthians* ſued for peace, and, at the threats of *Cor-*
d *bulo*, withdrew their forces from *Armenia*; however *Vologeſes*, that he might not ſeem to give up his claim to that kingdom, ſent embaſſadors to *Rome*, to beg it of the emperor for his brother *Tiridates*; but the embaſſadors returning unſucceſsful, *Vologeſes* concluded a peace with the *Hyrcanians*, and turned all his forces againſt the *Romans*, with a deſign to recover *Armenia*, and ſettle his brother on that throne at any rate. *Cæſennius Pætus*, whom *Nero* had charged with the care of *Armenia*, having notice of his deſign, marched with two legions to the aſſiſtance of *Tigranes* (O); but was ſoon obliged to return for want of proviſions. He took indeed a few forts, but could not hold them, the *Parthians* having laid waſte all that part of the country. In the mean time *Vologeſes* having raiſed a formidable army, took his rout towards *Syria*,
e which province he deſigned to invade, and thereby oblige the *Romans* to withdraw their troops from *Armenia*; but finding the banks of the *Euphrates* carefully guarded by *Corbulo*, he gave over all thoughts of making an inroad into *Syria*, and turned all his hopes and efforts towards *Armenia*. Here he beſieged *Pætus* in his winter-quarters, who not having courage enough to hold out till the arrival of *Corbulo*, who was in full march to join him, deſired a conference with the king. *Vologeſes* refuſed to come in perſon, but ſent *Vaſaces*, his general of horſe, to hear what *Pætus* had to propoſe. In this interview, after a long debate, it was agreed between them, that the *Romans* ſhould be releaſed from the ſiege; that with all their forces they ſhould depart the territories of *Armenia*, and deliver up all their fortreſſes and ſtores
f to the *Parthians*, who, after a complete performance of theſe articles, ſhould have free privilege to ſend embaſſadors to *Rome*. In the mean time *Pætus* laid a bridge over the river *Arſanias*, which flowed cloſe to his camp, under colour of marching off that way; but it was in reality a work injoined him by the *Parthians*, as a monu-

The Romans, *under the command of* Pætus, *ſhamefully driven out of* Armenia *by* Vologeſes *king of* Parthia.

(O) *Tacitus* informs us (15), that an unlucky omen accompanied his entrance into *Armenia*; for in paſſing over the *Euphrates*, which he croſſed upon a bridge, the horſe which carried the conſular ornaments, took all on a ſudden a fright, and fled back. Moreover, a victim which ſtood by the works as they were fortifying their quarters againſt winter, broke violently through, leaped quite over the pales, and fled. He adds, that the ſoldiers javelins took fire of themſelves, which ſeemed the more ominous, becauſe the *Parthians*, whom they were marching againſt, uſed no other weapons.

(15) *Tacitus Annal. l.* XV. *c.* 2.

ment

ment of their victory, for the *Romans* took a different rout. Before the *Roman* army decamped, the *Armenians*, in an inſulting manner, entered their works, beſet all the avenues, challenged and carried away whatever the *Romans* had got by plunder; nay, they even ſtripped the *Romans* of their cloaths, and ſeized their arms, the ſoldiers yielding whatever the enemy thought proper to take, to cut off all occaſion of a quarrel. *Vologeſes* raiſed a pompous heap of all the arms and bodies of the ſlain, as a monument of his victory; and *Pætus* withdrew into *Cappadocia*, marching forty miles a day, and every-where dropping and forſaking his wounded, as if he had been cloſe purſued by the enemy. On his return to *Rome*, *Nero* upbraided him with his ſhameful behaviour; but immediately added, that he freely forgave him, leſt the apprehenſion of puniſhment, as he was of ſo fearful a temper, ſhould throw him into ſome dangerous diſtemper [c]. *Vologeſes*, after the defeat of *Pætus*, ſent embaſſadors to *Corbulo*, deſiring him to withdraw his ſeveral gariſons from beyond the *Euphrates*, and let the river remain, as formerly, the common boundary to both empires. *Corbulo* too inſiſted, that all the *Parthian* gariſons ſhould evacuate *Armenia*; which the king complying with, all the fortifications raiſed by *Corbulo* on the other ſide *Euphrates* were demoliſhed. Thus, both by the king and *Corbulo*, the *Armenians* were left to their own diſpoſal; for *Tigranes* died ſoon after the invaſion of the *Parthians*. In the mean time the embaſſadors of *Vologeſes* arrived at *Rome*, deſireing that the kingdom of *Armenia* might be beſtowed upon *Tiridates*, and a peace concluded between the *Parthians* and *Romans*. They expatiated on the clemency and moderation which *Vologeſes* had ſhewn to *Pætus* and the legions, in diſmiſſing them free and unhurt, when it was in his power to have made them all ſlaves, or put them to the ſword; and added, that *Tiridates* would not refuſe coming to *Rome* to receive there the crown; but that, as he was a *Magian*, the religious laws of his prieſthood with-held him. He was ready however to addreſs himſelf to the *Roman* enſigns, and the images of *Cæſar*; and there, in the preſence of the legions, receive the inveſtiture of the kingdom. The embaſſadors being heard, it was unanimouſly reſolved in a council of the chief men of the city, that war ſhould be made upon the *Parthians*, and the whole management thereof committed to *Corbulo*, who, by the experience of ſo many years, knew both the ſoldiery and the enemy. The embaſſadors were therefore diſmiſſed without obtaining their ſuit, but loaded with rich preſents, thence to give hopes, that, were *Tiridates* to ask in perſon, he would not ask in vain. The government of *Syria* was committed to *Seſtius*, and to *Corbulo* were granted all the forces, which were increaſed by the fifteenth legion led by *Marius Celſus* from *Pannonia*. Orders were alſo ſent to the kings and tetrarchs in the eaſt, and to all the governors and ſuperintendants of the neighbouring provinces, to pay intire obedience to the orders of *Corbulo*, who was truſted with the ſame extenſive and unlimited authority which the *Roman* people had conferred upon *Pompey* in his expedition againſt the pirates. *Corbulo* having, in the beginning of the ſpring, drawn together all his forces, entered *Armenia*, took and razed ſome caſtles, and with his very name ſtruck terror into the whole country; inſomuch that *Tiridates* ſent embaſſadors to demand a ceſſation of arms, and to agree with him on a day and place for a conference; which being appointed, *Corbulo* ſent one *Tiberius Alexander*, an illuſtrious *Roman* knight, and *Vivianus Annius*, his own ſon-in-law, to the camp of *Tiridates*, under colour of paying him a viſit, but in reality to remove from him all apprehenſion of treachery or unfair dealings, which he could not well fear ſo long as he was poſſeſſed of ſuch hoſtages [d]. The king and *Corbulo* took each twenty horſe, and advanced to the place of the interview. As ſoon as *Corbulo* appeared, the king leaped from his horſe, and *Corbulo* returning the compliment, both on foot joined their right hands. The general commended the prudence and wiſdom of *Tiridates* for preferring peace to war, and chuſing rather to compoſe their differences by way of treaty than by dint of arms. The king at firſt expatiated on the nobility and ſplendor of his family; but purſued the reſt of his diſcourſe with a great deal of modeſty and condeſcenſion, ſaying, that he would travel to *Rome*, and there preſent a new ſubject of glory to *Cæſar*, a prince of the *Arſacides* his ſuppliant, and that at a time when the *Parthians* were rather victorious than daunted by any misfortune. It was then agreed, that he ſhould reſign the royal diadem before the image of *Cæſar*, never to reſume it more except from the hand of *Nero*; and thus ended the confer-

Corbulo *invades* Armenia

A conference between him and Tiridates.

[c] TACITUS Annal. l. xv. c. 4. [d] TACITUS Annal. l. xv. c. 6 & 7.

ence.

a ence. A few days after the two armies met with great parade and oſtentation. On one ſide ſtood the *Parthian* horſe, ranged into troops, and diſtinguiſhed by the ſtandards of their ſeveral nations. On the other were poſted the legions, with their enſigns diſplayed, and the figures of the deified emperors repreſented like deities in a temple. In the centre was placed a tribunal, which ſupported a chair of ſtate with *Nero*'s image. To this *Tiridates* approached, and having, according to cuſtom, offered ſacrifices, pulled off his crown, and laid it at the feet of the ſtatue. The ceremony being over, *Corbulo* entertained the king with a ſumptuous banquet, who ſeemed to be greatly taken with the *Roman* cuſtoms. The next day he deſired time to viſit his brothers and his mother before he undertook ſo long a journey; and in the
b mean time left his daughter as an hoſtage, with letters of ſubmiſſion to be ſent to *Nero*. Thus he departed, and found *Pacorus* his younger brother in *Media*, and his elder brother *Vologeſes* at *Ecbatana*, who, not unmindful of *Tigranes*'s concerns, had, by a ſpecial embaſſy, deſired of *Corbulo*, that his brother might bear no marks of ſlavery, nor be obliged to ſurrender his ſword, nor be debarred from embracing the governors of provinces, nor ſtand waiting at their gates for admittance; and that in *Rome* the ſame honour ſhould be paid him as was paid to the conſuls [e]. He was received at *Rome* by *Nero* with the utmoſt magnificence, and entertained, during his ſtay in that city, at the expence of above ſix thouſand pounds a day. On the day appointed for his inauguration, the emperor appeared at the roſtra, ſitting in a curule
c chair, attired with a triumphal habit, and ſurrounded by his guards and the cohorts, with their enſigns diſplayed, and their colours flying. *Tiridates* approaching his chair, fell down at his feet; but the emperor immediately raiſed him with his right-hand, and honoured him with a kiſs. Then *Tiridates* pronounced his ſpeech, wherein he begged *Nero* to beſtow upon him the kingdom of *Armenia*, which he ſhould always acknowledge as a gift of *Rome*. Having ended his ſpeech, which was interpreted to the vaſt crowds of ſpectators by a *Roman* of the pretorian rank, and pulled off his tiara, *Nero*, with his own hand, placed the diadem on his head. From the roſtra they proceeded to the theatre, where the emperor placed *Tiridates*, after he had renewed his ſupplication, on his right-hand. After he had been ſome time entertained in
d *Rome* at an incredible expence, *Nero* diſmiſſed him, and, on his departure, preſented him with a ſum to the amount of near eight hundred thouſand pounds to defray the expences of his journey [f]. He not only allowed him to rebuild the city of *Artaxata*, which *Corbulo* had demoliſhed; but moreover ordered ſuch *Roman* builders and artificers as the king deſired, to attend him into *Armenia*. By the direction and aſſiſtance of theſe he reſtored that city to its former ſplendor, and by way of acknowledgment called it *Neronia*, from the name of his benefactor. He was ever after faithful to the *Romans*, who aſſiſted him in recovering great part of his kingdom taken from him by the *Albani*, who, after having over-run *Media*, and driven his brother *Pacorus* from that throne, had with a mighty army invaded *Armenia*.
e *Tiridates* met them on the frontiers, and having ventured a battle, his army was routed, and himſelf narrowly eſcaped being taken priſoner. He reigned nine years after his return from *Rome*, and was ſucceeded by ſeveral kings, who held the crown as vaſſals of the *Roman* empire, being either appointed or confirmed by the emperors. In this ſtate *Armenia* continued till *Trajan*'s time, who adding *Meſopotamia* to his dominions, reduced the ancient kingdom of *Armenia* to the form of a province, and made the *Tigris* the eaſtern boundary of the empire, which *Auguſtus* had thought fit to extend no farther than the banks of the *Euphrates*; but it ſoon recovered its liberty, and was again governed by its own kings in the reign of *Conſtantine the Great*, and his ſucceſſors, to whom the kings of *Armenia* were feudatories. In the reign of *Juſti-*
f *nian* II. the *Saracens* ſubdued, and held it till the irruption of the *Turks*, who poſſeſſed themſelves of this kingdom, and gave it the name of *Turcomania*. The *Turks*, after the reduction of *Armenia*, invaded *Perſia*, and other countries ſubject to the emperors of the eaſt, which gave the *Armenians* an opportunity of ſhaking off the *Turkiſh* yoke, and ſetting up kings of their own, by whom they were governed till the country was again ſubdued by *Occadan*, or, as ſome ſtyle him, *Heccata*, the ſon of *Cingis*, and firſt cham of the *Tartars*. Neither was the conqueſt of *Armenia* by the *Tartars* ſo abſolute as to extirpate the race of their kings; ſeeing we read of *Haithon*, ſurnamed the *Armenian*, reigning ſome time after, and going in perſon to treat with

Tiridates crowned at Rome *by the emperor* Nero.

[e] Tacitus, ubi ſupra. [f] Sueton. in Nerone.

Mongo the great cham of *Tartary*, of the concerns of his kingdom; and in our own chronicles we find mention made of *Leo* king of *Armenia*, who, in the reign of *Richard* II. came into *England* to ſue for aid againſt the *Turks*, by whom he had been driven from his kingdom. In the year 1472 of the *Chriſtian* æra, *Uſſan Caſſanes* king of *Armenia* ſucceeding to the crown of *Perſia*, made *Armenia* a province of that empire; in which ſtate it continued till the year 1522, when it was ſubdued by *Selim* II. and made a province of the *Turkiſh* empire. Some ſay, that *Selim* I. reduced it on his return from *Perſia*, where he had gained a complete victory over the great ſophi *Iſmael*. But *Sanſovin* aſſures us, that in the reign of *Selim* I. who died in 1520, both the *Leſſer* and *Greater Armenia* had their own kings; and adds, that *Selim* cauſed the head of the king of the *Leſſer Armenia* to be cut off and ſent to *Venice*, as a mark of his victory. We read no-where elſe of any kings of *Armenia* after it became a province of *Perſia*. Be that as it will, the *Turkiſh* annals cited by *Calviſius* inform us, that *Selim* II. conquered *Armenia* in 1522, ſince which time it has ever continued ſubject to the *Turks*, except the eaſtern part, which the *Perſians* are maſters of to this day.

a

b

SECT. III.

The hiſtory of Armenia Minor.

Armenia Minor was bounded on the eaſt by the *Euphrates*, parting it from *Armenia Major*; on the ſouth by mount by *Taurus*, ſeparating it from *Cilicia*; on the weſt and north by a long chain of mountains, called in different places *Mons Scordiſcus*, *Amanus*, and *Antitaurus*. By theſe mountains it is divided from *Cappadocia*. It is a very mountainous country; but the mountains are here and there interſperſed with pleaſant and fruitful vales, abounding with oil and wine no-ways inferior to the beſt of *Greece*. This country was a part of *Cappadocia* till the reign of *Antiochus the Great*, when *Zadriades* and *Artaxias* ſeizing on *Armenia*, and adding it to ſome of the neighbouring provinces, introduced the diſtinction of *Armenia the Greater* and *Leſſer*. In the time of the *Romans* it was divided into theſe four provinces, *Laviana*, *Mariana*, *Aravena* and *Melitene*, each of which had their ſeveral cities, all mentioned by *Ptolemy*; but thoſe of chiefeſt note were, *Melitene*, ſituate in the province of that name, and the metropolis of *Armenia Minor*. It was afterwards called *Malaxia*, and now *Suur*. It is ſaid by *Onuphrius* to be a colony of the *Romans*; and is celebrated by *Euſebius* and other eccleſiaſtic writers for the piety of the *Chriſtian* inhabitants during the time of perſecution. *Nicopolis*, built by *Pompey* in memory of a ſignal victory obtained over *Tigranes the Great*, whence it is ſtyled *Nicopolis Pompeii*. *Garnace*, a ſtrong and well fortified town, mentioned by *Tacitus*, and called *Gorneas*. *Aza*, placed by *Pliny* in *Armenia*, but by *Ptolemy* in *Pontus*. *Arabyſſus*, *Daſcuſa*, *Zimara*, *Ladana*, and many others mentioned by *Ptolemy*, of which we know nothing but the mere names. As to the manners, cuſtoms, religion, *&c.* of the inhabitants of *Armenia Minor*, they were much the ſame with thoſe of the inhabitants of *Armenia Major*, of which we have already taken notice.

c

d

e

Kings of Armenia Minor.

Zadriades.

The firſt that reigned in *Armenia Minor* was *Zadriades*, who, together with *Artaxias*, revolting from *Antiochus the Great*, ſeized on that part of his kingdom which was afterwards called *Armenia Minor*, as we have mentioned above. He entered into an alliance with the *Romans*, by whom he was maintained on the throne which he had uſurped. His poſterity held the kingdom of *Armenia* till the reign of

Artanes.

Tigranes I. king of the *Greater Armenia*, by whom *Artanes*, the laſt king of the *Zadriadan* race, was ſlain in battle. We find no mention of the intermediate kings, whence we may conclude, that they performed nothing worth mentioning. *Tigranes* having killed *Artanes*, and routed his army, poſſeſſed himſelf of *Armenia Minor*;

f

Dejotarus.

but was ſoon driven out by *Pompey*, who beſtowed it upon *Dejotarus*, king, or rather tetrarch of *Galatia*, for his remarkable affection to the people of *Rome*, and eminent ſervices during the *Mithridatic* war, in which he obtained a complete victory over that king's generals. To *Armenia Minor* the ſame *Pompey* added great part of *Pontus*, and a large portion of *Colchis*, with ſome provinces of *Galatia*, which, till his time, had been ſubject to other princes. *Dejotarus* lived in great intimacy with *Sylla*, *Lucullus*, *Pompey*, *Murena*, *Cato*, *Cicero* and *Brutus*, and was by the ſenate honoured

3

a honoured with the title of friend and ally of the people of *Rome*, for whoſe intereſt he ſhewed on all occaſions ſuch zeal, that *Pompey* uſed to ſay, Of all the friends of *Rome Dejotarus* was the moſt hearty; of all their allies the moſt ſincere, and the only one on whom they could intirely rely [g]. He proved very ſerviceable to *Cicero* in the *Cilician* war, his troops being trained up after the *Roman* diſcipline. In the civil war he ſided with *Pompey*, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the battle of *Pharſalia*. During his abſence *Pharnaces* king of *Pontus* revolting from the *Romans*, invaded *Armenia Minor*, and having obtained a complete victory over the joint forces of *Dejotarus* and *Domitius Calvinus*, *Julius Cæſar*'s lieutenant in *Aſia*, got intire poſſeſſion of that kingdom [h]; but he was ſoon driven out by *Cæſar*, who reſtored *Armenia* to *Dejotarus*,
b whom he pardoned at the requeſt of *Brutus*, obliging him to relinquiſh the tetrarchy of *Galatia*, and pay a large ſum of money for joining *Pompey* in the civil war. Some writers ſay, that *Cæſar* reſtored the kingdom not to him, but to his ſon. Be that as it will, he retained the title of king, and either alone, or together with his ſon, governed the kingdom of *Armenia*. He was afterwards accuſed at *Rome* by *Caſtor* his daughter's ſon, as if he and his ſon had plotted againſt *Cæſar*, with a deſign to murder him during his ſtay in the tetrarchy of *Galatia*; but was cleared from that charge by *Cicero*, who, on this occaſion, made the oration which is ſtill extant, and pronounced it in *Cæſar*'s houſe at *Rome*. *Dejotarus* revenged this calumny with the death of his daughter and her huſband, and cauſed the caſtle where they reſided to be
c levelled with the ground [i]. After *Cæſar*'s death he recovered whatever he had forfeited for ſiding with *Pompey*, having, by a bribe of one hundred thouſand ſeſterces, gained *Fulvia*, *Marc Antony*'s wife, who cauſed an edict to be fixed in the capitol, wherein all things were feigned to have been reſtored to him by *Cæſar* himſelf [k]. New troubles ariſing at *Rome* upon the death of *Cæſar*, *Dejotarus* ſent a body of troops to join *Brutus*; but *Amyntas*, who commanded them, went ſtreight to *Antony*'s camp, as if he had been injoined by *Dejotarus* to aſſiſt *Antony*, and not *Brutus*; whereupon, after the defeat of *Brutus*, *Dejotarus* was allowed to hold *Armenia*; and the tetrarchy of *Galatia*, after his death, was beſtowed upon *Amyntas*. *Dejotarus* reigned to a very great age, and, as ſome ſay, out-lived his ſon *Dejotarus*, whom
d *Cæſar* appointed king during his father's life-time.

Dejotarus II. reigned together with his father, and was no leſs addicted to the *Romans* than he, having been brought up by *Cato*, as *Plutarch* informs us [l]. *Cicero* deemed him one of the beſt friends he had in the world, and even truſted his two ſons to his care during the *Cilician* war [m]. At his inſtigation *Dejotarus* joined *Caſſius* in the civil war that broke out upon the death of *Cæſar*; but died before the domeſtic troubles of the republic were ſettled. As he left no iſſue, that part of *Galatia* which he held was beſtowed upon *Amyntas* and *Caſtor* his ſiſter's ſon. The family of *Dejotarus* being extinct, the kingdom of *Armenia Minor* was firſt given to *Artuaſdes* king of *Media*, and afterwards by *Marc Antony* to *Polemon* king of *Pontus*. *Polemon* was
e ſucceeded by *Archelaus* the *Cappadocian*, and he by *Cotys* of *Boſphorus*. *Nero* beſtowed this kingdom on *Ariſtobulus*, great-grandſon to *Herod the Great*, upon whoſe death it fell to *Tigranes* his near relation, who dying without iſſue, *Armenia Minor* was, by *Veſpaſian* made a province of the *Roman* empire, and continued ſo till the diviſion of the empire, when it was ſubjected to the emperors of the eaſt; and, on the decline of their power, ſubdued firſt by the *Perſians*, and afterwards by the *Turks*, who gave it the name of *Genech*, and have held it ever ſince. Dejotarus II.

[g] Strabo, l. vii. p. 547. Cic. Philip II. [h] Hirtius cum Appian, l. ii. p. 484. & Dion. xlii.
[i] Strabo, l. xii. p. 568. [k] Cic. l. xiv. ad Attic. epiſt. 12. & Philip II. [l] Plut. in Catone.
[m] Cic. l. v. ad Attic. epiſt. 17, 18.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

The Hiſtory of the kingdom of Pontus.

SECT. I.

The deſcription of Pontus.

Name. SOME derive the name of this country from the neighbouring ſea, commonly called by the *Latins Pontus Euxinus*, or the *Euxine* ſea; others from an ancient king named *Pontus*, who imparted his name both to the country and the ſea on which it lies. But *Bochart* [n] makes it come from the *Phœnician* word *botno*, ſignifying a filbert, as if that kind of nut remarkably abounded here. The word *botno*, by tranſpoſing, changing and adding of letters, he transforms into *Pontos*, in the ſame manner that he might have derived it from a thouſand other words bearing perhaps a nearer ſimilitude to it in ſound, which, in many etymologies, ſeems to be his chief, if not only rule. The country, adds he, gave its name to the neighbouring ſea, and, in proceſs of time, the appellation which was peculiar to one became common to all ſeas; but the common opinion, *viz.* that the country borrowed its name from the ſea, ſeems by far the moſt probable. That ſea was called by way of excellency the *pontus*, or the *ſea*, being the greateſt that was known to the ancient inhabitants of that country; whence not only that tract which we are now ſpeaking of, but the whole country extending along the coaſt, was formerly, as *Strabo* informs us, called *Pontus*. a b

The proper *Pontus*, as preciſely as we can gather, lies between the forty-firſt and forty-third degrees of north latitude, and was bounded by the *Euxine* ſea on the north, by *Armenia Minor* on the ſouth, by *Colchis* on the eaſt, and by the river *Halys* on the weſt. This country is divided by *Ptolemy* into three parts, *viz. Pontus Galaticus*, *Pontus Polemoniacus*, and *Pontus Cappadocius*. *Pontus Galaticus*, ſo named becauſe added to *Galatia* in the time of the *Romans*, extended from the *Halys* to the river *Thermodon*. The chief cities in this tract were, *Amiſus*, built by the *Mileſians*, and peopled partly by them, and partly by a colony from *Athens*. It was at firſt a free city, like the other *Greek* cities in *Aſia*; but afterwards ſubdued by *Pharnaces* king of *Pontus*, and made the metropolis of his kingdom. It was taken by *Lucullus* in the *Mithridatic* war, and reſtored to its ancient liberty. *Eupatoria*, cloſe to *Amiſus*, ſo called from *Mithridates Eupator* its founder. This city was likewiſe taken by *Lucullus*, and levelled with the ground; but afterwards rebuilt by *Pompey*, who made it one city with *Amiſus*, and gave it the name of *Pompeiopolis*. It was taken, during the war between *Cæſar* and *Pompey*, by *Pharnaces* king of *Pontus*, who put moſt part of the inhabitants to the ſword; but *Cæſar* having conquered *Pharnaces*, made it again a free city. *Amaſia*, ſeated among mountains at three miles diſtance from the river *Iris*, now *Caſalmach*; from whence there is a trench, as *Tavernier* informs us, cut out of a hard rock, to convey water to the town. It is ſtill a large place, the capital of this country, and the ſeat of the governor or *beglerbeg*. The river, which, about ſixty miles below, falls into the *Euxine* ſea, is ſo large, that ſhips of burden can come up to the town. It is ſo defended by craggy mountains, that it is inacceſſible, except on one ſide. It has been cuſtomary for the eldeſt ſon of the *grand ſignior* to reſide here till he is called to the throne. This city was anciently the ſeat of the kings of *Cappadocia*, and ſome marks of its former grandeur ſtill appear in the ruins of very magnificent buildings. It gave birth to *Strabo* the geographer, and in *Chriſtian* times was the ſee of an archbiſhop. *Themiſcyra*, now c d e

[n] Phaleg. l. i. c. 10.

Fana-

a *Fanagoria*, ſeated on a ſpacious plain on the ſea-coaſt, ſixty miles north-eaſt of *Amaſia*, anciently giving name to the adjoining province, and a city of no ſmall note, being always numbered among the chief towns of this diſtrict; but at preſent a beggarly village. *Cabira*, memorable for the defeat of *Mithridates* by *Lucullus*, and afterwards called *Dioſpolis*. *Comana*, called *Pontica*, to diſtinguiſh it from two other cities bearing the ſame name, the one in *Cappadocia*, and the other in *Piſidia*. It was ſeated on the ſouth borders of this province, about ſeventy miles from *Themiſcyra*, and eighty from *Amaſia*, and in ancient times the ſecond city of *Pontus Galaticus*; but now very inconſiderable.

Pontus Polemonaicus, ſo called by the *Romans* from *Polemon* king of this country, on whoſe death it fell to them, extended from the river *Thermodon*, to the country
b of the *Chalytes*, or *Pontus Cappadocius*. The moſt conſiderable cities of this province are, *Neocæſarea*, the metropolis after it became a *Roman* province, and in former times a city of great renown. *Sebaſtia*, ſo called from *Auguſtus*, whom the *Greeks* ſtiled *Sebaſtos*. This was one of the firſt cities of *Aſia* that made head againſt *Tamerlan*, in revenge whereof he cauſed twelve thouſand of the inhabitants to be buried alive in pits dug for that purpoſe. Not far from this city is mount *Stella*, famous in the *Roman* hiſtory for the final overthrow of *Mithridates* by *Pompey*. On the ſame ſpot, as ſome writers inform us, *Tamerlan*, with an army of eight hundred thouſand *Tartars*, encountered *Bajazet* marching to the relief of *Sebaſtia* with an army of five hundred thouſand *Turks*, cut two hundred thouſand of his men in pieces, and took
c *Bajazet* himſelf priſoner. *Zela*, ſeated near the river *Lycus*, and famous for the defeat of *Triarius* by *Cæſar*. This city was inlarged by *Pompey*, and called *Megalopolis*. *Conſtantine the Great* laid it to the province of *Helenopontus*. *Polemonium*, a famous town and harbour built by *Polemon*, whom *Marc Antony* created king of that country. From this town, if we believe *Ptolemy*, *Pontus Polemoniacus* had its name. This country is watered by the river *Thermodon*, and is ſuppoſed to have been the kingdom of the *Amazons*, who admitted no men among them, and yet were famous for warlike exploits. They are ſaid, or rather feigned, to have been originally the wives of thoſe *Scythians*, who, in the reign of *Seſoſtris* king of *Egypt*, broke into *Aſia*. A party of theſe *Scythians* is ſaid to have invaded this part of *Pontus*, under the conduct
d of *Plinos* and *Scolpythus*, two young men of a great family, who had been driven out of their own country by a contrary faction. They ruled this country for many years; but at laſt both they and their army being all to a man treacherouſly murdered, their wives, under the command of *Lampedo* and *Malpeſia*, fell upon the conquerors, and not only overthrew them, but ſubdued the neighbouring nations, and erected a female monarchy, which they enjoyed for ſome ages. The names of their queens that occur in hiſtory, are, *Lampedo*, *Marpeſia*, *Ortara*, *Antiopa*, whoſe ſiſters *Hippolite* and *Menalyppe* are feigned to have challenged *Hercules* and *Theſeus* to ſingle combat, and to have been conquered by them with great difficulty. *Pentheſilea*, who came with a body of brave heroines to aid *Priam* king of *Troy*, and was
e ſlain by *Pyrrhus* ſon to *Achilles*; ſhe is ſaid to have invented the battle-ax. *Thaleſtris*, who, as *Juſtin* and others inform us, came to viſit *Alexander the Great* while he was in *Hircania*, and plainly told him, that her errand was no other than to have a child by ſo great a hero. Theſe warlike women ſuffered no man to live among them; if they brought forth any male children by the converſation they had twice a year with the men of the neighbouring countries, they either killed them, or ſent them to their fathers; but the females they bred up to the uſe of arms. They are ſaid to have extended their empire as far as *Epheſus*; but coming into *Europe*, they were defeated by the *Athenians*, under the conduct of *Theſeus*, and driven back. But the whole ſtory of the *Amazons* is deſervedly looked upon as a mere fable, which perhaps
f had its riſe from the cuſtom which prevailed among the *Scythian* women of accompanying their husbands in their wars.

Pontus Cappadocius, ſo called becauſe it bordered on *Cappadocia*, and was added to that province by the *Romans*, extended from *Pontus Polemonaicus* to *Colchis*, having *Armenia Minor* and the upper ſtream of the *Euphrates* for its ſouthern bounds. The chief cities of this tract were, *Ceraſus* built by the inhabitants of *Sinope* in *Paphlagonia*, to whom it paid, as *Xenophon* obſerves, a yearly tribute. From this town *Lucullus* brought firſt cherries into *Italy*, called therefore by the *Latins Ceraſa*. *Tournefort* tells us, that the country here is very hilly, and that the hills are covered with woods, wherein cherry-trees grow naturally. *Tertullian* ironically expoſtulates with

the *Gentiles* for not making *Lucullus* on this conſideration a god, ſeeing they had a beſtowed divine honours on *Bacchus* for tranſplanting the vine into the weſtern countries. *Ceraſus*, according to *Arrian*, was afterwards named *Pharnacia*; but *Strabo* and *Ptolemy* ſpeak of *Ceraſus* and *Pharnacia* as two diſtinct towns. It is ſtill a pretty large town known by the name of *Ceraſonte*, and ſeated on the ſea-coaſt at the foot of a little hill between two very ſteep rocks, with a ruinous caſtle built by the emperors of *Trebiſond* on the top of the rock, which is to the right as you enter the harbour. *Tripoli*, mentioned by *Arrian* and *Pliny*, about three miles from the coaſt, and now reduced to a poor village. *Trapezus* or *Trebiſond*, called now *Taraboſan*, a *Greek* city, having been founded by the inhabitants of *Sinope*, to whom it even paid tribute, as we are informed by *Xenophon*, who paſſed by *Trebiſond* when he b led back the remains of the ten thouſand. It was ſituated on the ſea-coaſt in a peninſula, and ſurrounded by ſteep mountains. The ancients ſpeak of it as a city of great note. After the overthrow of *Mithridates*, who had ſeized it, the *Romans* reſtored it, as they did moſt of the *Greek* cities in *Aſia*, to its former liberty and privileges. This city became famous in the middle ages for the court of the *Greek* emperors of the family of the *Comneni*, who reſided here after the *Latins* had made themſelves maſters of *Conſtantinople* under the conduct of *Baldwin* earl of *Flanders*. *Alexis Comnenes* was the firſt who reigned here with the title of emperor, though *Vincent de Beauvais* gives him only the title of lord of *Trebiſond*. He began his reign in 1204, and *David Comnenes*, the eleventh in ſucceſſion, was overcome, and cruelly c murdered with his ſeven ſons by *Mohamet the Great* in 1461, when *Trebiſond* was taken by the *Turks*, and *Pontus*, *Paphlagonia*, and *Cappadocia*, which the emperors of *Trebiſond* had held, ſubmitted to the conqueror. It is ſtill a very conſiderable city, and a place of great reſort for the trade to *Conſtantinople*, *Caffa*, and other places on the *Pontus* or *Black-ſea*. It contains twenty thouſand inhabitants, but having ſuffered a great deal in wars, eſpecially in 1617, when it was burnt by the *Ruſſians*, the buildings are very inconſiderable. The caſtle is pretty large, and built on a rock, out of which the ditches, that ſurround it, are cut. The inſcription that is on the gate of the caſtle ſhews, that the emperor *Juſtinian* repaired the edifices of the city. It is ſtrange that *Procopius* ſhould not mention this, ſeeing he employs three intire books d in deſcribing even the moſt inconſiderable buildings erected by that prince in every corner of his empire. That hiſtorian barely tells us, that *Juſtinian* cauſed an aqueduct to be built at *Trebiſond*, and called it the aqueduct of S. *Eugenius* the martyr. The port of *Trebiſond* called *Platena*, is to the eaſt of the town. The emperor *Adrian* cauſed it to be repaired, as we are informed by *Arrian*. The harbour which the *Genoeſe* are ſaid to have made there is almoſt deſtroyed. This town was in former ages a place of great trade, as appears from ſeveral medals produced by *Tournefort*.

Rivers. THE chief rivers of *Pontus* are, the *Halys*, which riſing in the greater *Cappadocia*, divides *Pontus* from *Paphlagonia*, and not far from *Amiſus* diſcharges itſelf into the *Euxine* ſea. It flows towards the weſt, and then bends to the north, as *Strabo* de- e ſcribes it; but all our modern geographers make it come from the eaſt, following therein *Herodotus*, whoſe miſtake was long ago taken notice of, and corrected by *Arrian*, who ſurveyed theſe places by order of the emperor *Adrian*. It took its name, as *Strabo* informs us, from the ſalt-pits, in which great part of the country abounds through which it flows. The *Iris*, now *Caſalmac*, which has its riſe in *Pontus*, and receiving into its channel the *Lycus*, and the ſmall river of *Themiſcyra*, falls into the *Euxine* ſea not far from the *Halys*. The *Thermodon*, a river famous among the ancients for watering the little empire of the *Amazons*. It had its riſe near the ſmall city of *Phanaræa* in *Pontus Polemonaicus*, and diſcharged itſelf, like the other rivers of *Pontus*, into the *Euxine* ſea. f

Soil and climate. THE air of this country is reckoned very wholeſome, and the ſoil in many places fruitful; the hills are for the moſt part covered with olive, or cherry-trees, and the plains abound with all ſorts of grain, being plentifully watered with ſmall rivers. The honey of this country is of a very particular nature; the effect it had on the army of the ten thouſand, is related by *Xenophon*. "As there were a great many bee-"hives in the neighbourhood of *Trapezus* or *Trebiſond*, ſays this author, our ſoldiers "having eat greedily of it, were taken with violent evacuations upwards and down-"wards attended with deliriums: ſuch as were the leaſt affected ſeemed to be drunk, "and the others to have run quite diſtracted: the ground was ſtrewn with bodies "as after a battle; none however died of it, and the diſtemper ceaſed the next

"day

a "day about the ſame hour that it began. *Ariſtotle* was of opinion, that the bees "gathered this honey from the box-trees; and adds, that it deprived thoſe of "their ſenſes who were in health before eating it; and on the contrary, cured "ſuch as were already mad. *Pliny* ſpeaks of it thus; In ſome years the honey is "very dangerous about *Heraclea* in *Pontus*; authors know not from what flowers "the bees extract it. Here is what we have been able to learn of this matter: there "is a plant in thoſe parts called *Ægolethron*, whoſe leaves in a wet ſpring imbibe a "very dangerous quality: the honey which the bees extract from them is more liquid "than uſual, more heavy, and redder; its ſmell cauſes ſneezing; thoſe who eat "of it, lie on the ground, ſweat violently, and care for nothing but coolers. There
b "is alſo found on the ſame coaſt of the *Pontus* another ſort of honey called *Mæno-*
"*menon*, becauſe it makes thoſe run mad who eat of it. 'Tis thought the bees collect "it from the flower of the *Rhododendros*, which the foreſts there abound with. The "people of thoſe parts, though they pay the *Romans* part of their tribute in wax, "are very cautious how they offer them their honey."

Their origin, arts, ſciences, &c.

It is commonly believed, that the ancient inhabitants of this country were the deſcendants of *Tubal*, but in proceſs of time mixed with *Cappadocians*, *Paphlagonians*, and other foreign nations, not to mention the many *Greek* colonies which ſettled in theſe parts, and maintained themſelves free till the time of the latter kings of *Pontus*, when moſt of them were reduced by *Mithridates the Great*, and *Pharnaces*.
c As for their arts and manufactures, all we know is, that the inhabitants of *Pontus Cappadocius* called *Chalybes* are celebrated by the ancients for their extraordinary skill in working of iron, and making of ſteel armour; whence they are ſaid to have had their name; and truly they ſeem to have excelled much more in the labours of the hand, than in thoſe of the head. They were very likely a trading people, having many convenient havens on the *Euxine* ſea, and great ſtore of timber proper for building of ſhips growing on the coaſt. Their language and religion were much the ſame with thoſe of *Cappadocia*, of which hereafter. Their chief deities were, *Ceres*, *Jupiter*, and *Neptune*, to whom they offered burnt-ſacrifices, pouring on the fire, honey, milk, oil and wine. In honour of *Neptune*, they uſed to drive
d into the ſea chariots drawn by four white horſes, which they drowned.

Government.

This country was originally a part of *Cappadocia*, extending from mount *Taurus* to the *Euxine* ſea, and divided into ſeveral petty kingdoms, which, if we believe *Diodorus*, were firſt ſubdued by *Ninus*. The *Medes* and *Perſians* were in their turns maſters of this and all the countries bordering on the *Euxine* ſea. The latter divided *Cappadocia* into two ſatrapies or governments, and beſtowed that part or ſatrapy, which was afterwards by the *Macedonians* named *Pontus*, on one of the anceſtors of *Mithridates*, as *Juſtin* informs us. This happened, as it is commonly believed, in the reign of *Darius* the ſon of *Hiſtaſpes*, who conferred this new kingdom on one *Artabazes* of the royal family of *Perſia*; ſo that *Pontus*, which to that time had been
e but a province of *Cappadocia*, began to be ruled by its own kings, and be a ſeparate kingdom in the reign of *Darius Hiſtaſpis*. However they paid tribute to the *Perſians*, and were in a manner their vaſſals till the reign of *Ariobarzanes*, who ſhook off the *Perſian* yoke, and greatly enlarged his ſmall kingdom. In proceſs of time the kings of *Pontus* became very conſiderable, having added to their dominions all *Cappadocia*, *Paphlagonia*, and great part of *Bithynia* to the weſt, and of *Colchis* to the ſouth; inſomuch that *Mithridates* VII. ſurnamed *Eupator*, is looked upon as one of the moſt powerful princes that ever reigned in the eaſt, having held out for forty years together againſt the *Romans*, though their armies were commanded by the greateſt generals which *Rome* ever produced, namely by *Sylla*, *Lucullus*, and *Pompey*. The
f kingdom of *Pontus* was governed by princes deſcended from *Achæmenes* of the royal family of *Perſia*, till the death of *Darius*, ſon to *Pharnaces* II. in whom the *Achæmenian* family ended. Upon the death of *Darius*, which happened ſoon after the battle of *Philippi*, the kingdom of *Pontus* was beſtowed by the *Romans* on *Zeno*, who was ſucceeded by his ſon *Polemon* I. and he by his ſon *Polemon* II. upon whoſe death, the family of *Zeno* being extinct, the kingdom of *Pontus* was made a *Roman* province in the reign of the emperor *Claudius*.

SECT.

SECT. II.

The reigns of the kings of PONTUS.

Artabazes. THE firſt king of *Pontus* we find mentioned in hiſtory, is *Artabazes*, whom *Darius* the ſon of *Hyſtaſpes* preferred to that crown [o]. Some writers tell us, that he was one of the ſeven competitors to the kingdom of *Perſia* upon the death of *Cambyſes*; and others, that he was deſcended from one of them, which ſeems more probable, ſeeing he is not named among them by *Herodotus*. a

Rhodobates. *Rhodobates* appears next; he is mentioned by *Laertius* [p], and ſaid to have reigned in the time of *Darius Nothus*; whence it is plain that he did not ſucceed *Artabazes*, who was contemporary with *Darius Hyſtaſpis*, between whoſe reign, and that of *Darius* II. ſurnamed *Nothus*, chronologers count above eighty years.

Mithridates I. *Rhodobates* was ſucceeded by *Mithridates* I. who refuſing to pay the uſual tribute to *Artaxerxes Mnemon* king of *Perſia*, was by him overcome in battle; but a peace was ſoon after concluded between them by the mediation of *Tiſſaphernes*. He entered into an alliance with *Clearchus*, afterwards tyrant of *Heraclea*, by whom he was betrayed and taken priſoner. For *Clearchus* having promiſed to deliver the city of *Heraclea* into his hands, *Mithridates* no ſooner entered the town, but he and thoſe that attended him were ſurrounded and diſarmed. The king was detained priſoner till ſuch time as he paid a large ſum for his ranſom, and then diſmiſſed [q]. This is all we read of him in hiſtory. *Xenophon* gives him only the title of governor of *Cappadocia*. b

Ariobarzanes. *Mithridates* was ſucceeded by *Ariobarzanes*, who being appointed by *Artaxerxes* governor of *Lydia*, *Ionia*, and *Phrygia*, employed the forces that were under his command againſt his prince, and not only invaded the kingdom of *Pontus*, but added to it great part of the neighbouring provinces, which to that time had been ſubject to the *Perſians*. *Autophrades* ſent by *Artaxerxes* to diſpoſſeſs him of the provinces which he had ſeized, laid ſiege to *Aſſos*, and at the ſame time *Cotys* king of *Paphlagonia* ſat down before *Seſtus*; but were both obliged to withdraw by *Ageſilaus*, and *Timothæus* the *Athenian*, whom *Ariobarzanes* had with great promiſes invited to his aſſiſtance. The king being by their timely arrival delivered from the dangers that threatened him, rewarded *Ageſilaus* with a great ſum of money, and beſtowed on *Timothæus* the cities of *Erithon* and *Seſtus*, which he had not long before taken from the *Perſians*. He uſed his utmoſt endeavours, as *Demoſthenes* informs us, to reconcile the *Lacedæmonians* and *Thebans*; but not being able to bring the *Thebans* to any reaſonable terms, he aſſiſted the *Lacedæmonians* with immenſe ſums of money. The *Athenians*, as the ſame author acquaints us [r], ſhewed ſuch an eſteem for this prince, that they not only made him free of their city, but granted both him and his children whatever they asked of them. He was murdered, as we read in *Ariſtotle* [s], in the twenty-eighth year of his reign by one *Mithridates*, whom ſome take to be his ſon. As the death of *Ariobarzanes* happened at the time that *Alexander the Great* invaded *Perſia*, the kingdom of *Pontus* was ſeized on by the *Macedonians*, but recovered by c d

Mithridates II. *Mithridates* II. ſon to *Ariobarzanes*, in the reign of *Antigonus*, to whoſe ſhare that country fell. This event is related thus by *Polybius* [t], *Florus* [u], *Aurelius Victor* [w], and others: *Antigonus* having dreamt that he had a field in which gold grew after the manner of corn, and that *Mithridates* cut it down and carried it into *Pontus*, began to entertain no ſmall jealouſy againſt him, and even gave private orders for the apprehending of him, with a deſign to put him to death. But *Mithridates*, having received from *Demetrius* timely notice of the king's intention, withdrew into *Paphlagonia*, attended only by ſix horſemen. Here, with the aſſiſtance of many others that joined him, he poſſeſſed himſelf of *Ciniatum*, a ſtrong-hold ſituated near mount *Olgaſys*, and from thence, his army growing daily ſtronger, made an irruption into *Cappadocia*, and having driven the commanders of *Antigonus* from that part which borders on *Pontus*, he entered in triumph his paternal kingdom, which in ſpite of all e

[o] Florus, l. ii. c. 5. Polyb. l. v. [p] Laer. in Platon. [q] Diodor. l. vi. [r] Demosth. orat. contra Ariſtocrat. [s] Aristot. l. v. Politi. c. 10. [t] Polyb. l. v. p. 388. [u] Flor. l. iii. c. 5. [w] Aurel. Victor. de vir. illuſtribus, c. 76. & Strabo, l. xii. p. 562.

the

a the efforts of *Antigonus* he held for the ſpace of twenty-ſix years, and tranſmitted to his poſterity. During his father's life-time he was highly in favour with *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, having, to gratify that prince, treacherouſly murdered *Datamis*, governor of *Cappadocia*, who oppoſed his deſigns upon that country. He is ſaid to have lived to the age of eighty-four years [u]. *Diodorus* tells us, that he was put to death by *Antigonus* for ſiding with *Caſſander*; he was ſucceeded by his ſon

Mithridates III. who added to the kingdom of *Pontus* all *Cappadocia* and *Paphlagonia*, as *Diodorus* informs us [w]. He entered into an alliance with the inhabitants of *Heraclea*, after ſeveral unſucceſsful attempts upon that city. He reigned thirty-ſix years. Mithridates III.

b *Mithridates* III. was ſucceeded by his ſon *Ariobarzanes* II. who made war upon the *Galatians*; but with what ſucceſs, we know not. Ariobarzanes II.

Mithridates IV. came to the crown on the death of his father *Ariobarzanes*; as he was then very young, the *Galatians* invaded his kingdom, and were attended with ſucceſs; but all on a ſudden turned their forces againſt the free city of *Heraclea*; but not being able to maſter it, they returned home, and ſuffered *Mithridates* to recover and peaceably enjoy what they had ſeized. Mithridates IV.

Mithridates V. who ſucceeded his father *Mithridates* IV. made war upon the inhabitants of *Sinope*, a *Greek* city on the coaſt of *Paphlagonia*; he made himſelf maſter of all the adjoining places; but finding the whole peninſula, on which *Sinope* itſelf Mithridates V.

c ſtood, well fortified, and gariſoned, not only by the inhabitants, but alſo by their allies the *Rhodians*, he gave over the enterprize [x]. He afterwards proved a great friend to the *Rhodians*, and aſſiſted them with money to repair the loſſes they had ſuffered by an earthquake. He entered into a ſtrait alliance with *Antiochus the Great*, who married one of his daughters, by name *Laodice*.

His ſon *Pharnaces* I. falling unexpectedly on the city of *Sinope*, took it by ſtorm; whereupon the *Rhodians* ſent embaſſadors to *Rome* to complain of the violent proceedings of the king of *Pontus* againſt their allies; but *Pharnaces* was ſo far from being intimidated at the threats of the *Romans*, that on the contrary he invaded the territories of *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus*, a great friend and ally of the republic. Pharnaces I.

d *Eumenes* likewiſe diſpatched embaſſadors to *Rome* to complain of *Pharnaces*, and in the mean time entering into an alliance with *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia*, ſecured his dominions againſt any attempts of the enemy. *Pharnaces* finding himſelf thus diſappointed, and not caring to engage in a war with the *Romans*, ſent deputies to *Rome* to complain of *Eumenes* and *Ariarathes*, as if they had been the aggreſſors. Hereupon *Marcius* and other *Roman* citizens of great integrity were ſent into *Aſia* as umpires between the contending parties, and charged to compoſe, if poſſible, all differences in an amicable manner. *Marcius* found *Eumenes* and *Ariarathes* encamped with a conſiderable army in the plains of *Amiſus*, but ready to lay down arms, and refer the whole matter to arbitration; whereupon he injoined them to withdraw their

e forces from the enemy's country, which they did accordingly, ordering their troops the very next morning to march back into *Galatia*. But *Pharnaces* could by no means be prevailed upon to come to an interview with *Eumenes*, or aſſiſt at any conference where he ſhould be preſent; with much ado they perſuaded him to ſend embaſſadors with full power to treat of ſuch matters as concerned both nations, and to agree to ſuch articles as the arbitrators ſhould judge equitable. The conference being opened, thoſe, who were ſent by *Pharnaces*, ſtarted ſo many difficulties, that nothing could be ſettled; wherefore *Marcius* plainly perceiving that *Pharnaces* had no mind to come to an agreement, broke off the conference, and returned to *Rome*. Upon his departure *Eumenes* took the field again, and *Pharnaces* on his ſide ſent

f *Leocritus*, his commander in chief, at the head of ten thouſand men to lay waſte *Galatia*, at that time ſubject to *Eumenes*. *Leocritus* on his march beſieged the city of *Teios*, or, as ſome call it, *Pius*, and having obliged the gariſon, which intirely conſiſted of mercenaries, to capitulate, he promiſed to convey them with their arms and effects to what place they ſhould chuſe; but having ſoon after their departure received expreſs orders from *Pharnaces* to put them all to the ſword, he purſued them, and ſlew them all to a man [y]. In this war *Pharnaces* depended upon the aſſiſtance of *Seleucus* king of *Syria*, who was already come as far as mount *Taurus*, in order to join him; but being reminded by the *Roman* embaſſadors of the articles ſtipulated

[u] Plutarch. in Demet. Appian. in Mithridat. p. 176. & Lucian. in longævis, p. 176. [w] Diodor. l. x. [x] Polyb. l. iv, v, vii. [y] Polyb. Legat. 53. & Diodor. in excerpt. Valeſ. p. 312.

between his father *Antiochus* and the republic, he thought fit to march back, and leave *Pharnaces* to ſhift for himſelf [z]. The king of *Pontus* finding himſelf thus diſappointed, and at the ſame time his dominions invaded by the confederate kings of *Pergamus* and *Cappadocia* ſupported by the *Romans*, condeſcended at laſt to ſue for peace, which was granted him upon the following conditions: that he ſhould forthwith withdraw his forces from *Galatia*, and diſannul all engagements and alliances with the inhabitants of that country; that he ſhould in like manner evacuate *Paphlagonia*, and ſend back to their reſpective homes with all their effects ſuch as he had carried thence into ſlavery; that he ſhould reſtore to *Ariarathes* all the places which he had taken during the war, the hoſtages of both kings, all their priſoners without ranſom, and moreover deliver up to them ſuch of their ſubjects, as from the firſt breaking out of the war had fled to him; that he ſhould return to *Morzias*, a petty king in thoſe parts, and to *Ariarathes* the nine hundred talents, which he had ſeized in the war, and pay down three hundred more to *Eumenes*, as a fine for invading his dominions without any provocation. *Mithridates* king of *Armenia*, having in this war joined *Pharnaces*, was by the articles of agreement obliged to pay three hundred talents to *Ariarathes* for having aſſiſted his enemy, contrary to a treaty of peace and alliance at that time ſubſiſting between them. In this treaty were compriſed *Artaxias* king of *Armenia*, *Gatalus* king of *Sarmatia*, *Acuſilochus* another petty king, and the free cities of *Heraclea*, *Meſembyra*, *Cherſoneſus*, and *Cyzicus* [a]. The city of *Sinope* remained to *Pharnaces*, and was held by his ſucceſſors till the time of the *Mithridatic* war, when it was reſtored by *Lucullus* to its former liberty. The hoſtages for the performance of theſe articles were no ſooner delivered, but the confederate kings disbanded their armies, and retired home. *Pharnaces* died ſoon after, and left to his ſon *Mithridates* the kingdom of *Pontus*, more weakened by this peace than by all his wars. *Pliny* tells us [b], that the herb centory had its name in *Greek* from this king, who is ſuppoſed to have applied himſelf to the ſtudy of botanics.

Mithridates VI.

Mithridates VI. was the firſt king of *Pontus* that entered into an alliance with the *Romans*, ſending them a conſiderable ſupply of ſhips in their third war with the *Carthaginians* [c]. He likewiſe proved a faithful ally to them in the war, which they carried on, at firſt with great loſs, againſt *Ariſtonicus*, who upon the death of *Attalus* laid claim to the kingdom of *Pergamus*. After the defeat of *P. Craſſus* moſt of the princes of *Aſia* either ſided with *Ariſtonicus*, or retired home; but *Mithridates* could by no offers or promiſes be prevailed upon to abandon the cauſe he had once eſpouſed. On which conſideration he was rewarded by the ſenate with *Phrygia Major*, and honoured with the title of friend and ally of the people of *Rome* [d]. *Appian* tells us, that *Phrygia* was beſtowed on him, not by the ſenate, but by *Manius Aquilius*, who ſucceeded *M. Perperna* in the command of the *Roman* forces in *Aſia*, being bribed thereunto by the king with a large ſum of money [e]. Be that as it will, it is certain, that the ſenate took *Phrygia* away from his ſon, during his minority, and declared it a free and independent ſtate, as he himſelf complains in his ſpeech related by *Trogus* [f]. *Mithridates* after a long and proſperous reign was treacherouſly murdered by ſome of his intimate acquaintance. He left two ſons, of which the elder, named alſo *Mithridates*, ſucceeding him in the kingdom of *Pontus*, eclipſed all thoſe who had reigned before him, and is generally counted one of the greateſt princes that ever ſwayed a ſcepter. He maintained a moſt bloody war with the *Romans* for the ſpace of forty-ſix years, and alone gave them more trouble, as their own writers witneſs, than *Pyrrhus*, *Annibal*, and the powerful kings of *Syria* and *Macedon* had done all together. He received many dreadful overthrows, his armies were often cut in pieces, his ſtrong-holds taken and levelled with the ground, and his whole kingdom laid waſte; but ſtill returned more formidable than ever, as if he had received new ſtrength from his very loſſes; and at laſt, in ſpite of all the efforts of his powerful adverſaries, died a voluntary death in his own kingdom, which he tranſmitted to his poſterity. We ſhall give here a ſhort, but diſtinct account of his war with the *Romans*, commonly called the *Mithridatic* war, it being one of the greateſt and moſt expenſive that the republic ever waged.

Mithridates VII. *Year of the flood* 2875. *Year before Chriſt* 124.

Mithridates VII. ſurnamed the *Great*, was, according to *Strabo*, eleven years old; according to *Eutropius*, twelve; and according to *Memnon*, thirteen; when he came to

[z] DIODOR. ubi ſupra. [a] POLYB. legat. 59. [b] PLIN. l. xxv. c. 4. [c] APPIAN. in Mithridatic. p. 171. [d] JUSTIN. l. xxxvii. c. 1. [e] APPIAN. in Mithridatic. p. 177. & 208. & l. i. bell. civil. p. 362, 363. [f] JUSTIN. ubi ſupra.

the

a the throne. His future greatneſs was foretold, if *Trogus* may be credited [g], by two comets, one of which appeared at his birth, and the other the firſt year of his reign. Both theſe comets were ſeen for ſeventy days and ſeventy nights together; their ſplendor was ſuch as to eclipſe the ſun, and raiſe in peoples minds the dread of a final conflagration. They covered the fourth part of the heaven, and in riſing or ſetting took up the ſpace of four hours (P).

Mithridates began his reign with moſt inhuman and unnatural actsof cruelty practiſed on his mother and neareſt relations. His father by his laſt will appointed him and his mother joint heirs to the kingdom; but he claiming the whole, threw his mother into priſon, where he kept her under cloſe confinement, till through hard uſage ſhe
b ended her days [h]. *Servius* ſays, that he poiſoned her, that he might, being then but a child, lie under no check [i]. Thoſe, to whom the care of his education was committed, obſerving him to be of a cruel and unruly temper, made various attempts on his life, but could never compaſs their deſign, he being always on his guard, and armed, even in ſo tender an age, againſt all manner of treachery, without ever ſhewing the leaſt diffidence (Q). In his youth, to inure his body to hardſhips, he applied himſelf to the manly exerciſe of hunting, paſſing whole months in the open fields, and often taking his reſt amidſt the frozen ſnow. When he came of age, he married his own ſiſter, by name *Laodice*, a thing frequently practiſed in thoſe days by the eaſtern kings, and had by her a ſon named *Pharnaces*. Having now an
c heir to his kingdom, and aſpiring to nothing leſs than the empire of all *Aſia*, attended with a few friends, he undertook a progreſs through the various kingdoms of that great continent, with a deſign to obſerve the cuſtoms, laws, and manners of the inhabitants, to learn their different languages, whereof he is ſaid to have ſpoke twenty-two, to take an eſtimate of their ſtrength, and above all, to view narrowly their ſtrong-holds, and fortified towns. In this journey he ſpent three years, during which time it being noiſed abroad that he was dead, his wife *Laodice* gave herſelf up to all manner of lewdneſs; and having brought forth a ſon by a criminal converſation with one of the lords of her court, to conceal her guilt, and avoid the juſt reſentment of her provoked husband, welcomed him on his return with a poiſoned
d potion, which had no other effect but to incenſe him more againſt her, and haſten her own deſtruction, which was ſoon effected by his order, all thoſe being involved in the ſame puniſhment, who were any ways acceſſory to her incontinence and diſloyalty [k].

And now thinking it time to put in execution his vaſt deſigns, he invaded, and eaſily reduced the neighbouring kingdom of *Paphlagonia*, which he divided with his friend and ally *Nicomedes* king of *Bithynia*. As the *Romans* had not long before declared *Paphlagonia* a free ſtate, they ſent embaſſadors to both kings, injoining them to withdraw their forces, and reſtore that nation to its former condition. *Mithridates* *Invades Paphlagonia.*

[g] Justin. l. xxxvii. c. 2, & 3. [h] Memnon, in excerpt. Photii, c. 32. Strab. l. x. p. 477. Justin. l. xxxvii. c. 1. [i] Servius, in Virgil. l. vi. Æneid. [k] Justin. ubi ſupra.

(P) That which appeared at his birth muſt be the comet which *Seneca* mentions in the following words (16): "In the reign of king *Attalus* there "appeared a comet, which being ſmall at firſt, af"terwards ſpread itſelf as far as the equinoctial cir"cle, ſo that its extent equalled that region of the "heaven, which we call the milky way." If this comet appeared, as *Seneca* affirms, in the reign of *Attalus*, we muſt allow *Mithridates*, with *Eutropius* (17), and *Oroſius* (18), who uſually follow *Livy*, ſeventy-two years of life; for had he lived only ſixty-eight or ſixty-nine, as *Appian* inſinuates (19), the comet had appeared after the death of *Attalus*, and not in his reign, as *Seneca* ſays.

(Q) *Juſtin* tells us (20), that his governors made him ride and perform his exerciſes on a wild and unmanageable horſe, which he governed with ſuch skill and dexterity, that his very enemies could not but admire and applaud him. They had afterwards recourſe to poiſon; but he being appriſed of their treacherous deſigns, armed himſelf againſt them with ſuch antidotes and preſervatives, that when he attempted in his old age to poiſon himſelf, the moſt exquiſite poiſons rather nouriſhed than deſtroyed the conſtitution of his body. *Martial* (21) ſays, that he was from his infancy ſo accuſtomed to take poiſon, that in his old age no poiſon could hurt him.

Profecit poto Mithridates ſæpe veneno,
Toxica ne poſſent ſæva nocere ſibi.

He was the inventor of *Mithridate*, which borrowed its name from him, as *Pliny*, *Paulus*, *Ægineta*, *Cornelius Celſus*, *Gellius*, *Galen* witneſs, and *Q. Serenus* in the following verſes:

Antidotus vero multis Mithridatica fertur
Conſociata modis; ſed magnus ſcrinia regis
Cum raperet victor, vilem deprendit in illis
Synthesin, & vulgata ſatis medicamina riſit,

(16) *Seneca, lib.* vii. *c.* 15. (17) *Eutrop. lib.* vi. (18) *Oroſ. lib.* vi. *c.* 5. (19) *Appian. p.* 249. (20) *Juſtin. l.* xxxvii. *c.* 2. (21) *Mart. lib.* v.

returned

returned anſwer, that *Paphlagonia* had belonged to his father, and therefore was his a
by inheritance, adding that he could not well underſtand why the *Romans*, without being appealed to, ſhould trouble themſelves about controverſies ariſing among the princes of *Aſia*. The embaſſadors threatened him with war; but he was ſo far from being intimidated by their menaces, that from *Paphlagonia* he marched directly into *Galatia*, which he made himſelf maſter of, though it was at that time under the protection of the people of *Rome*. Having thus reduced *Paphlagonia* and *Galatia*, the next kingdom he caſt his eyes upon was that of *Cappadocia*, held at that time by *Ariarathes*, who had married his ſiſter, and with whom he had lived in great friendſhip. As *Ariarathes* was one of the moſt powerful princes in *Aſia*, and a great favourite of the *Romans*, in whoſe ſervice his father had been killed, during their war b
with *Ariſtonicus*, *Mithridates* thought it ſafer to attempt the accompliſhing of his deſigns by treachery, than by dint of arms, and accordingly bribed one *Gordius* privately to diſpatch him. Upon his death *Nicomedes* king of *Bithynia* invaded *Cappadocia*, and having driven out the ſon of the deceaſed prince, married his widow in hopes of eſtabliſhing himſelf by that means on the throne. This gave *Mithridates* a plauſible pre-
And Cappadocia. tence of falling upon *Cappadocia*, and at the ſame time of weakening his former ally, but now rival, *Nicomedes*. For under pretence of reſtoring his nephew, he made war upon *Nicomedes*, and drove him quite out of *Cappadocia*. As this war gained him the reputation, not only of gallantry, but good-nature, (for no body imagined that he had any hand in the murder of *Ariarathes*) out of a certain regard to public c
fame he reſtored the kingdom of *Cappadocia* to its lawful owner, and marched his troops back into his own territories. But ſoon after repenting what he had done, and preferring power to fame, he began to ſeek ſome pretence of quarrelling with his nephew. With this view he preſſed him to recall from baniſhment *Gordius*, who had aſſaſſinated his father; which the young prince highly reſenting, and *Mithridates* threatening to bring him back by force of arms, matters were brought by degrees to that paſs, that both princes took the field. *Mithridates* entered *Cappadocia* at the head of an army conſiſting of eighty thouſand foot, ten thouſand horſe, and ſix hundred chariots armed with ſcythes, hoping with ſuch a powerful army to carry all before him; but finding his nephew ready to receive him with a ſtrength no ways d
inferior to his own, he altered his deſign; and feigning a deſire of reconciliation, invited him to a conference; which the young prince willingly agreeing to, *Mithridates* in ſight of both armies ſtabbed him with a dagger, which he had concealed in the plaits of his garment (R). This barbarous and unexpected piece of treachery ſtruck the *Cappadocians* with ſuch terror and amazement, that they immediately threw down their arms, and ſuffered *Mithridates* without any moleſtation to ſeize on all the ſtrong-holds of the kingdom; which he reſigned to his ſon, a child but eight years old, calling him *Ariarathes*, a name peculiar to the kings of *Cappadocia*, and committing both him and the whole management of his affairs to the care of *Gordius*. But the *Cappadocians*, diſdaining to be ruled by a public aſſaſſin, ſhook off the tyran- e
nical yoke, and placed on the throne the brother of their late king, who to that time had kept himſelf concealed in ſome city of *Aſia*. But his reign was ſhort, being ſoon driven out by *Mithridates*, and the *Cappadocians* again brought under ſubjection. The unhappy prince ſeeing himſelf thus ſtript of his paternal kingdom, and reduced to the utmoſt miſery, no body daring to entertain him through fear of *Mithridates*, died of grief in the very flower of his age; and in him was extinct the family of *Pharnaces*, which had ruled over *Cappadocia* from the time of *Cyrus the Great*.

UPON his death *Nicomedes* king of *Bithynia*, being jealous of the overgrown power of *Mithridates*, and fearing leſt he ſhould fall upon his dominions, if he were f
ſuffered to enjoy quietly the neighbouring kingdom of *Cappadocia*, ſuborned a youth of a comely and majeſtic aſpect to paſs himſelf upon the *Romans* for the ſon of *Ari-*

(R) It was a cuſtom in ancient times among kings, as *Juſtin* informs us (22), to ſend perſons of diſtinction to ſearch each other before they met, leſt any treacherous deſigns might be carried on under colour of a friendly conference. The perſon who was appointed to ſearch *Mithridates*, being very buſy in looking for ſome weapon under his belly, the king deſired him to take heed leſt he ſhould find there a weapon of a very different nature from that which he was ſo carefully looking for. This jeſt raiſed in the ſpectators a loud laughter, and made the ſearcher deſiſt from any farther inquiries; by which means the dagger, which *Mithridates* had brought, was concealed.

(22) *Juſtin. lib.* xxxviii. *c.* 1.

arathes,

5

a *arathes*, as if he had left three ſons, and not two only, as was commonly believed. The youth being well inſtructed how to behave himſelf, and what he ſhould ſay, ſet out for *Rome*; and there preſenting himſelf before the ſenate, complained with tears in his eyes of the monſtrous and unnatural cruelty of his uncle *Mithridates*, bewailed the untimely death of his brothers, expatiated on the ſervices of his grandfather, who had loſt his life in the cauſe of the republic; and concluded his ſpeech by intreating them to convince the world of the tender regard they had for their friends, by reſtoring to his paternal kingdom the grandſon of one, whom they had thought fit to honour with that glorious title. The ſenate was no leſs affected by his ſpeech, than taken by his modeſty, addreſs, and graceful mien. Being ordered to withdraw, *Laodice*
b the widow of *Ariarathes*, and ſiſter to *Mithridates*, who upon her husband's death had married *Nicomedes*, as we have hinted before, came in and depoſed that ſhe had three ſons by her former husband *Ariarathes*, of which the petitioner was one. Whereupon the ſenate with many kind and grateful expreſſions promiſed to eſpouſe his cauſe, and never forſake him till he was reinſtated in the kingdom of his forefathers. But in the mean time *Mithridates* receiving notice of the plot, diſpatched *Gordius* to *Rome* to diſcloſe it to the ſenate, and aſſure them, that the child, whom he had preferred to the crown, was the lawful ſon of *Ariarathes*. This unexpected embaſſy raiſed a ſtrong ſuſpicion of both kings in the minds of the ſenators, who thereupon examining more narrowly into the matter, and diſcovering the deceit, commanded *Mithridates* to
c relinquiſh *Cappadocia*, and *Nicomedes Paphlagonia*. Both theſe ſtates were by a decree of the ſenate declared free; but the *Cappadocians*, proteſting that they could not live without a king, were allowed to chuſe one of their own body. *Mithridates* uſed great intereſt in behalf of *Gordius*; but he being excluded by the *Romans*, *Ariobarzanes* was preferred to the crown by the majority of votes, as *Strabo* informs us, or, as *Juſtin* has it, by appointment of the ſenate.

And now the *Romans*, growing jealous of the power of *Mithridates*, and the ſway which he bore among the princes of *Aſia*, ſent *L. Cornelius Sylla* into *Cappadocia* under appearance of an embaſſy, but in reality to diſappoint the meaſures which he was purſuing, and the ſteps he was taking to graſp the empire of all *Aſia*. *Sylla* with
d a handful of men defeated *Gordius*, cut in pieces his army compoſed of *Cappadocians* and *Armenians*, and ſettled, according to the decree of the ſenate, *Ariobarzanes* on the throne. But *Sylla* had no ſooner ſet out for *Rome*, than *Mithridates*, who had ſuffered his ſon to be driven from the throne of *Cappadocia*, as if that war noways concerned him, ſtirred up *Tigranes* king of *Armenia* againſt *Ariobarzanes*, who upon his approach abandoning the kingdom, fled to *Rome*. *Tigranes*, having without the loſs of one man poſſeſſed himſelf of *Cappadocia*, placed anew on the throne *Ariarathes*, ſon to *Mithridates*, and reſtored all things to the ſtate they were in before the arrival of *Sylla*. At the ſame time *Nicomedes Philopator*, king of *Bithynia*, dying, *Seizes on* Bi-
Mithridates invaded that kingdom, and drove out his natural ſon, named alſo *Nico-* *thynia.*
e *medes*, whom the *Romans* had appointed to ſucceed him, placing in his room his own brother *Socrates*, ſurnamed *Chreſtus*, or the *Thrifty*. *Nicomedes* likewiſe fled to *Rome*, where it was decreed by the ſenate, that both he and *Ariobarzanes* ſhould be reſtored to their kingdoms. In purſuance of which decree, *Manius Aquilius*, who had then ended the ſervile war in *Sicily*, and *Marcus Altinius*, being ſent into *Aſia* in quality of legates, and there joined by the forces of *Lucius Caſſius* governor of *Aſia Pergamena*, or *Aſia Proper*, and by the auxiliaries of the allied kings, *Nicomedes* was reinſtated in the kingdom of *Bithynia*, and *Ariobarzanes* in that of *Cappadocia*. The legates according to their inſtructions charged both kings to make frequent inroads into the neighbouring territories of *Mithridates*, and practiſe there
f whatever hoſtilities they could, aſſuring them of the powerful aſſiſtance of the *Romans*, in caſe he ſhould reſent the provocation. This the legates did to pick a quarrel with *Mithridates*, who not thinking himſelf as yet a match for the *Romans*, had tamely ſuffered both his brother and his ſon to be driven out of the kingdoms which they had uſurped. *Ariobarzanes* could by no means be induced to provoke ſo powerful a neighbour; but *Nicomedes*, being partly with promiſes, partly with menaces, prevailed upon to comply with the injunctions of the legates, entered *Pontus* in a hoſtile manner, and putting all to fire and ſword, laid waſte whole provinces, without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition. For *Mithridates*, to juſtify in the eyes of the world the war which he had long deſigned againſt the *Romans*, had ordered his lieutenants to forbear returning any hoſtilities, till ſuch time as he had laid

his complaints before the legates. This he did ſoon after, ſending one *Pelopidas* to a
expoſtulate with them about the proceedings of *Nicomedes*. But the legates returning
anſwer, that he having been the firſt aggreſſor, *Nicomedes* had but paid him in his
own coin, and that they would not ſuffer him to uſe any violence againſt their friend
and ally, *Mithridates* thought it high time, having on foot a numerous and well-
diſciplined army, to enter upon action; and accordingly ſent his ſon *Ariarathes* into
Cappadocia, who put to flight the united forces of *Ariobarzanes* and *Altinius* the *Ro-
man* legate, and anew took poſſeſſion of that kingdom. At the ſame time *Nico-
medes* making new inroads into *Pontus*, *Mithridates*, to gain time, and make the
Romans believe that he was ſtill inclined to peace, diſpatched embaſſadors to *Rome* to
beg of the ſenate, that, if *Nicomedes* was their friend, they would oblige him by b
their authority to forbear giving him any further moleſtation; but if they accounted
him an enemy, they would give him leave to do himſelf juſtice, and repel force by
force. The ſenate, being well appriſed of *Mithridates*'s views, replied, that *Ni-
comedes* had done nothing without juſt provocation, and therefore they ſaw no cauſe
why they ſhould lay any injunctions on him; whereas they had many things to
injoin *Mithridates*, but above all, to reſtore without further delay the kingdom of
Cappadocia to its lawful owner, and conclude a ſpeedy peace with their friend and ally
Nicomedes, on pain of being accounted an enemy to *Rome*, and treated accordingly.
With this anſwer the embaſſadors were diſmiſſed, and the ſame day ordered to depart
the city; but before their departure charged to acquaint their maſter, that the people c
of *Rome* would admit of no embaſſadors from him, till ſuch time as he had complied
with theſe their commands [k].

In the mean time the legates in *Aſia* drawing together what forces they could
muſter in *Bithynia*, *Cappadocia*, *Paphlagonia*, and *Galatia*, and being joined by *Caſ-
ſius* governor of *Aſia*, took the field without waiting for the determination of the
ſenate. They divided their army into ſeveral ſmall bodies: *Caſſius* encamped on
the confines of *Bithynia* and *Galatia*; *Aquilius* with his body poſſeſſed himſelf of
the avenues leading from *Pontus* into *Bithynia*; *Q. Oppius* ſecured the entrance into
Cappadocia; and *Minutius Rufus* and *C. Popilius* admirals lay with a fleet of three
hundred ſail at *Byzantium*, to prevent the enemy from entering into the *Euxine* ſea. d
Each of the generals had an army of forty thouſand men under his command, beſides
a body of fifty thouſand foot, and ſix thouſand horſe, which *Nicomedes* brought to
their aſſiſtance [l].

On the other ſide *Mithridates* having inticed many of the neighbouring nations
to join him againſt the *Romans*, found at the general rendezvous, that his whole
ſtrength conſiſted of two hundred and fifty thouſand foot, fifty thouſand horſe, a
hundred and thirty chariots armed with ſithes, three hundred ſhips, and one hun-
dred gallies. *Nicomedes*, as he was on his march to take poſſeſſion of an important
poſt, according to the direction of the *Roman* generals, happened to fall in with a
numerous body of the enemies; whereupon a bloody battle enſued, the victory e
inclining ſome time to one ſide, and ſome time to another. The fight laſted many
hours, both armies behaving themſelves with the utmoſt gallantry and reſolution.
Defeats the Bithynians. But at laſt the *Bithynians*, though far ſuperior in number, being put in diſorder by
the armed chariots, which mowed down intire files, betook themſelves to flight,
leaving behind them their baggage, money, and proviſions, which fell to the con-
queror. *Nicomedes*, the greater part of his men being ſlain, with much ado got into
Paphlagonia, and from thence marched with the remains of his ſcattered army to join
Caſſius. *Nicomedes* being thus driven out of the field, *Mithridates* detached part of
his army under the command of *Neoptolemus* and *Nemanes* an *Armenian* to fall upon
Aquilius, who guarded the paſſes leading into *Bithynia* with an army of forty thou- f
ſand foot, and four thouſand horſe. Upon their approach *Aquilius* withdrew his
forces in good order, but being purſued cloſe, and haraſſed on his march by the
enemy, he reſolved to venture a battle, which proved very unſucceſsful, ten thou-
ſand of his men being killed on the ſpot, three hundred taken priſoners, and the
reſt quite diſperſed. The legate himſelf, attended by a ſmall body of horſe, having
the ſame night reached the river *Sangarius*, ſwam over, and arrived ſafe at *Pergamus* [m].
Upon the news of this double overthrow the other *Roman* generals abandoned their
poſts, and left *Mithridates* maſter of the field. The fleet alſo diſperſed, and the

[k] Liv. l. lxxiv. Appian. Mithridatic. p. 177, & 179. Dio legat. 31. [l] Appian. in Mithridatic. p. 179. [m] Appian. comparat. cum Memnon. & Liv. l. lxxvii. Strab. l. xii. p. 562.

greater

a greater part of the ſhips were either taken or ſunk by the king's admirals. *Mithridates* reſolved to improve the opportunity which now offered of accompliſhing his deſigns; and driving the *Romans* quite out of *Aſia*, over-ran all *Phrygia*, *Myſia*, *Aſia Proper*, *Caria*, *Lycia*, *Pamphylia*, *Paphlagonia*, *Bithynia*, and whatever other countries either belonged to, or had ſided with, the *Romans*, as far as *Ionia*. He was received every-where with all poſſible demonſtrations of joy, the inhabitants flocking to him in white garments, and calling him their father, their deliverer, their god, the great and ſole lord of all *Aſia* [n]. What thus gained him the affections of the people, was his kind uſage to the priſoners he had taken in the two engagements; for he not only ſent them all home without ranſom, but furniſhed with b good ſtore of proviſions, and even money to defray the expences of their journey. This piece of good-nature was every-where ſo cried up by his friends, and had ſuch an effect on the minds of his enemies, that all the nations of *Aſia* ſhewed an ambition to live under the mild government of ſo clement a prince. Embaſſadors came flocking to him from all parts, and among others thoſe of *Laodicea* on the *Lycus*, to whom the king promiſed his protection, on condition they delivered up to him *Q. Oppius*, governor of *Pamphylia*, who had retreated thither. The inhabitants readily complied with his deſire, and ſent *Oppius* to him in chains, ordering lictors to walk before him with their faſces in deriſion of the *Roman* pride and oſtentation. *Mithridates* was overjoyed to ſee a *Roman* general and a proconſul his priſoner; and c his joy was ſoon after encreaſed by the delivery of *Manius Aquilius*, whom the *Leſbians*, revolting from the *Romans*, ſent to him in fetters with many other *Romans* of diſtinction. As he had been the chief author and promoter of the war, *Mithridates* led him about with him, whitherſoever he went, either bound on an aſs, or on foot coupled to one *Baſtarnes*, a public malefactor, forcing him to proclaim with his own mouth to the crowds flocking to ſee him, that he was *Manius Aquilius* the *Roman* legate. When he came to *Pergamus*, he cauſed him firſt to be publicly whipt, afterwards to be put upon the rack, and laſtly melted gold to be poured down his throat, upbraiding thereby the *Romans* in general, and him in particular, with avarice, bribery, and corruption [o].

Over-runs the greateſt part of Aſia.

Puts Manius Aquilius *to a cruel death.*

d *Mithridates* after ſo many conqueſts being now looked upon as invincible, all the free cities of *Aſia* opened their gates to him; he was received at *Magneſia*, *Mitylene*, and *Epheſus* with loud acclamations; the latter, to ingratiate themſelves with him, pulling down all the monuments which the *Romans* had erected. His generals too were attended with like ſucceſs, the cities, where-ever they appeared, voluntarily ſubmitting to them, and contributing large ſums of money to defray the charges of the war. By this means he amaſſed ſuch treaſures as enabled him to maintain ſeveral numerous armies on foot for the ſpace of five years without levying any taxes or tributes on his ſubjects [p].

As moſt of the provinces ſubdued by *Mithridates* were either ſubject or allied to e *Rome*, many *Roman* citizens had ſettled in the chief cities, and were diſperſed all over *Aſia*. *Mithridates* conſidering theſe as ſo many ſpies, who would not fail to obſerve his motions, and acquaint the ſenate with his deſigns, took the moſt cruel and inhuman method of ridding himſelf of them that had been heard of till his time, but has been practiſed in after-ages by other nations. He diſpatched private letters to all the governors and magiſtrates of the cities where the *Romans* reſided, injoining them on pain of death, and utter deſtruction of their country, to cauſe all of the *Italian* race, women and children not excepted, to be murdered on the thirtieth day from the date of his letters, and to let their bodies lie unburied in the open fields. One moiety of their goods was to be forfeited to the king, and the other beſtowed as a f reward on the aſſaſſins. Whatever ſlave murdered his maſter was to receive his liberty, and one-half of the debt was to be remitted to the debtor that ſhould kill his creditor. Whoever concealed any of the *Italian* race, under what pretence ſoever, was to be puniſhed with immediate death (R). When the fatal day came, a day, as

Orders all the Romans *in* Aſia *to be maſſacred.*

Year of the flood 2911. *Before Chriſt* 88.

[n] Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. Valeſii, p. 401. Athen. l. v. c. 11. Memnon. c. 33. Liv. l. lxxvii. Appian. p. 183. [o] Liv. l. lxxviii. Athenæus ubi ſupra. Appian. p. 184. Plin. l. xxxiii. c. 3. Cicero, in orat. pro lege Manil. & lib. v. Tuſculan. quæſt. [p] Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 3.

(R) *Theophanes* the *Mitylenian*, who wrote the life of *Pompey*, tells us, that *P. Rutilius Rufus*, a man of proconſular dignity, who had been baniſhed *Rome*, and lived at that time in *Aſia*, put *Mithridates*

as *Tully* calls it, of horror and confuſion, the gates of the cities being ſhut, and all the outlets beſet with ſoldiers, the king's orders were proclaimed; which cauſed an univerſal alarm and conſternation, not in thoſe only, who were deſtined to die, but in ſuch of the natives too as had the leaſt ſpark of humanity, ſeeing themſelves obliged either to betray and barbarouſly murder their innocent gueſts, friends and relations, or be liable themſelves to a cruel death. However, as moſt of the *Aſiatics* bore a mortal hatred to the *Romans*, and were moreover animated by the promiſe of an ample reward, the king's orders were without delay put in execution, and all *Aſia* in one day turned into a ſhambles [n]. The inhabitants of *Epheſus*, where *Mithridates* then reſided, dragged ſuch as had taken ſanctuary in *Diana*'s temple from the very ſtatue of the goddeſs, and put them to the ſword. The *Pergamenians* diſcharged ſhowers of darts upon them, as they embraced the ſtatues in the temple of *Eſculapius*. At *Adramyttium* in *Myſia* many were murdered in the water, while they were attempting with their children on their backs to ſwim over to the iſland of *Lesbos*. The *Caunians*, who not long before had been delivered by the *Romans* from the yoke of the *Rhodians*, and reſtored to their ancient privileges, excelled in cruelty all the reſt; for, as if they had apoſtatized from human nature, they took pleaſure in tormenting and butchering the innocent children under their mothers eyes, ſome of them running diſtracted, and others dying for grief at a ſight which nature could not bear. The *Trallians* were the only people on the continent, who could not find in their hearts to imbrue their hands in the blood of their innocent gueſts. However, as the king's orders were peremptory, they hired one *Theophilus* a *Paphlagonian* to diſpatch the few *Romans* that lived among them. He having ſhut them all up together in the temple of *Concord*, firſt cut off their hands as they embraced the ſtatues of the gods, and then hacked them to pieces [o]. Many *Romans* were ſaved on the floating iſlands of *Lydia*, called *Calaminæ*, where they concealed themſelves till ſuch time as they found an opportunity of making their eſcape out of *Aſia* [p]; but nevertheleſs a hundred and fifty thouſand *Roman* citizens were maſſacred that day, according to *Plutarch* and *Dion* [q]; but according to others only eighty thouſand [r].

Mithridates having thus got rid of ſuch as could any ways diſturb him in the quiet poſſeſſion of his conqueſts on the continent, imbarqued great part of his forces in order to reduce the adjacent iſlands. He ſailed firſt to *Cos*, where he was joyfully received by the natives, who delivered up to him *Alexander*, the ſon of king *Alexander*, who being driven from the throne of *Egypt* was killed by *Chareas* a ſea captain, as he was retiring in a ſmall veſſel to *Cyprus*. With the young prince they put into the king's hands vaſt ſums of money, with all the golden veſſels and jewels to an immenſe value, which his grandmother *Cleopatra* had left with him, and had been amaſſing for many years. To the young prince *Mithridates* gave an education ſuitable to his birth, and ever treated him like a king's ſon, but kept the treaſures for himſelf [s]. Here likewiſe he found eight hundred talents in ready money, which at the firſt breaking out of the war, had been depoſited by the *Jews* of *Aſia* in this iſland as in a place of ſafety, and was deſigned, as *Joſephus* informs us [t], for the temple of *Jeruſalem*. From *Cos* the king ſteered his courſe to the iſland of *Rhodes*, where all the *Romans* who had eſcaped out of *Aſia* found a ſanctuary, and amongſt others *L. Caſſius* the proconſul. The *Rhodians*, upon the firſt news of the king's being at ſea, equipped their fleet, and put their city in a poſture of defence, determined neither to deliver up the *Romans*, nor admit him within their gates. As he drew near they ordered their admiral, by name *Damagoras*, a man of great experience in ſea affairs, to meet him, and, if poſſible, draw him to a battle, knowing that his fleet, though

[n] APPIAN. in Mithridatic. p. 185. 206. 209. 212. CIC. in Orat. pro lege Manil. & pro Flacco. MEMNON. in excerpt. c. 33. LIV. l. lxxviii. VELLEIUS PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 18. FLOR. l. iii. c. 5. EUTROP. l. v. OROS. l. vi. c. 2, &c. [o] APPIAN. ubi ſupra, p. 185. & comparat. cum DION. in excerptis, p. 642. [p] PLIN. l. ii. c. 95. [q] PLUT. in Sylla. DION. legat. 36, & 37. [r] MEMNON. c. 33. VALER. MAXIM. l. ix. c. 2. [s] APPIAN. ubi ſupra, p. 186. 252, 253. & bell. civil. l. i. p. 414. [t] JOSEPH. l. xiv. c. 12.

dates upon this barbarous reſolution; and adds, that *Pompey* found in the fort *Caino*, amongſt many other valuable books, an oration compoſed by *Rutilius*, wherein he ſtirred up the king to this maſſacre (23). But *Tully* aſſures us (24), that *Rutilius* had no hand in it, having ſaved himſelf by diſguiſing his condition with a philoſopher's mantle, and in that garb making his eſcape, as ſome others did, out of *Aſia* undiſcovered.

(23) *Plutarch. in Pomp.* (24) *Cic. pro C. Rubinio Poſthumo.*

ſuperior

a ſuperior in number, was but very indifferently manned. As the *Rhodians* advanced, the king's fleet retired, making towards the coaſts of *Lycia*; but *Damagoras* chacing them, ſix of his ſhips came up with twenty-five of the king's, and after a ſharp engagement ſunk two, and put the reſt to flight. In this encounter *Mithridates*, though he had never before ſeen a ſea-fight, behaved with extraordinary courage and intrepidity; but one of the ſhips of his own ſquadron falling foul of that which carried him, by which accident he was very near being taken priſoner, he ever after abhorred the ſea, and took an averſion to all the *Chians*, becauſe the pilot of that ſhip was a *Chian*. However, being unwilling to give over the enterprize, he took new forces on board with great ſtore of warlike engines to batter the city, and unex-
b pectedly appeared again on the coaſts; but was anew forced to retire with diſgrace, and lay aſide all thoughts of reducing the iſland [u].

His fleet defeated by the Rhodians.

Mithridates being thus diſappointed at *Rhodes*, intruſted his generals with the command of his armies, and himſelf retired to *Pergamus*, there to ſettle the civil government of *Aſia*, and levy new forces to be ſent to his generals as they ſhould have occaſion for them. *Archelaus*, commander in chief of all his forces, was ſent into *Greece* with an army of a hundred and twenty thouſand men, where by the treachery of one *Ariſtio* or *Athenio* he got poſſeſſion of *Athens*, and either put to the ſword, or ſent to *Mithridates* all thoſe who favoured, or were ſuſpected to favour, the *Romans*. From *Athens* he detached parties to reduce the neighbouring caſtles, and the iſland of *Delos*,
c which they did accordingly; but the iſland was ſoon recovered by *Orobius* a *Roman* general, who hearing that the enemies kept no guards, but paſſed their time in debauchery and carouſing, by the favour of a dark night, landed without being perceived, and falling upon them in one of their revels, put every man of that party to the ſword, except *Apellicon* the commander, who found means to make his eſcape [w]. *Metrophanes*, another of the king's generals entering *Eubœa*, laid waſte the whole country, exerting his rage chiefly againſt the cities of *Demetrias* and *Magneſia*, which refuſed to admit him within their gates. But as he was ſailing off with a great booty, *Bryttius* prætor or governor of *Macedonia*, coming up with him, ſunk ſome of his ſhips, and took others, putting all the priſoners to the ſword. *Mithridates* upon
d the news of this loſs ſent his ſon *Ariarathes* with a powerful army to invade *Macedonia*, which he ſoon reduced together with the kingdom of *Thrace*, driving the *Romans* every-where before him. The generals, which he ſent into other quarters, were no leſs ſucceſsful, having at the return of the *Romans* into *Greece*, as *Aulus Gellius* [x], *Valerius Maximus* [y], and *Quintilian* [z] aſſure us, twenty-five different nations, which paid him homage. The ſame authors add, that he was ſkilled in every one of their various languages, ſo as to ſpeak with the natives without an interpreter whenever he had occaſion. Among theſe we find reckoned the *Rhoxani*, now *Ruſſians* or *Muſcovites*, whom *Diophontus*, one of the king's generals, brought under ſubjection, after having ſlain in one engagement fifty thouſand of the *Barbarians*, who came with
e an innumerable army to oppoſe him. And now *Mithridates* was maſter not only of *Aſia*, but of all *Greece*, and the adjacent iſlands, except *Rhodes*, as far as the *Cyclades*.

Archelaus *makes himſelf maſter of* Athens.

The inteſtine broils, and civil diſſenſions, which at this time reigned in *Rome*, proved a favourable opportunity for *Mithridates* to extend thus the confines of his empire; but at laſt the ſenate upon certain advice that he deſigned to invade *Italy*, and had even been invited thither by the *Italians*, who had revolted from them, began ſeriouſly to deliberate on the means of oppoſing ſo powerful and inſulting an enemy. *Lucius Sylla*, who on many occaſions had given ſignal proofs of his courage, conduct, and experience in war, was appointed general, and ordered with all poſſible
f expedition to ſail over into *Greece*, where *Archelaus* domineered without controul. He put to ſea with five legions only, and a few cohorts, and landing in *Attica* detached part of his forces to lay ſiege to *Athens*, he himſelf marching with the main body of his ſmall army againſt *Archelaus*, who was encamped near *Piræum* [a] (S).

Driven from thence by Sylla.

[u] Appian. comparat. cum Memnon. c. 33. & Liv. l. lxxviii. [w] Appian. l. v. c. 11. [x] Aul. Gell. l. xvii. c. 17. [y] Val. Max. l. viii. c. 7. [z] Quintilian. l. xi. c. 2. [a] Plut. in Sylla. Dio in excerpt. Valeſii. Appian. in Mithridatic. p. 390.

(S) *Mithridates* at that time reſided at *Pergamus*, where amongſt many other prodigies mentioned by the ancient writers, it is ſaid, that at the ſame inſtant *Sylla* put to ſea, the *Pergamenians* in the theatre were letting down with engines a ſtatue of victory, bearing a crown to be put on the king's head; but the

Upon his approach *Archelaus* retired within the walls, and *Sylla*, as winter was drawing on, contented himſelf to cut off his communication with *Athens* by a deep trench, which he continued from the mountains quite to the ſea. By this means the city for want of proviſions fell into his hands, as he himſelf relates in his commentaries, on the calends of *March* [b]. *Ariſtio*, who was at the head of the king's party retiring with thoſe of his faction into the caſtle, where they held out for a long time, but at laſt were obliged for want of water to ſurrender at diſcretion; *Sylla* commanded *Ariſtio* to be put to death, and all thoſe who had bore any employment under the king, or any ways violated the conſtitutions, which the *Romans* had eſtabliſhed after the conqueſt of *Greece*. a

As *Archelaus* had a powerful fleet, and *Sylla* but a few frigats, he diſpatched *L. Lucullus*, his lieutenant general, a man of great repute among the *Romans*, to the iſland of *Rhodes*, with orders to the *Rhodians* to join him with their fleet. But this being found impracticable by reaſon that the king's fleet had, as it were, overſpread the whole ſea, *Lucullus* deſpiſing all danger, ventured out boldly with ſix frigats only, and ſailing to *Syria*, *Egypt*, *Libya*, and *Cyprus*, returned with ſuch ſupplies of ſhips and experienced mariners, as enabled *Sylla* after their conjunction with the *Rhodian* fleet to act offenſively even by ſea [c]. *Archelaus* finding himſelf thus ſtraitened on all ſides, diſpatched meſſengers to *Taxiles*, who commanded in *Thrace* and *Macedonia*, inviting him to his relief. *Taxiles* made what haſte he could, and having joined *Archelaus*, they both marched againſt *Sylla*, leading under their colours a hundred and twenty thouſand men. On the other ſide, *Sylla*, being acquainted with their deſigns, was in full march to meet them, though his whole army conſiſted but of fifteen hundred horſe, and fifteen thouſand foot. The two armies came in ſight of each other near the city of *Chæronea*, and neither declining the engagement, the *Romans*, animated by the example of their leader, and an eager deſire of revenging the death of their fellow-citizens maſſacred in *Aſia* by the king's order, put that day a hundred and ten thouſand of the enemy to the ſword, having loſt on their ſide but twelve men, as *Sylla* himſelf witneſſes in his commentaries. *Archelaus* narrowly eſcaped with the remains of his army to *Chalcis*. b c *The battle of* Chæronea.

THE ſucceſs which attended *Sylla*, raiſed new jealouſies againſt him at *Rome*, where the contrary faction began to prevail. Whereupon the ſenate ſent *Lucius Valerius Flaccus*, conſul of that year, with two legions into *Aſia*, in appearance to attack *Mithridates* on that ſide, but with private inſtructions to fall upon *Sylla*, if they found him diſaffected to the ſenate. As *Flaccus* had no experience in war, *C. Fimbria*, a ſenate of great repute among the ſoldiery, was appointed to attend him with the character of legate or lieutenant general. *Sylla* was at that time in *Bœotia*, but hearing what meaſures the ſenate had taken againſt him, he left that province, and with all expedition marched into *Theſſaly*, with a deſign to meet *Flaccus*, who having imbarqued his troops at *Brunduſium*, was ſteering his courſe towards that province. But *Sylla* being arrived at the city of *Melitea*, intelligence was brought him, that the country, which he had abandoned, was over-run with a powerful army of the king's under the command of *Dorylaus*, his chief favourite. Upon this advice he returned into *Bœotia*, and in two ſucceſſive engagements gained two ſignal victories, which put an end to the war in *Greece*. In the firſt encounter *Dorylaus* loſt fifteen thouſand men, as *Appian* and *Oroſius* inform us [d], or two hundred thouſand, as *Eutropius* will have it; in the ſecond the remaining part of the army, which conſiſted of ninety thouſand choſen troops, was intirely cut off; twenty thouſand were driven into a river, where they all periſhed; an equal number was ſurrounded, and all put to the ſword, in a marſh, whither they had retired; the reſt were killed in the flight, the *Romans* giving no quarter to men that had treated their fellow-citizens after ſo d e Dorylaus *routed by* Syl'a. f

[b] PLUTARCH. in Sylla. [c] PLUTARCH. in Lucullo. [d] APPIAN. l. lxxxii. & OROS. l. vi. c. 2.

the crown before it reached him fell to the ground, and was daſhed in pieces, which accident being looked upon as a bad omen, ſtruck the people and *Mithridates* himſelf with great terror (25). At *Stratopedo* the crows killed a vultur, and the goddeſs *Iſis* was ſeen to ſtrike with thunder a ſtar fallen from heaven. The ſame author adds, that while the king was firing a grove conſecrated to the furies, a great laughing was heard among the trees, but no body could be found, and that the king being adviſed by the ſoothſayers to ſacrifice a virgin to the furies, the young woman was taken with ſuch a fit of laughing, that the ſacrifice being diſturbed, the prieſts thought fit to give it over.

(25) *Plutarch. in Sylla.*

barbarous

a barbarous a manner in *Aſia*. *Plutarch* tells us [e], that the marſhes were died with blood, that the courſe of the river was ſtopt by the dead bodies, and that even in his time, that is near two hundred years after, a great many bows, helmets, coats of mail, and ſwords were found buried in the mud. *Archelaus*, who had joined *Dorylaus* with a body of ten thouſand men a few days before the battle, lay three days ſtript and naked among the dead, till he found a ſmall veſſel which carried him over into *Eubœa*, where he muſtered together what troops he could, but was never in a condition to take the field. As for *Sylla* he gave up the province of *Bœotia* to be plundered by his ſoldiers, as being ready to revolt on every freſh occaſion. From *Bœotia* he marched into *Theſſaly*, where he took up his winter-quarters, and cauſed
b his old ſhips to be refitted, and ſeveral new ones to be built, in order to paſs over into *Aſia* in the beginning of the ſpring, and drive from thence not only *Mithridates*, but alſo his rival *Flaccus*, whom the ſenate had in oppoſition to him appointed governor of that province (T).

Differences ariſe between Flaccus *and* Fimbria.

In the mean time *Flaccus*, being joined by the *Roman* allies in *Aſia*, had poſſeſſed himſelf of *Byzantium*, and from thence marched into *Bithynia*, where upon ſome differences ariſing between him and his legate *Fimbria*, ſome of the ſoldiery ſided with one, and ſome with the other, which the conſul, as he was of a haughty and imperious temper, not being able to bear, deprived *Fimbria* of his command, and named another in his room. *Fimbria* being thus caſhiered repaired to *Byzantium*, where he
c prevailed upon that part of the army which *Flaccus* had left there, to forſake the conſul and follow him. With this body he croſſed the *Helleſpont*, and obliged all the cities of that neighbourhood, without diſtinction of friend or foe, to contribute large ſums towards the maintenance of his army, allowing at the ſame time his ſoldiers an uncontrouled licence to commit all ſorts of villainies and rapine. This liberty brought daily over to him a great many from *Flaccus*, inſomuch that thinking himſelf now a match for the conſul, he took upon himſelf the ſupreme command, and turned out all the civil as well as the military officers, which *Flaccus* had appointed, placing his own creatures in their room. Such extraordinary proceedings ſoon brought back *Flaccus* from *Chalcedon*, whither he had ſailed with his fleet; but finding *Fimbria*'s
d party ſtronger than he expected, he was forced to conceal himſelf in a friend's houſe, till he had an opportunity of ſtealing away in the night-time to *Chalcedon*, and from thence to *Nicomedia*. *Fimbria* having intelligence of his flight, purſued him cloſe, took *Nicomedia* by ſtorm, and dragging the conſul from a well, where he lay concealed, put him to death. His head he threw into the ſea, and left the body unburied on the ſhore [f]. Upon the death of *Flaccus*, *Fimbria* took upon himſelf the command of all the *Roman* forces in *Aſia*, beſieged and took a great many towns, but at the ſame time practiſed ſuch cruelties upon perſons of all ranks, that his name became more odious than that even of *Mithridates* (U). Having perſuaded the inhabitants of *Cizicum* to admit him as a friend into the city, he not only plundered it, but
e put the moſt wealthy citizens to death in order to ſeize on their eſtates, as if they had been guilty of treaſon; others he forced with threats to give up to him all they had [g]. The minds of the *Aſiatics* being by the cruelty of *Fimbria* alienated from the

Cruelties of Fimbria.

[e] Plutarch. in vit. Sylla. [f] Appian. p. 204, 205. Liv. l. lxxxii. Patercul. l. ii. c. 24. Strab. l. xiii. p. 594. Aurel. Vict. de vir. illuſtrib. c. 70, &c. [g] Diodor. Sicul. p. 409.

(T) *Livy* tells us (26), that *Archelaus* delivered up himſelf and the king's fleet to *Sylla*; and *Aurelius Victor* (27), that the king's fleet was intercepted by *Sylla* through the treachery of *Archelaus*, adding that there was a good underſtanding between theſe two commanders, as was plain from *Sylla*'s beſtowing on him ten thouſand acres of land near the city of *Chalcis* in *Eubœa*. The treachery of *Archelaus* is alſo mentioned by *Saluſt* (28), who introduces *Mithridates* complaining of him in a letter to *Arſaces*, in the following words: Archelaus, *the moſt unworthy of all thoſe who were under me, gave a check to my enterpriſes by betraying my army.* And *Strabo* (29) informs us, that *Archelaus* was afterwards greatly eſteemed and careſſed both by *Sylla* and the ſenate. But *Sylla* himſelf in his commentaries (30), and *Dio* (31), endeavour to clear *Archelaus* from all ſuſpicion of treachery.

(U) *Dio* gives us an inſtance of his cruelty (32). Having, ſays he, one day ſet up ſome poſts, to which he uſed to cauſe men to be faſtened, and whipt to death, he found that there were more poſts provided, than perſons condemned to that puniſhment. Whereupon he commanded ſome of the ſpectators to be ſeized, faſtened to the poſts, and whipt to death, leſt they ſhould ſeem to have been ſet up to no purpoſe.

(26) *Liv. l.* lxxxii. (27) *Aurel. Victor. de vir. illuſtrib. c.* 76. (28) *Saluſt. hiſt. l.* iv. (29) *Strab. l.* xii. *p.* 558. *& lib.* xvii. *p.* 796. (30) *Plutarch. in Sylla.* (31) *Dio legat.* 33, *or* 34. (32) *Dio in excerptis Valeſii, p.* 653.

Romans,

Romans, *Mithridates*, in order to improve this hatred into an open revolt, commanded his ſon, by name alſo *Mithridates*, to join *Taxiles*, *Diophantes*, and *Menander*, three of the moſt experienced commanders he had, and to return at the head of a numerous army into *Aſia*, not doubting but the inhabitants, thus haraſſed by *Fimbria*, would ſhake off the *Roman* yoke, when they ſaw ſo powerful an army in the field ready to protect them. *Fimbria* diſtruſting the *Aſiatics*, marched out to meet the enemy, and offer them battle before they entered the province. As the king's army was far ſuperior to his in number, the *Romans* ſuffered greatly in the engagement, but held out till night parted them, when they withdrew to the oppoſite ſide of a river, which was at a ſmall diſtance from the field of battle. Here they deſigned to intrench themſelves. But in the mean time a dreadful ſtorm ariſing, *Fimbria* laid hold of that opportunity, and fording the river in the dead of the night, ſurprized the enemy, and made ſuch a havock of them, as they lay in their tents, that only the commanders, and ſome few troops of horſe eſcaped [h]. Among theſe was the king's ſon, who attended with a few horſe got ſafe to *Pergamus*, where his father reſided. But *Fimbria* purſuing him night and day without intermiſſion, entered *Pergamus* ſword in hand; and hearing that both the father and ſon had fled from thence a few hours before his arrival, he continued the purſuit, and would have taken the king himſelf priſoner had he not thrown himſelf with a conſiderable body of horſe into *Pitane*. This place *Fimbria* immediately inveſted, blocking up all the avenues by which the king could make his eſcape by land; but as he had no ſhips to intercept his retreat by ſea, he diſpatched a meſſenger to *Lucullus*, who commanded the *Roman* navy in *Aſia*, intreating him as he tendered the welfare of his country to make what haſte he could to *Pritane*, and aſſiſt him with his fleet in taking one, who of all the kings in the world was the moſt cruel and implacable enemy of the people of *Rome*. But *Lucullus*, being ſwayed by a party-grudge more than by the good of the republic, would not ſtir out of the harbour, though he might with all eaſe, as his fleet was riding but at a ſmall diſtance, at once have put an end to a war, which afterwards coſt the people of *Rome* ſo much blood and treaſure. *Fimbria* finding himſelf thus diſappointed, carried on the ſiege with all poſſible vigour in hopes of making himſelf maſter of the town before the king's fleet could come to his relief. But as the town was well fortified both by art and nature, and defended by a numerous gariſon animated by the king's preſence and example, before the *Romans* could approach the walls, the fleet appeared, and being received with loud ſhouts of joy, took the king on board, and to the eternal diſgrace of *Lucullus*, carried him, without the leaſt moleſtation, to *Mitylene* [i].

Fimbria *defeats the king's generals.*

Fimbria ſoon after the king's departure took the place by ſtorm, and reduced moſt of the cities of *Aſia*, ſetting large fines on ſuch as did not voluntarily ſubmit. As he approached the ancient city of *Troy*, the *Trojans* ſhut their gates againſt him, and at the ſame time ſent deputies to *Sylla*, declaring that they were ready to ſubmit to him, and begging his protection againſt the cruelty and avarice of *Fimbria*. *Sylla* commended them for returning to their ancient alliance with the people of *Rome*, and promiſed to haſten to their relief, adding that it was no matter whether they ſubmitted to him, or to *Fimbria*, they being both citizens of *Rome*, and originally deſcended from the *Trojans*. But at the ſame time he warned *Fimbria* by a meſſenger not to moleſt thoſe who had ſubmitted to him, and on that regard ought to be looked upon as allies of *Rome*. This embaſſy fired *Fimbria*'s haughty temper, who thereupon laying cloſe ſiege to the town, carried it by ſtorm the eleventh day, bragging that he had reduced in ſo ſhort a time a city, which *Agamemnon* had not been able to maſter in leſs than ten years, though aſſiſted by a fleet of a thouſand ſhips, and the whole power of *Greece*. Entering the city he put moſt of the inhabitants to the ſword, not ſparing even thoſe who had taken ſanctuary in the temple of *Minerva*, which he cauſed to be burnt with all that were in it. He levelled the walls with the ground, ſet fire to the houſes and temples, and reduced the city to a heap of aſhes. He racked and murdered in a moſt barbarous manner thoſe that had been employed on the embaſſy to *Sylla*, and in ſhort did not leave one houſe ſtanding, or one ſoul alive, in the whole town that he could meet with (W).

Takes and deſtroys Troy.

Mithridates

[h] MEMNON, c. 38. [i] PLUT. in Lucull. & OROS. ubi ſupra.

(W) *Aurelius Victor* (33) ſays, that *Minerva*'s temple ſtood untouched, *being, without all doubt, preſerved by the goddeſs herſelf.* But *Julius Obſequens* and *Appian* aſſure us, that the temple was burnt; and add,

(33) *De vir. illuſtrib. c.* 70.

a *Mithridates* being thus preſſed by *Fimbria* in *Aſia*, and by *Sylla* in *Greece*, and his fleet intirely defeated in two ſea-engagements by *Lucullus*, began to be weary of the war; and accordingly charged *Archelaus* to ſtrike up a peace with *Sylla* upon as honourable conditions as he could. On the other hand *Sylla* hearing of the ſtrange diſorders that *Cinna* and *Carbo*, the leading men of the adverſe party, committed at *Rome*, was very willing to put an end to the war, and haſten to the relief of his friends, who were daily flocking to him, being baniſhed their country for favouring his cauſe. Wherefore on the firſt notice of the king's intention, he went in perſon to confer with *Archelaus*; who meeting him at *Apollo*'s temple near *Delos*, adviſed him to return home and ſuccour his friends at *Rome*, where the oppoſite faction grew daily ſtronger by his abſence; he offered him what ſhips, men and money he pleaſed, and
b aſſured him that the king would aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of his power. On the other hand *Sylla* endeavoured to perſuade *Archelaus* to deliver up to him the king's fleet, promiſing, in caſe he complied with his requeſt, to place him on the throne of *Pontus*, and honour him with the title of a friend and ally of the people of *Rome*. But *Archelaus* ſhewing the utmoſt abhorrency of ſuch an infamous piece of treachery, *Sylla* propoſed ſome preliminaries, one of which was, that *Mithridates* ſhould forthwith withdraw his gariſons from all the places that were not poſſeſſed by him before the war broke out. This article was agreed to by *Archelaus*, and ſeveral places immediately evacuated; but concerning the others, he wrote to the king to know his pleaſure therein. *Mithridates* ſent without delay embaſſadors to *Sylla*, charging
c them, among other things, to diſſuade *Sylla* from inſiſting on the delivery of *Paphlagonia*, and the fleet, which was one of the preliminaries. This put *Sylla* in ſo violent a paſſion, that he was with much ado prevailed upon to continue the conferences. But *Archelaus* deſiring to be ſent to the king, and aſſuring *Sylla* that he would either diſpatch him, or make him conclude a peace upon *Sylla*'s own terms, he was appeaſed. *Archelaus* was as good as his word; for on his return he acquainted *Sylla*, that the king had ſubmitted to his terms, but at the ſame time ſhewed a great deſire of having an interview with him before matters were quite ſettled; which *Sylla* agreeing to, they met at *Dardanus* a city of *Troas*. The king came attended with twenty thouſand foot, ſix hundred horſe, and a great many chariots
d armed with ſithes, beſides a fleet of ſix hundred ſhips. *Sylla* had but two legions with him, and two hundred horſe. Both armies being drawn up, *Mithridates* and *Sylla* retired with a ſmall retinue into a neighbouring field. The king coming up to *Sylla* offered to embrace him, but he ſtopt him, deſiring firſt to know whether he was willing to conclude a peace upon the terms which *Archelaus* had propoſed to him. *Mithridates* at firſt deſired that ſome alterations might be made, but the *Roman* general ſo terrified him with his paſſionate and threatening ſpeech, that he conſented without exception to all he required; and then *Sylla* having embraced and kiſſed him, after mutual expreſſions of friendſhip they parted, *Mithridates* retiring into *Pontus*, according to their agreement, and *Sylla* advancing to *Thyatira*, where *Fimbria* lay in-
e camped [d]. The conditions of the peace were as follow: that *Mithridates* ſhould relinquiſh all his conqueſts, and content himſelf with his paternal dominions, which were confined within the limits of *Pontus*: that he ſhould forthwith reſign *Bithynia* to *Nicomedes*, and *Cappadocia* to *Ariobarzanes*, and releaſe without ranſom all the captives and priſoners he had made during the war: that he ſhould pay to the *Romans* two, or, as *Memnon* has it, three thouſand talents, and deliver up to *Sylla* eighty ſhips, with all their arms and ammunition, and five hundred archers: laſtly, that he ſhould not any ways moleſt ſuch cities or perſons, as had during the war revolted from him, and ſided with the *Romans* [e]. Thus ended the firſt *Mithridatic* war to the great diſadvantage of the king and to *Sylla*'s glory, who in leſs than three years

A conference between Sylla *and* Mithridates.

A peace concluded. *Year of the flood* 2914. *Year before Chriſt* 85.

[d] Memnon, c. 37. Plutarch. in Sylla. Appian. p. 207, 208. & Appian. ubi ſupra. Liv. l. lxxxiii. Velleius Paterc. l. ii. c. 23.

[e] Memnon, ubi ſupra. Plut.

add, that amongſt the ruins the famous palladium, which *Diomedes* and *Ulyſſes* were ſuppoſed to have ſtolen, was found ſafe and entire. *Servius* (34) tells us, that the palladium was on this occaſion diſcovered by *Fimbria*, and afterwards brought to *Rome*. This ſecond deſtruction of *Troy* happened, according to *Appian* (35), on the hundred and ſeventy-third olympiad, a thouſand and fifty years after the firſt; but *Eratoſthenes*, *Apollodorus*, and *Diodorus Siculus*, compute a thouſand and ninety-nine years between the taking of *Troy* by the *Greeks*, and the fourth year of the hundred and ſeventy-third olympiad, when this deſolation by *Fimbria* happened.

(34) *Servius in iib.* ii. *Æneid.*

(35) *Appian. p.* 206.

time drove him out of *Greece*, *Macedon*, *Ionia*, and the province of *Aſia*, confined him within the narrow bounds of his father's kingdom, and killed above a hundred and ſixty thouſand of his beſt troops, without loſing one thouſand of his own. a

AND now *Sylla* having no other enemy to contend with, led his army againſt *Fimbria*, and having incamped within two furlongs of *Thyatira*, where he lay intrenched, ſummoned him to deliver up the army, as having taken the command upon him againſt the known laws of *Rome*. *Fimbria* replied, that his authority was equally uſurped: whereupon *Sylla* began to draw a trench in order to beſiege him in his camp, which *Fimbria*'s men perceiving, they openly proteſted, that they would not by any means imbrue their hands in the blood of their fellow-citizens, and paſſed over in troops to *Sylla*. *Fimbria* finding himſelf no ways in a condition to oppoſe *Sylla* by force, had b recourſe to treachery, and ſuborned a ſlave to paſs into *Sylla*'s camp as a deſerter, and there to ſtab him; but his heart failing him, and being ſuſpected, by the fear he betrayed, to be ſent on ſome ſuch errand, he was apprehended; and having openly owned the whole matter, *Sylla*'s men were filled with ſuch indignation, that it was no eaſy matter to keep them within the camp, every one deſiring to revenge ſuch an execrable piece of treachery with the death of the traitor. The plot being diſcovered, *Fimbria* not truſting even his own troops, retired with a few of his friends to a ſtrong fort, whence he invited *Sylla* to a parley. *Sylla* refuſed to ſee him, but ſent one *Rutilius* in his ſtead to offer him a ſafe conduct to the ſea-ſide upon condition he reſigned the troops under his command, and abandoned *Aſia*. To this offer *Fimbria* c made no other reply than that he knew a more expeditious way to prevent bloodſhed; and withdrawing in a violent paſſion, ſtole away to *Pergamus*, where he ſtabbed himſelf in the temple of *Eſculapius*. But the wound not proving mortal, one of his ſervants diſpatched him at his requeſt, and afterwards killed himſelf. *Sylla* cauſed his body to be decently interred, which was ſo pleaſing to his ſoldiery, that they came over to *Sylla* all to a man [f].

Fimbria lays violent hands on himſelf.

Sylla having now an uncontrouled power in *Aſia*, declared the *Chians*, *Rhodians*, *Lycians*, *Magneſians*, and *Trojans*, whoſe city he rebuilt, a free people, and friends of the people of *Rome*, by way of reward for having ſided with the *Romans*; but on the other cities he laid heavy fines, condemning them to pay in one year's time d twenty thouſand talents, and quartering his ſoldiers in the houſes of ſuch as had ſhewn any diſaffection to the *Romans*. Each private man was to receive of his landlord ſixteen drachmas a day, and each officer fifty; and, beſides, were to be ſupplied with proviſions, not only for their own ſuſtenance, but to regale ſuch of their friends as they ſhould think fit to invite. By theſe impoſitions moſt of the inhabitants of *Aſia* were reduced to beggary, eſpecially the *Epheſians*, who had above others exerted their hatred againſt the *Romans*. The province of *Aſia* being thus put out of a condition to revolt, *Sylla*, loaded with immenſe treaſures, ſet ſail for *Italy*, leaving behind him *Lucullus* with the character of quæſtor, and *Muræna* with that of prætor (X). He conſigned the two legions that had ſerved under *Fimbria* to *Muræna*, e ſuſpecting them inclined to *Marius*, whoſe faction he was going to quaſh at *Rome*.

Mithridates returning into *Pontus* reduced thoſe nations which had revolted during the war, beginning with the *Colchi*, who upon the approach of his army, offered to ſubmit provided he would appoint his ſon *Mithridates* king over them; which was no ſooner granted, but they returned to their duty. This raiſed a diffidence in the

[f] APPIAN. p. 211. LIV. l. lxxxiii. VELLEI. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 24. PLUT. in Sylla. AUREL. VICTOR. de viris illuſtrib. c. 70. OROS. l. vi. c. 3.

(X) Amongſt other things of great value, *Sylla* brought out of *Aſia* ſeveral libraries, namely that of *Ariſtotle*, which he ſeized on upon the death of *Apellicon* the *Teian*, who had purchaſed it with an immenſe ſum of money. *Apellicon* was one of the wealthieſt men in *Aſia*, and grudged laying out his money on any thing except books; but in theſe he was extravagant to a great degree, outbidding even kings when any valuable purchaſe offered; for which he ranſacked all the public and private libraries of *Aſia*, bribing with large ſums the librarians to deliver to him by ſtealth ſuch as were not to be ſold. By this means he got a collection of all the moſt ſcarce and valuable books that could be purchaſed. However like many in our days, he was more pleaſed with the ſight than the uſe of them. Having purchaſed of the heirs of *Nileus Scepſius* the libraries of *Ariſtotle* and *Theophraſtus*, and finding many of the books compoſed by them greatly damaged and worm-eaten, he undertook to tranſcribe them, but was often miſtaken in filling up the chaſms, which made the books that were publiſhed by him be looked upon as leſs correct, though copied from the originals. As *Apellicon* died during the *Mithridatic* war, *Sylla* ſeized on all his books, and with them inriched his own library at *Rome* (36).

(36) *Plutarch. in Sylla. Athenæus, l. v. c. 1. Strab. l. xiii. p. 609. Lucian. lib. adv. indoctum.*

king,

a king, as if his ſon's ambition had occaſioned that revolt. Whereupon he kept him for ſome time bound with gold fetters, and afterwards put him to death without any regard to his eminent ſervices during the war [g]. The *Boſphori* likewiſe, a very warlike people, had ſhaken off the yoke, and in order to reduce them, or at leaſt under that pretence, he began to make ſuch preparations both by ſea and land as raiſed no ſmall jealouſy in the *Romans*; the more becauſe he had not, according to the articles of agreement, reſigned to *Ariobarzanes* the whole and intire poſſeſſion of *Cappadocia*, but reſerved to himſelf ſome places of great importance, and had complained of *Archelaus*, as if at his inſtigation he had granted more to *Sylla* than he ought to have done. This jealouſy was increaſed by the unexpected arrival of *Archelaus*, who,
b dreading the effects of the king's diſpleaſure, fled for refuge to *Muræna*, and aſſureing him that thoſe vaſt preparations were not deſigned againſt the *Boſphori*, prevailed upon him to be before-hand with the king in making war. Having therefore drawn together with all poſſible expedition his troops, he marched into *Cappadocia* with a deſign to invade *Pontus*. The king hearing of his motions, diſpatched embaſſadors to him to put him in mind of the articles of peace, which *Sylla*, whoſe prætor he was, had agreed to. *Muræna*, who was more inclined to war than peace, in hopes, as *Appian* informs us, of deſerving a triumph, replied, that he knew nothing of any ſuch articles: for *Sylla* had ſet nothing down in writing, but contented himſelf with the execution of what had been agreed upon. Having diſmiſſed the embaſſa-
c dors with this anſwer, he began to lay waſte and plunder the country, without ſpareing even the temples, or the treaſures conſecrated to the gods. Having put all to fire and ſword on the frontiers of *Pontus* towards *Cappadocia*, he paſſed the river *Halys*, and on that ſide poſſeſſed himſelf of four hundred villages belonging to the king without the leaſt oppoſition, *Mithridates* being unwilling to commit any hoſtilities before the return of the embaſſadors, whom he had ſent to *Rome* to complain both to the ſenate and to *Sylla* of ſuch violent proceedings. The embaſſadors returned at laſt, and with them one *Callidius* ſent by the ſenate, who in a public aſſembly commanded *Muræna* to forbear moleſting a friend and ally of the *Roman* people; but afterwards calling him aſide, had a private conference with him, in which ſome writers
d ſuppoſe, as he brought no decree of the ſenate, that he encouraged him to purſue the war; at leaſt he continued practiſing the ſame hoſtilities, and even made an attempt upon *Sinope*, the place where the king reſided, and the royal treaſures were kept. But as the town was well gariſoned, he was forced to retire with ſome loſs; and *The ſecond* Mi-
in the mean time *Mithridates* himſelf taking the field, appeared at the head of a *thridatic war.*
powerful army on the oppoſite banks of the river, which he paſſed in ſpite of all *Muræna*'s efforts, drove the *Romans* from their camp, and forced them with great ſlaughter to ſave themſelves over the mountains into *Phrygia*. This ſudden and unexpected victory brought many of the cities of *Aſia* again to ſide with *Mithridates*, who having driven the *Romans* quite out of *Cappadocia*, made a great fire on
e the top of a high hill, and offered after the manner of his country ſolemn ſacrifices to *Jupiter the powerful in war*. But in the mean time *Sylla* being created dictator, and having got all the power into his own hands, he ſent *Aulus Gabinius* into *Aſia* to charge *Muræna* in his name to give over moleſting *Mithridates*, whom he had honoured with the title of a friend and ally of *Rome*. No ſooner was *Sylla*'s pleaſure known to *Muræna*, but he drew off his forces, and abandoned all the places he had taken after the departure of *Sylla*. He was ſoon after recalled, and *M. Thermus* appointed prætor of *Aſia* in his room [h]. *Gabinius* was alſo charged to reconcile *Mithridates* and *Ariobarzanes*; which he did accordingly, *Mithridates* giving to the *Cappadocian* his own ſon, about four years old, as an hoſtage. *Muræna* on his
f return to *Rome* was honoured with a triumph, and received with loud acclamations, as if he had performed great things.

Mithridates being now quite at leiſure, fell upon the *Boſphori*, and having ſubdued them, appointed *Machares*, one of his ſons, king of that country. From thence he led his army againſt the *Achæans*, a people bordering on the *Colchi*, and originally deſcended from the *Greeks*, who on their return from *Troy*, miſtaking their way into *Greece*, had ſettled there. They oppoſed the king with great reſolution, and obliged him to abandon the country with the loſs of three parts of his army [i]. Being returned into *Pontus* he recruited his army, and made vaſt prepara-

[g] Appian. in Mithridatic. p. 213, 214. [h] Appian. in Mithridatic. p. 215, 216. Cic. pro lege Manilia. [i] Appian. ubi ſupra, p. 216.

tions

tions with a deſign to invade them anew; but in the mean time *Sylla* dying, he altered his reſolution, and unwilling to loſe thoſe countries, which he had delivered up, agreeable to the articles of peace concluded with *Sylla*, determined to attempt, at all adventures, the recovery of them. Having therefore induced *Tigranes*, king of *Armenia*, and his ſon-in-law, to invade *Cappadocia*, he himſelf, after performing ſolemn ſacrifices to *Jupiter* and *Neptune*, entered *Paphlagonia* with an army of a hundred and twenty thouſand foot trained up after the *Roman* diſcipline, ſixteen thouſand horſe, and a hundred chariots armed with ſithes. From *Paphlagonia*, which readily ſubmitted to him, he marched into *Bithynia*, which had been lately bequeathed to the *Romans* by king *Nicomedes*. Neither did he meet here with any oppoſition, or in the province of *Aſia*, which being oppreſſed with moſt exorbitant taxes, looked upon him as their deliverer. In entering the cities of *Aſia* he made *M. Marius* or *Varius*, whom *Sertorius* had ſent him from *Spain* to diſcipline and command his army, walk before him with the conſular enſigns, as if he were the chief magiſtrate, the king following him like one of his attendants. He made ſeveral cities free, but at the ſame time acquainted them, that they were not indebted to him for their liberty, but to *Sertorius*. Thus by the connivance of *Sertorius*, who was a great oppoſer of *Sylla*'s faction, many cities ſided with the king, without knowing that they revolted from the *Romans*. At this time *Julius Cæſar* being at *Rhodes*, whither he had retired to apply himſelf at leiſure to the ſtudy of oratory under the diſcipline of *Apollonius Molon*, a moſt eminent treacher of that art, and hearing what havock the king's officers made in the adjacent countries, gathered together what troops he could, and falling upon them, drove them quite out of *Aſia*, though he was then but in the twenty-fifth year of his age [k].

Lucullus *ſent againſt* Mithridates.

By this time the ſenate being appriſed of the king's deſigns, and finding a new war unavoidable, appointed *Lucullus*, who was then conſul, and having been *Sylla*'s legate in *Aſia*, was well acquainted with the country, to manage it (Y). *Cotta*, the other conſul, prevailed upon the ſenate with much importunity to be likewiſe employed in that war, and was ſent with a fleet to guard the *Propontis*, and defend *Bithynia* [l]. *Lucullus* having raiſed one legion in *Italy* paſſed over with it into *Aſia*, where he was joined by four others, two of which, as they had ſerved under *Fimbria* in a manner uncontrouled, proved at firſt very mutinous and refractory; the other two were not much better having been long inured to the luxury of *Aſia*. The diſciplining of theſe troops kept *Lucullus* ſome time in a ſtate of inactivity while all the ſtates of *Aſia* were up in arms, and ready to ſhake off the *Roman* yoke, being on one hand haraſſed in a moſt extraordinary manner by the collectors, and on the other invited with great promiſes to join *Mithridates*, who was advancing with two very numerous armies, and a fleet of four hundred ſhips of thirty oars, beſides a great many ſmaller veſſels, called *penteconteri* and *cercuræ*. One of theſe armies was ordered to march, under the conduct of *Diophantus Matharus*, into *Cappadocia*, and oppoſe *Lucullus*, if he offered to enter *Pontus* on that ſide. The other, conſiſting of a hundred and fifty thouſand foot, twelve thouſand horſe, and a hundred chariots armed with ſithes, *Mithridates* commanded in perſon. He had alſo a third army incamped in the neighbourhood of *Heraclea* in *Pontus*, and commanded by *Marius* and *Eumachus*, two generals of great experience in war. *Lucullus* hearing that the king's fleet was out, commanded *Cotta* to keep his, which was inferior in number, within the harbour of *Chalcedon*, while he advanced by land to engage *Mithridates*. *Cotta* followed his injunctions in not venturing out with the fleet, but at the ſame time, drawing together what troops he could, he reſolved to be before-hand with him in fighting *Mithridates*, not doubting in the leaſt of the victory. And very unluckily for him it happened, that *Mithridates* bent his rout to *Chalcedon*; which *Cotta* no ſooner heard, but he ſent *P. Rutilius* his legate with a conſiderable body to obſerve

[k] Sueton. in Julio. [l] Plut. in Lucullo. Cic. pro Muræna. Memnon. c. 39. Eutrop. l. vi.

(Y) As *Sylla*, and ſuch officers as ſerved under him, had got great riches in the firſt *Mithridatic* war, the command of the army was courted by many. But *Lucullus*, at that time conſul, having by means of *Præcia*, a common ſtrumpet, gained *Cethegus*, who bore great ſway at *Rome*, was preferred to all others. The province of *Gallia Ciſalpina* had fallen to his lot, but that of *Cilicia* being vacant by the death of *Octavius*, he was firſt by the intereſt of *Cethegus* promoted to that, and afterwards, as *Cappadocia*, which was in all likelihood to be the ſeat of the war, lay near *Cilicia*, was charged with the management of the *Mithridatic* war (37).

(37) *Plutarch. in Lucullo.*

his

a his motions. *Rutilius* was met on his march by *Marius* and *Eumachus*, and not declining the engagement, moſt part of his army was cut in pieces, and he himſelf ſlain. The ſame misfortune befel ſeveral other officers of diſtinction ſent out to oppoſe *Mithridates*, who being elated with ſuch ſucceſs, ordered his admiral to ſail into the very harbour, and fire the *Roman* fleet; which he did accordingly, without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition either from *Cotta*, or *Nudus* his admiral, who kept cloſe within the walls of the town, and tamely beheld the enemy burning ſome of their ſhips, ſinking others, and carrying away the reſt, to the number of ſixty. The loſs of the *Romans* on this occaſion was very conſiderable. *Plutarch* tells us, that *Cotta* loſt in the land-engagements four thouſand foot [m], and that few of the mariners were ſaved.

b *Memnon* ſays, that both the ſea and land were covered with the dead bodies of the *Romans*, eight thouſand of them being ſlain in the ſea-engagement, and four thouſand five hundred taken priſoners, and five thouſand three hundred of the land-forces, all *Italians*, being either killed or taken priſoners; whereas *Mithridates* loſt in all but ſeven hundred and thirty men [n] (Z).

THIS victory, and the bad conſequences that attended it, moſt cities of *Aſia* being ready to revolt, made *Lucullus* haſten his march. When he came in ſight of the king's army, he was ſurpriſed to ſee ſo numerous a body; and having with him but thirty thouſand foot, and two thouſand five hundred horſe, he thought it was moſt adviſeable to decline an engagement; however, there happened frequent skir-

c miſhes between the *Roman* and *Pontic* cavalry, wherein the former gained no ſmall advantages; which ſo raiſed their ſpirits, a little before quite ſunk, that *Lucullus* had much ado to keep them within the trenches, ſo eager were they for a general engagement (A). *Mithridates* finding that he could not draw *Lucullus* to a battle, and being loth to ſpend the ſummer, after ſo great preparations, without doing any thing, ſilently decamped in the dead of the night, and by break of day reached the mountain *Adraſtia* or *Dindymus*, which commanded the city of *Cyzicum*. This city was the key of *Aſia*, and greatly addicted to the *Romans*. In the overthrow of *Chalcedon* they loſt three thouſand citizens, and ten of their beſt ſhips, and had on all occaſions ſhewn an unalterable attachment to the *Roman* intereſt. *Mithridates*, hoping

d either to get poſſeſſion of ſo important a place, or to draw *Lucullus* to an engagement, if he offered to relieve it, began the ſiege, and inveſted the city with his whole army by land, and four hundred ſhips by ſea. *Lucullus* having timely notice of the king's retreat, followed him cloſe, and falling upon his rear, killed ten thouſand of his men, and took thirteen thouſand priſoners. After this victory, to encourage the *Cyzicans*, he encamped on a riſing ground in ſight of the town; but *Mithridates* giving out that *Lucullus* was at a great diſtance, and thoſe they ſaw were ſupplies ſent him by *Tigranes*, they began to be anxious about the *Romans*, and continued in great apprehenſion, till one of *Lucullus*'s men, ſwimming in the night through the enemy's fleet, got into the city, and undeceived them. He delivered to the magiſtrates a letter from *Lu-*

e *cullus*, wherein he acquainted them with his late victory, and aſſured them that he would not fail to relieve them [o]. *Lucullus*, in taking a view of the ground where the enemy was encamped, obſerved a mountain, by the gaining of which, he might eaſily cut off their communication with the country, and prevent their having any proviſions but what were brought by ſea; but as there was only one way leading to it, and that very narrow, and guarded by a ſtrong body of the king's forces, he had laid aſide all thoughts of ſo hazardous an attempt, when he was adviſed by a meſſenger from *L. Manius* or *Magius*, whom *Sertorius* had ſent to conclude a treaty of friendſhip and alliance between him and *Mithridates*, to remove his camp to the above-mentioned hill, and acquainted, that *Manius* had perſuaded the king to

[m] PLUT. ubi ſupra. [n] MEMNON, ubi ſupra. [o] PLUT. ubi ſupra. STRABO, p. 575, 576.

(Z) This is the victory which *Mithridates* brags of in a letter to *Arſaces*, thus; *I have intirely defeated* M. Cotta *the* Roman *general near* Chalcedon, *and ſtripped him of his fleet in a ſea-fight* (38).

(A) *Plutarch* tells us (39), that *Lucullus* finding the king's army ſo much ſuperior in number to his own, was at firſt unwilling to venture a battle; but *Marius* marching up to the very gates of his camp, and challenging him out, he drew up his forces, with a deſign to engage; but as the two armies ſtood facing one another, and expecting the ſignal, the heavens opening all on a ſudden, a large flaming body fell from thence between the two armies, which ſo terrified both parties, that they retired to their reſpective camps. This prodigy, ſays *Plutarch*, happened near *Otrya* in *Phrygia*. (40)

(38) *Saluſt. l.* iv. (39) *Plut. ubi ſupra.* (40) *Plut. ubi ſupra.*

withdraw his forces from the narrow paſſes, and ſuffer him to encamp where-ever he a
pleaſed: and truly *Manius* had made the king believe, that the *Fimbrian* legions,
which had formerly ſerved under *Sertorius*, were in a day or two to come over to
him, and adviſed him not to oppoſe the *Romans* if they offered to paſs the ſtreights,
which would coſt him much blood, ſince he was ſure of the victory without ſtriking
a blow. The king, not ſuſpecting any treachery, hearkened to his advice, and
even ſent out a ſtrong party to meet the *Fimbrian* legions, which, according to agree-
ment, made a ſhew as if they intended to join him; but, as the party drew near, the
legions unexpectedly falling upon them, cut them in pieces all to a man P. Thus
Lucullus gained that important poſt, and having cut off the enemies communication
with the country, was ſupplied in great plenty with all manner of proviſions, while b
they had nothing to depend upon but their fleet, which, as the winter was drawing
near, could hardly ſupply with proviſions ſo numerous an army. This made *Mithri-
dates* double his efforts to reduce the town, which he battered night and day with
engines of a new invention, which did great execution (B); but the citizens were no
leſs active in defending it, repairing with indefatigable labour by night the breaches
made by the king's engines in the day-time. The king finding that it was in vain to
batter the walls, began to undermine them; but in this too his efforts were unſuc-
ceſsful, and he was near being taken in one of his mines by the counter-mines of the
city. In the mean time winter coming on, the king's army was ſo diſtreſſed for want
of proviſions, that many died for hunger, and thoſe that lived were forced to feed on c
the fleſh of their dead companions. The famine was followed by a plague, which
daily ſwept away great numbers; inſomuch that *Mithridates* having now loſt all hopes
of reducing the city, began to think only of a retreat, which it was no eaſy matter
to effectuate, moſt of his ſhips being ſhattered by ſtorms, and all the paſſes by land
blocked up by the *Romans* (C). The firſt opportunity that offered was the departure
of *Lucullus*, gone with a ſtrong detachment to beſiege a caſtle at ſome diſtance. The
king laying hold of this occaſion, ſent away the beſt part of his horſe by night,
ordering them not to halt till they were out of the reach of the enemy; but *Lucullus*
receiving timely notice of their march, haſtened back, and with ten companies of
foot, and all his horſe, purſued them ſo cloſe, notwithſtanding the exceſſive cold, d
and deep ſnow, in which many of his men periſhed, that he came up with them as
they were paſſing the river *Rhyndacus*, took ſix hundred horſe, with all the beaſts
of burden, fifteen thouſand men, and put the reſt to the ſword, moſt of their horſes
having died on their march, but a very few got ſafe into *Bithynia*. On his return he
fell in with *Ariſtonicus* the king's admiral, whom he took priſoner, as he was upon
the point of putting to ſea with a large ſum of money to inveigle the *Roman* army,
which he alſo ſeized q. The king's army before *Cyzicum* being now extremely
weakened by the plague, famine, and daily loſſes, the inhabitants ſo haraſſed them

P Memnon, c. 42. q Plut. ubi ſupra.

(B) Among other engines, *Nicomedes* a *Theſſalian* contrived one called *helepolis*, about one hundred cubits high. Upon this they planted a tower ſtored with all manner of machines for throwing ſtones of a vaſt ſize, which ſo battered the walls, that the citizens were obliged to labour all night in repairing them. This fatigue they could not have long endured, but a ſudden ſtorm of wind ariſing, the helepolis was blown down, and the machines planted on the tower rendered unſerviceable; which proved a great relief to them (41).

(C) *Plutarch*, *Appian*, *Julius Obſequens* and others tell us, that *Mithridates* was greatly terrified by the following prodigy, which was related and believed, both by the *Cyzicans* and the king's army. In the city they uſed yearly to ſacrifice a black heifer to *Proſerpine*; but that year the town being blocked up on all ſides, they made one of dough, and brought it to the altar. They no ſooner began the ceremony, but the true heifer which was deſigned for *Proſerpine*'s feſtival, and was graſing on the other ſide of the gulf, threw herſelf into the ſea, and ſwimming through the enemies fleet, got ſafe to the mouth of the harbour; there ſhe dived under the chain that obſtructed the entry, and paſſing through the middle of the city, went ſtreight to *Proſerpine*'s temple, and preſented herſelf before the altar, where ſhe was ſacrificed (42). The ſame authors add, that *Proſerpine* appearing in the night-time to *Ariſtagoras*, the chief magiſtrate of the city, told him, that ſhe had provided a piper againſt the pipers, or, as *Plutarch* has it, a *Libyan* piper againſt the *Pontic* trumpeter. This at firſt ſeemed a riddle to the *Cyzicans*; but in the mean time a violent wind blowing from *Libya*, which diſperſed the king's fleet, and overturned all his engines, they underſtood the myſterious ſaying of the goddeſs. It was alſo ſaid, that *Minerva* appeared to many in the city of *Troy*, dropping with ſweat, ſhewing part of her veil torn, and telling them, that ſhe was going to ſuccour the *Cyzicans*. The *Trojans*, as *Plutarch* informs us, uſed to ſhew the pillars, whereon decrees and letters concerning this miraculous event were engraved.

(41) *Plut. & Appian. ubi ſupra.* (42) *Plut. & Appian. ubi ſupra. Jul. Obſeq. de prodigiis.*

with

a with frequent ſallies, that *Mithridates* determined to break up the ſiege, and return with part of his forces by ſea, while the others marched by land, under the conduct of *Marius* and *Hermæus*, whom *Sertorius* had ſent to head the king's troops. Accordingly the king, in the dead of the night, embarqued, and at the ſame time *Marius* and *Hermæus* marched off with thirty thouſand men, making the beſt of their way to *Lampſacus*; but were overtaken by *Lucullus* at the river *Æſopus*, which at that time was not fordable, being greatly ſwelled by the heavy rains. Twenty thouſand were killed on the ſpot, eleven thouſand of which were ſaid to have been ſent by *Sertorius*; nor could one man have eſcaped, had not the *Romans* given over the purſuit to gather the gold and ſilver, which, by the advice of their generals, well acquainted with the b *Roman* avarice, they had ſcattered about on the road, on purpoſe to retard their march [r]. *Lucullus* on his return entered *Cyzicum*, among the loud acclamations of the citizens, who afterwards inſtituted public ſports in honour of him, which they called *Lucullea*. The city he declared free, and the ſenate heaped upon the inhabitants all the privileges, immunities and exemptions which were enjoyed by the natives of *Rome* itſelf. *Plutarch* and *Appian* [s] tell us, that *Mithridates* loſt in all before *Cyzicum* three hundred thouſand men, which is alſo confirmed by *Oroſius* [t]. *Strabo* ſays, that the king's army conſiſted but of one hundred and fifty thouſand men [u], of which one hundred thouſand, according to *Eutropius*, periſhed in the ſiege [w]. The king himſelf, in a letter to *Arſaces*, writes, that he was forced to raiſe the ſiege of c *Cyzicum*, not on account of any great loſs he had ſuſtained, or for fear of the enemy, but becauſe he could have no proviſions, the country being laid waſte all round, partly by his own forces, and partly by the enemies [x].

FROM *Cyzicum Lucullus* marched with his army along the coaſt of the *Helleſpont*, and arriving at *Troas*, equipped his fleet there, and put to ſea in chace of *Marius*, *Alexander* and *Dionyſius*, three of the king's generals, who were roving up and down the ſea with a fleet of fifty ſhips, and ten thouſand land forces on board (D). He came up with them near the iſland of *Lemnos*, took thirty-two of the king's ſhips, and put great part of the land-forces to the ſword. The day after the engagement the three generals were diſcovered in a cave where they had concealed themſelves, d and dragged from thence to *Lucullus*, who, after having ſeverely upbraided *Marius* for fighting againſt his country, cauſed him to be put to death. Before the battle, he had given orders to his ſoldiers not to kill any that had but one eye, meaning *Marius*, who had loſt an eye, not that he deſigned to ſave him, but becauſe he was willing to reproach him with his ignominious behaviour before he put him to death. *Alexander* and *Dionyſius* were reſerved for the triumph; but the latter prevented that diſgrace by a doſe of poiſon [y]. From *Lemnos Lucullus* ſteered his courſe to *Bithynia*, upon intelligence that *Mithridates* had appeared with his fleet on thoſe coaſts; but the king having timely notice of his deſign, made what haſte he could to gain *Pontus*, and arrived at *Heraclea* on board of a pirate, by name *Selemus*, with whom he was e forced to truſt himſelf, his fleet being diſperſed by a violent ſtorm, and the ſhip that carried him caſt away (E).

WHILE *Lucullus* was thus chaſing *Mithridates* out of the ſea, his commanders were no leſs ſucceſsful by land. *Triarius*, ſent by him to beſiege *Apamea*, reduced that place. From *Apamea* he marched to *Pruſa*, ſituated near mount *Olympus*, which he

[r] MEMN. c. 42. POLYB. ſtratag. l. vii. FLOR. l. iii. c. 5. PLUT. APPIAN. ubi ſupra. OROS. l. vi. c. 2.
[s] PLUT. & APPIAN. ubi ſupra. [t] OROS. l. vi. c. 2. [u] STRABO, l. xii. p. 575. [w] EUTROP. breviar. l. vi. [x] SALUST. l. iv. hiſtor. [y] PLUT. APPIAN. ubi ſupra.

(D) *Plutarch* and *Appian* tell us (43), that at *Troas Venus* appearing to him in his ſleep, addreſſed him with the following verſe:

Τὶ κνώσσεις μεγάθυμε λέων, νεκρόν δὲ τὸι ἐγγύς;

that is, *Why do you ſleep, ſtout lion, while the fawns are ſo near you?* The ſame authors add, that while he was relating his dream to his friends, news was brought him, that thirteen of the king's ſhips had appeared off of *Troy*, ſteering their courſe to *Lemnos*; whereupon he immediately ſet ſail, took all the ſhips, and killed *Iſodorus* the king's admiral.

(E) *Dio* writes, that *Mithridates* was twice ſhipwrecked as he was ſailing to *Pontus*, and that he loſt in both wrecks ſixty ſhips, and ten thouſand men. *Mithridates* himſelf, in a letter to *Arſaces*, ſays, that he loſt the flower of his troops by two ſhipwrecks, the one at *Paræ*, the other at *Heraclea* (44). *Oroſius* tells us, that while *Mithridates* was ſailing againſt *Byzantium*, (whither, *Eutropius* ſays, he was chaſed by *Lucullus*) he loſt by a ſudden ſtorm eighty ſhips armed with brazen beaks, and many of his men; and *Florus*, that his whole fleet, with all manner of ſtores for the *Pontic* war, was diſperſed, and one hundred ſhips loſt.

(43) *Plut. & Appian. ubi ſupra.* (44) *Saluſt. l. iv. hiſtor.*

took

took by ſtorm, and plundered. The ſtrong and important city of *Pruſias* likewiſe a
ſubmitted to the conqueror, after having obliged the king's gariſon to withdraw. *Nicæa* followed the example of the others, the *Pontics* having abandoned the city on the firſt news of the approach of the *Romans* [z]. From *Pruſias Triarius* marched with all poſſible expedition to join *Cotta*, who lay encamped near *Nicomedia*, where the king himſelf at that time reſided; but before the two armies were joined, *Mithridates* found means to make his eſcape, firſt to *Heraclea*, which was betrayed to him by one *Lamachus*, and thence to *Sinope* (F).

Lucullus having now reduced all *Paphlagonia* and *Bithynia*, marched thro' *Cappadocia*, and joined *Cotta* and *Triarius* at *Nicomedia*, with a deſign to invade *Pontus*; but hearing that *Heraclea* was in the king's hands, and ſuppoſing that the citizens had b
ſubmitted to him of their own accord, he altered his plan, and detached *Cotta* againſt *Heraclea*. *Triarius* was ordered with the fleet to the *Helleſpont* and *Propontis*, to intercept the king's fleet, which was daily expected from *Spain* with new ſupplies from *Sertorius*. *Lucullus* himſelf, with the main ſtrength of the army, purſued his march into *Pontus* [a]. His army was greatly haraſſed, eſpecially in the narrow paſſes between *Cappadocia* and *Pontus*, by flying parties of the enemy; but more for want of proviſions, the country being all about laid waſte by the king's troops; inſomuch that *Lucullus*, having loſt almoſt all his beaſts of burden, was obliged to take along with the army thirty thouſand *Galatians*, each of them carrying a ſack of corn on his back. At laſt he gained the plains of *Pontus*, a rich country, and ſo ſtored with all manner c
of proviſions, that an ox was ſold in the camp for a drachma, and every thing elſe as cheap in proportion. *Lucullus* having refreſhed his ſoldiers, and finding no army of the king's in the field, divided his forces, and at the ſame time inveſted *Amiſus*, a very ſtrong town; *Eupatoria*, which *Mithridates* had built, and made the place of his reſidence, and *Themiſcyra*, ſituated on the banks of the river *Thermodoon*. *Eupatoria* was ſoon taken; but *Themiſcyra* made a vigorous reſiſtance. The townſmen gauled the *Romans* with their engines to ſuch a degree, that not daring to approach the walls openly, they contented themſelves with undermining them; but in this too they met with no ſmall difficulty from the enemy, who often engaged them under ground, and let into their mines bears and other wild beaſts, with ſwarms of bees, d
which obliged them to abandon their works; however the town was at laſt obliged to ſurrender for want of proviſions, and the hard duty which the *Romans* had undergone with great chearfulneſs, was rewarded with a rich booty. As for the city of *Amiſus*, *Lucullus* himſelf ſat down before it; but as the town was very ſtrong in itſelf, and defended by a numerous gariſon, the flower of the king's troops, he thought it adviſeable to ſpare his men, and reduce it by famine; and on this occaſion it was that the *Romans* firſt complained of their general, as if he ſpun out the war, on purpoſe to be continued in the command of the army; which charge, as we ſhall afterwards ſee, was not quite groundleſs. While he lay before *Amiſus*, *Mithridates* advancing to *Cabiræ*, a city not far diſtant from *Amiſus*, was there joined by forty e
thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe. *Lucullus* hearing of the king's approach, left *Muræna*, the ſon of that *Muræna* whom *Sylla* had appointed prætor of *Aſia*, with two legions to continue the ſiege, and marched himſelf with the reſt of the army thro' the mountains to meet the king (G). *Mithridates* had placed one *Phœnix* of the blood royal with a conſiderable body in the narrow paſſes, injoining him to give

[z] Memn. c. 43 & 49. Appian. p. 223. Oros. l. vi. c. 3. Eutrop. l. vi.

[a] Plut. ubi ſupra. Memn. c. 45.

(F) *Lamachus* was the chief magiſtrate of *Heraclea*; but being bribed with a large ſum, promiſed to deliver up the city to *Mithridates*; and accordingly having invited the citizens to a very magnificent entertainment without the walls of the town, while they were in the height of their revels, privately acquainted *Mithridates*, that the gates were open, and none of the citizens in a condition to oppoſe him. The king arrived the ſame night, and entering the city without oppoſition, ſecured it with a gariſon of four thouſand men, under the command of *Connacoriges*, an officer of great experience. Next day he ſummoned the magiſtrates, and in a friendly manner encouraged them to ſtand by him, ſince he had no other deſign in what he had done but to protect them againſt the *Romans* (45).

(G) *Tully*, in his oration for this *Murana*, tells us, that he was legate to *Lucullus* during the *Mithridatic* war, that he led armies, fought battles, defeated the enemy's forces, beſieged and took many towns; that he ſo behaved himſelf in *Aſia*, at that time a rich country, and greatly corrupted with luxury, as not to betray the leaſt inclination to avarice or luxury; and that he performed many noble exploits without the general's aſſiſtance, but the general none without his (46).

(45) *Memn. c.* 44.

(46) *Cic. pro Murana.*

notice

a notice by fires of the approach of *Lucullus*, and defend the ſtraits till he came up with his whole army to relieve him; but *Phœnix* was ſo far from oppoſing *Lucullus*, that he joined him; however the king, being by other parties informed of the enemies motions, paſſed the river *Lycus*, and meeting *Lucullus* in the champain country, proffered him battle, which he declined at firſt, but was ſoon after drawn to a general engagement of the horſe, wherein the *Romans* were driven back to the mountains with conſiderable loſs, *Pompeius*, or, as ſome call him, *Pomponius*, general of their horſe, being taken, and many officers of great diſtinction killed on the ſpot (H). *Mithridates*, fluſhed with this ſucceſs, drew up his army in battalia for ſeveral days ſucceſſively; but finding that *Lucullus* kept on the mountains, he began to make the b neceſſary diſpoſitions for marching up to him; which *Lucullus* fearing, decamped in the night-time, and being conducted by one *Apollodorus* a *Greek*, whom he found with others of the ſame nation concealed in a cave, got through the mountains, and by break of day pitched his camp on a riſing ground near the city of *Cabiræ*, where he well knew the enemy could not force him to an engagement [b]. *Mithridates* followed him, and encamped at a ſmall diſtance; but thought it adviſeable not to attack him in his camp. While both armies were in this poſture, a party from the king's camp paſſing cloſe to that of the *Romans* in purſuit of a deer, ſome *Roman* ſoldiers running out, ſtopped their chace. This bred a quarrel, and many flocking from both camps to relieve their companions, the *Romans* were forced to give way; c which *Lucullus* obſerving, went out alone to meet them, and having ſtopped the foremoſt in the flight, marched back with them againſt the enemy, whom he put to flight, and purſued to the very camp, fighting himſelf the whole time in the firſt rank. On his return to the camp, he ſtripped thoſe who had fled of their arms, and commanded them, according to his cuſtom, to dig a trench twelve foot wide, the reſt of the army ſtanding by and looking on [c].

But now proviſions grew very ſcarce in the *Roman* camp, which obliged *Lucullus* to divide his army, and detach great parties into *Cappadocia*, the only place from whence he could have ſupplies. *Taxiles* and *Diophantus*, two of the king's generals, were encamped on the frontiers of that country, in order to cut off its communica- d tion with the *Romans*. Theſe ſuffered *Adrianus* with a conſiderable body of foot to enter *Cappadocia*, in hopes of intercepting him and the convoys on his return; which they might eaſily have done, had they fallen upon him in the plain country; but as they attacked him in the ſtraits of the mountains, where there was no room for their horſe to engage, they were utterly routed, firſt on the mountains, and then in the plains, where there enſued a bloody engagement, the *Romans* being reinforced with a freſh body from the camp, and the king's men fighting with great courage and reſolution, till their commanders diſheartened them by their flight. The king, upon the news of this defeat, reſolved to break up his camp, and retire, not queſtioning but *Lucullus*, upon the return of his troops, would attack him. This reſolution e he no ſooner imparted to his nobles, but they began privately to ſend away their moſt valuable goods; which the ſoldiers finding out, and taking it unkindly that no notice had been given them, plundered their baggage, and put thoſe that eſcorted them them to the ſword. On this occaſion *Dorylaus*, one of the king's generals, was killed for a purple garment which he wore, and *Hermæus*, a famous ſoothſayer, trod to death in the crowd. After this the ſoldiers betook themſelves to a precipitous flight, crowding out of the gates in the utmoſt confuſion; which the king perceiving, haſtened to ſtop their flight; but no one ſhewing him the leaſt reſpect, he was carried away with the crowd, and falling down, was very near being trod to death [d] in the throng. Being thus forſaken by his army, he retired with a ſmall retinue, firſt to f *Cabira*, and thence into *Armenia* to *Tigranes* his ſon-in-law (I), and not into *Iberia*,

Mithridates *being forſaken by his army, retires into* Armenia.

[b] Plut. Appian. ubi ſupra. [c] Plut. ubi ſupra. [d] Plut. ubi ſupra.

(H) *Pompeius* being brought to *Mithridates* dangerouſly wounded, the king asked him, whether he would become his friend, if he granted him his life? *Pompeius* anſwered, that he ſhould be his friend, if he concluded a peace with the people of *Rome*; but if he perſiſted to make war upon them, he ſhould continue to be his enemy. This anſwer provoked the barbarians to ſuch a degree, that they would have cut him in pieces, had not the king protected him, ſaying, that he would not ſuffer cruelty to be practiſed upon valour, merely becauſe unfortunate (47).

(I) *Appian* ſays, that he fled firſt to the mountains, and thence through by-ways into *Armenia*. *Plutarch* writes, that he was carried out of the camp by the throng, and that one *Ptolemy* an eunuch

(47) *Plut. & Appian. ubi ſupra.*

as is falſely related by *Joſephus* [e]. *Lucullus* having at the ſame time received news of the victory of his parties, and of the diſorderly flight of the enemy, ſent the beſt part of his horſe to purſue them, and himſelf marched againſt thoſe, who not having time to make their eſcape, had remained in the camp, and had put themſelves in a poſture of defence. Theſe he ſurrounded with his legions, but moſt of them made their eſcape, the *Romans* being buſied, contrary to the general's orders, in plundering the camp, where they found a rich booty. Having taken the camp, *Lucullus* made what haſte he could in purſuit of the king, who being overtaken by a company of *Galatians*, cauſed a mule loaded with part of his treaſures to be driven in amongſt them, and made his eſcape while they were intent upon the booty, and quarrelling among themſelves [f] (K) about the diviſion of the ſpoils. *Mithridates* remembering in his flight, that he had left his ſiſters, wives and concubines at *Pharnacia*, diſpatched *Bacchus*, or *Bacchides* an eunuch, with orders to put them all to death, leſt they ſhould fall into the enemies hands; which was done accordingly (L). a b

The cities of Pontus *ſubmit to* Lucullus.

Lucullus finding it was in vain to purſue *Mithridates* any farther, returned to his camp, and thence marched againſt the city of *Cabira*, which ſurrendered upon conditions. The example of *Cabira* was followed by moſt of the ſtrong holds of *Pontus*, the king's governors flocking from all parts to tender their ſervice to the conqueror. Among theſe was the grand-father of *Strabo* the geographer, whom the king had diſobliged, by putting to death *Tibias* his couſin-german, and his ſon *Theophilus*. He was a man of ſuch credit, that it was no ſooner heard he had abandoned the king's party, but fifteen other commanders delivered up to *Lucullus* the places which they had been intruſted with [g]. And thus was *Pontus*, hitherto inacceſſible to any enemy, laid open to the *Roman* legions [h] (M). At the ſame time *Triarius*, who was ſent, as we have mentioned above, to intercept the king's fleet, obtained a complete victory near the iſland of *Tenedos*, where he either took or ſunk ſixty ſhips, whereby the great fleet which the king had brought with him into *Aſia* was intirely deſtroyed. c

Cotta was all this time employed in the ſiege of *Heraclea*, and had made but ſmall progreſs. He made ſeveral aſſaults; but was always repulſed with great loſs. His engines did no execution on the walls, which ſo incenſed him, that he cauſed moſt of them to be burnt, and the engineer who contrived them to be put to death. After this, leaving part of his army before the town, to prevent their receiving any ſupplies, he encamped in the *Lycæan* fields, a plentiful country, with a deſign to refreſh his army, and return before the town, which was now reduced to great ſtraits for want of proviſions, and on account of the inteſtine quarrels between the townſmen and the gariſon. Having refreſhed his ſoldiers, he returned to the ſiege; but found the town plentifully ſupplied by ſea with all manner of neceſſaries, and in a better condition to hold out a long ſiege than it was when he firſt inveſted it. Hereupon, deſpairing ever to reduce it alone, he ſent orders to *Triarius* to aſſiſt him with his d

[e] JOSEPH. l. xiii. c. 24. [f] MEMN. c. 46. PLUT. & APPIAN. ubi ſupra. [g] STRABO, l. xii. p. 557. [h] CIC. pro lege Manilia & pro Archia.

much ſeeing him toſſed to and fro in the croud, with manifeſt danger of his life, proffered him his horſe, and thereby enabled him to make his eſcape before *Lucullus* came up (48).

(K) Of the king's eſcape *Tully* writes thus: *Mithridates*, in his flight out of *Pontus*, left behind a great deal of gold and ſilver, part whereof he had received of his anceſtors, and part raked together during his firſt war in *Aſia*, and carried into his own kingdom. While our men were buſied in the plunder, the king ſlipt out of their hands.

(L) When *Bacchus* acquainted them with his commiſſion, *Monima*, one of the king's wives, by birth a *Mileſian*, attempted to diſpatch herſelf with the bands of her diadem; but they ſoon breaking, ſhe threw down the diadem, and treading on it, ſaid, *O! thou curſed diadem, art thou not ſerviceable even for this uſe?* and then preſented her bare neck to *Bacchides*. *Berenice*, another of his wives, and her mother, ended their days by a doſe of poiſon, as did the king's two ſiſters, *Roxana* and *Statira*. *Roxana*, before ſhe took the potion, inveighed againſt her brother with many curſes and reproaches; but *Statira*, with many kind expreſſions, thanked her brother for the regard he had ſhewn for them, in taking care, while himſelf was in great danger, that they ſhould die free, and by their death prevent the diſhonourable treatment which they had reaſon to expect from a proud and inſulting enemy (49).

(M) *Mithridates*, in a letter to *Arſaces*, puts this varniſh upon his flight: "I recruited my army, "ſays he, at *Cabira*, and after many ſharp engage- "ments between the *Romans* and me, we were "both diſtreſſed for want of proviſions. The *Ro- "mans* were ſupplied by *Ariobarzanes* king of "*Cappadocia*; but I was obliged to retire into *Ar- "menia*, the whole country where I was encamped "being laid waſte by the enemies and my own for- "ces (50)."

(48) *Appian. ubi ſupra. Memn. c. 46.* (49) *Plut. ubi ſupra.* (50) *Saluſt. l. iv. hiſtor.*

fleet,

a fleet, and block up the city by ſea, as he had done by land. *Triarius* was very willing to undertake this task, being now quite diſengaged; and having on his firſt arrival defeated the *Heraclean* fleet, brought the town in a few months to ſuch ſtraits, that the third part of the gariſon died for hunger; whereupon *Conacorix*, governor of the place, reſolved to purchaſe his own ſafety at the expence of the townſmen, and marching out in the night-time, ashe had agreed with *Triarius*, delivered one of the gates to the *Romans*, who entering the city ſword in hand, exerciſed all manner of cruelty on the abandoned and helpleſs inhabitants. *Cotta*, who lay encamped at ſome diſtance from the city, hearing it was taken and plundered by *Triarius*, (for *Conacorix* had not imparted his deſign to him, knowing he was a man not to be relied
b on) flew into a paſſion at ſeeing himſelf bereaved both of the rich booty, and the glory of reducing a place which had kept him employed two whole years, and marching in all haſte to the city, fell upon the *Romans* who were buſy in plundering, which would have occaſioned a great deal of blood-ſhed, had not *Triarius* interpoſed, and put an end to the ſcuffle, by promiſing *Cotta* and his men an equal ſhare of the booty. *Conacorix*, after marching out of *Heraclea*, to conceal his treachery, ſeized on two forts belonging to the *Romans*, *Teium* and *Amaſtus*; which *Triarius* being ſent to recover, *Cotta*, in his abſence, plundered the city anew, rifled and ſtripped the temples, which the other had ſpared, put all the citizens he could meet to the ſword, and having ſecured on board of his ſhips all the ſtatues, pictures, gold and
c ſilver veſſels of the temples, all the rich furniture of the private houſes, and whatever elſe was worth carrying away, for his laſt farewel commanded his ſoldiers to ſet fire to the city in ſeveral places, which in a ſhort time reduced it to a heap of aſhes. Thus was *Heraclea*, one of the richeſt and moſt famous cities of *Pontus*, taken, after having held out a ſiege of two years [i]. *Conacorix* delivered the two places he had ſeized to *Triarius*, who ſuffered him to retire without moleſtation. And *Cotta*, having no further uſe for his troops, diſmiſſed the auxiliaries, reſigned the legions to *Lucullus*, and himſelf put to ſea with his fleet on his return to *Rome*; but he had ſcarce got out of the harbour, when part of his ſhips, being over-freighted with the ſpoils of the city, ſunk; and the others were by a violent north wind daſhed againſt the ſhore,
d which occaſioned the loſs of great part of the booty [k]. On his return to *Rome* he was highly applauded by the ſenate, and honoured with the title of *Ponticus*.

Heraclea *taken, and plundered.*

Lucullus having now reduced *Pontus*, marched againſt the *Chaldeans*, *Tibarenians*, and the inhabitants of *Armenia Minor*, who, of their own accord, ſubmitted, and put him in poſſeſſion of all their ſtrong holds. From *Armenia* he led his forces to the ſea-ſide, and returned before *Amiſus*, which ſtill held out, *Callimachus*, governor of the place, having haraſſed the *Romans* with engines of his own contriving to ſuch a degree, that they had given over aſſaulting the town, and contented themſelves with blocking it up by land, tho' the gariſon was at the ſame time ſupplied with all manner of proviſions by ſea. *Lucullus*, on his arrival, ſummoned the gariſon to
e ſurrender, and offered them very honourable terms; which they refuſing to comply with, after encouraging his ſoldiers, he made a general aſſault at the time when *Callimachus* uſed to draw off great part of his troops to give them ſome reſpite. The *Romans* applying their ſcaling ladders, got over the wall before *Callimachus* could come to the aſſiſtance of thoſe he had left to guard it; however, by ſetting the city on fire, he found means in that confuſion to make his eſcape. *Lucullus*, out of pity to the periſhing city, commanded part of his men to ſtand to their arms, and the others to uſe their utmoſt endeavours in quenching the fire; but the ſoldiers neglecting the houſes, ſaved only the furniture, and ſuch things as they could carry off, whereby the city was in great part deſtroyed, to the grief of *Lucullus* who deſigned
f to ſave it, and ſhew the ſame favour to the *Amiſians* that *Sylla* had done to the *Athenians*. The fire was at laſt quenched by a violent and unexpected ſhower; and *Lucullus* having, with much ado, reſtrained his ſoldiers from committing any further hoſtilities on the citizens, repaired the city in great meaſure before he left it, and ſuffered the inhabitants peaceably to enjoy their houſes and lands [l]. Some years after *Lucullus* having beſieged *Niſibis*, or, as the *Greeks* called it, *Antiochia Migdonica*, defended likewiſe by *Callimachus*, under *Guras* brother to *Tigranes* king of *Armenia*, would hearken to no conditions till *Callimachus* was delivered up to him; and having him in his power, revenged the deſtruction of *Amiſus* with his death,

Amiſus *taken.*

[i] Memn. c. 51, 53 54. [k] Idem ibid. [l] Plut. ubi ſupra. & Memn. c. 47.

notwith-

notwithſtanding he offered to diſcover great ſums of money concealed under ground, a if he would grant him his life [m].

AND now *Lucullus* having reduced all *Pontus*, and made it a province of the *Roman* empire, and ſettled all *Aſia* with excellent laws, ſent *Appius Claudius*, his wife's brother, embaſſador into *Armenia*, to demand of *Tigranes* the delivery of *Mithridates*, as belonging to his triumph; and, in caſe of refuſal, to proclaim war againſt him. From the time *Mithridates* had ſheltered himſelf in *Armenia*, *Tigranes* his ſon-in-law had promiſed to protect his perſon, and had not been wanting in any duties of hoſpitality; but could by no means ever be prevailed upon to ſee him, or treat with one who had loſt ſo great a kingdom (N). To this embaſſy *Tigranes* replied, that he was far from approving the conduct of *Mithridates*; but however, as he was b ſo nearly related to him, the demand of the *Romans* ſeemed pretty extraordinary, neither could he with any reputation comply with it, ſince all the world would look upon him as a very mean-ſpirited prince, if he ſhould, for fear of an enemy, deliver up to puniſhment his father-in-law. Having with this anſwer diſmiſſed the *Roman* embaſſador, he ſent for *Mithridates*, and condeſcended to ſee him for the firſt time, after he had reſided a year and eight months in his dominions. In a private conference held by the two kings, it was agreed, that *Tigranes* ſhould march againſt the *Romans*, and *Mithridates* with ten thouſand horſe return into *Pontus*, and levying there what forces he could, rejoin *Tigranes*, before *Lucullus*, who was then employed at the ſiege of *Sinope*, could enter *Armenia*; but in the mean time *Sinope* (O) having c ſurrendered, *Lucullus*, with all poſſible expedition, marched againſt *Tigranes*, and having drawn him to a general engagement, intirely defeated his army before he was joined by *Mithridates*, who heard the firſt news of this overthrow as he was marching with a conſiderable body to his aſſiſtance. Soon after he met *Tigranes* himſelf, flying with a ſmall retinue to ſhelter himſelf in ſome remote corner of his kingdom. *Mithridates* encouraged him to raiſe new forces, not queſtioning but another campaign would repair all the former loſſes, provided he would commit to his charge the whole management of the war; which *Tigranes* agreeing to, as thinking him more fit to deal with the *Romans* than himſelf, orders were iſſued out for raiſing a new army, and all the *Armenians* able to bear arms ſummoned to meet at the place d of the general rendezvous. Out of theſe *Mithridates* choſe ſeventy thouſand foot, and thirty-five thouſand horſe, and having trained them up during the winter, after the *Roman* diſcipline, in the beginning of the ſpring he left part of them with *Tigranes*, and marched himſelf with the reſt into *Pontus*, where he recovered many impor-

Tigranes refuſes to deliver up Mithridates.

Is defeated by Lucullus.

[m] PLUTARCH. ubi ſupra. & DIO, l. xxxv.

(N) *Plutarch* ſays, that he received him with great ſcorn and contempt, and confined him to a barren and unwholeſome country (51). But *Memnon* aſſures us, that he aſſigned him one of his caſtles for his reſidence, a princely table, and a retinue ſuitable to his former condition, tho' he could never be induced to admit him to his preſence (52).

(O) *Sinope* was held by a body of *Cilicians* of the king's party, commanded by one *Cleochares*, as *Oroſius* calls him, or *Bacchis*, as *Strabo* names him. *Cleochares* finding the city reduced to great ſtraits, maſſacred moſt of the citizens, plundered the city, and ſet it on fire, retiring in the night-time with the ſpoils to the inner part of *Pontus*, inhabited by the *Sanegians* and *Lazians*. *Lucullus* obſerving the town all in a flame, and not doubting but the *Cilicians* had abandoned it, commanded the ſoldiers to ſcale the walls; and having entered the town without oppoſition, put to the ſword eight thouſand of the king's party, who had not had time to embarque with the others. The fire was with much ado quenched by the *Romans*, and the citizens not only ſpared, but, as they were well-affected to the republic, reſtored to the quiet poſſeſſion of their lands and houſes, and declared a free people (53). *Plutarch* and *Appian* inform us, that *Lucullus* was moved by a viſion to ſhew ſo great favour to the city of *Sinope*; for as he was ſleeping, ſay they, in his tent, one appearing to him, ſpoke theſe words; *Go forward*, Lucullus, *for* Autolychus *is coming to meet you*. When he awaked, he obſerved the city in a flame; and tho' he did not underſtand the meaning of the words he had heard, yet he advanced to the walls; and having taken the city, found on the ſhore, whither he purſued the *Cilicians*, a ſtatue of exquiſite workmanſhip, carefully wrapped up, and bound with cords, which the enemy had not been able to ſhip off, as they intended to do, had not *Lucullus*, awaked by this viſion, purſued them ſo cloſe. When the ſtatue was unfolded, *Lucullus* was not a little ſurpriſed to find it reſembling in every feature the perſon that had appeared to him in his dream; and upon examination learnt, that it was the ſtatue of *Autolychus* founder of *Sinope*. When *Lucullus* heard this, he recollected, ſay our authors, what *Sylla* had left in his commentaries, *viz.* that nothing is more certain, or more to be relied upon, than dreams (54). This ſtatue, which was the work of *Sthenides*, *Lucullus* carried along with him, and a curious ſphere made by *Billarus*. All other ornaments and things of value he reſtored to their lawful owners.

(51) *Plut. ubi ſupra.* (52) *Memn. c.* 48. (53) *Memn. c.* 56. *Plut. Appian. ubi ſupra. Oroſ. l.* vi. (54) *Plut. & Appian. ubi ſupra.*

tant

a tant places, and overcame in a pitched battle *M. Fabius*, whom *Lucullus* had appointed governor of that province (P) [n]. Being flushed with this ſucceſs, as ſoon as the wounds he received in the engagement ſuffered him to move, he purſued *Fabius*, and beſieged him in the city of *Cabira*, whither he had retired; but in the mean time *Triarius*, who was marching out of *Aſia* to join *Lucullus*, hearing what diſtreſs the *Romans* were in, haſtened to their relief, and appearing unexpectedly on the neighbouring hills, ſtruck ſuch terror into the enemy, that they raiſed the ſiege, and made the beſt of their way into *Cappadocia*. *Triarius* purſued them, and got ſo near them as to be parted only by a river. Here he halted, with a deſign to paſs the river after he had allowed his men ſome reſt; for they were tired out with long marches. But *Mithridates* was before-hand with him, and croſſing the river on a
b bridge, where he had placed a ſtrong guard, attacked the *Romans* with great reſolution, before they had time to refreſh themſelves. The battle was bloody, and the event doubtful, till the bridge breaking down with the weight of the multitude that paſſed, the king's troops who had engaged, relying chiefly on their numbers, began to loſe courage, ſeeing they could receive no further aſſiſtance; and the *Romans* charging them with freſh vigour, they betook themſelves to a precipitate flight. After this engagement, as winter came on, both armies were glad to retire to their winter-quarters [o].

Mithridates defeated by Triarius.

During the winter *Mithridates* raiſed new forces, and having received conſiderable ſupplies from *Tigranes*, took the field early in the ſpring, in hopes of driving
c the *Romans* quite out of *Pontus*, before *Lucullus*, who had work enough on his hands in *Armenia*, could come to their aſſiſtance. With this view he marched ſtraight againſt *Triarius* and *Sornatius*, to whom *Lucullus* had committed the care and defence of that province; and finding them encamped near the city of *Gaziurſa*, proffered them battle; which they declining, he ſent a ſtrong detachment to beſiege a caſtle where the *Romans* had left all their baggage, hoping they would rather venture an engagement to relieve the place, than loſe all they had got with ſo much toil and labour during the war; neither was he diſappointed in his hopes, for tho' *Triarius* was for keeping cloſe in his camp till the arrival of *Lucullus*, whom he daily expected, having acquainted him with his danger, the ſoldiers hearing that the caſtle was
d beſieged, declared in a tumultuous manner, that if he did not lead them, they would march to the relief of the place without his leave. *Triarius* being thus forced, not by the enemy, but his own men, to fight, drew out his forces againſt the king, whoſe army was three times his number; but while they were upon the point of engaging, both armies were by a violent ſtorm forced to retire to their reſpective camps; but *Triarius* receiving that very day intelligence of the approach of *Lucullus*, and fearing he would ſnatch the victory out of his hands, reſolved to make a bold puſh, and next morning by break of day attack the king in his camp. If he conquered, the glory, he thought, would be intirely his own; if he were overcome, the enemy could reap no great advantage from his victory, *Lucullus* being at hand with a powerful army.
e The king, in that ſurpriſe, putting himſelf at the head of a few troops of his guards, ſuſtained the brunt of the *Romans*, till the reſt of his army drawing up, came to his relief, and attacked the enemy with ſuch fury, that the *Roman* foot was forced to give way, and was driven into a moraſs, where they were ſurrounded, and great numbers of them cut in pieces. Their horſe were likewiſe put to flight, and purſued with great ſlaughter, till a *Roman* centurion in the king's ſervice, pitying his countrymen, attempted to kill him. The king's life was ſaved by his breaſt-plate; but as he received a deep wound in the thigh, he was obliged to give over the purſuit,

The Romans defeated by Mithridates.

[n] Dio, & Appian. ubi ſupra.

[o] Dio, & Appian. ubi ſupra.

(P) This victory he gained by the treachery of the *Thracians* that ſerved under *Fabius*, and of the ſlaves that followed the *Roman* camp; for *Fabius* marching careleſly and in diſorder, upon the report of ſome *Thracian* ſcouts, that the king was at a great diſtance, fell in with him unawares; and at the ſame time the *Thracians* revolting, he was obliged to retire with the loſs of five hundred men. In his retreat the ſlaves, who were very numerous in the *Roman* camp, being enticed by *Mithridates* with hopes of their liberty, and great rewards, fell unexpectedly on the *Romans*, who would have been all cut in pieces, had not the king himſelf fallen from his horſe, having received two dangerous wounds, one on the knee with a ſtone, the other under his eye with a dart; for while the enemy were buſy in carrying him off, the *Romans* laying hold of that opportunity, retired unmoleſted (55).

(55) *Dio, & Appian. ubi ſupra.*

himſelf, and thoſe that were about him cauſed the retreat to be ſounded, which, as a
it was unexpected, occaſioned a great confuſion in the whole army. The centurion was immediately cut in pieces; but the *Roman* horſe in the mean time getting the ſtart of the enemy, found means to make their eſcape. Above ſeven thouſand of the *Romans* were killed in that battle, and among them one hundred and fifty centurions, and twenty-four tribunes, the greateſt number of officers that had been loſt in any engagement to that day. *Mithridates* being cured of his wound, that he might not for the future be expoſed to ſuch dangers, cauſed all the *Romans* that ſerved in his army to be formed into one body, as if they were to be ſent out on a party, and then ordered them to retire to their tents, where they were all to a man cut in pieces [p] (Q).

The Romans *mutiny againſt* Lucullus.

b
The king, however elated with ſucceſs, yet would not engage *Lucullus*; but with long marches haſtened into *Armenia Minor*, and encamped upon a hill near the town of *Talura*, expecting *Tigranes*, who was advancing with a ſtrong army to join him. *Lucullus*, in purſuit of *Mithridates*, marched over the field of battle, leaving thoſe unburied who had fallen in the engagement, which was the firſt thing that alienated the minds of the ſoldiery from him [q]; who began to be very mutinous, being ſtirred up by *Appius Claudius*, whom *Lucullus* had turned out of his command for his vile behaviour, notwithſtanding he was nearly related to him, *Lucullus* having married his ſiſter. The diſcontent that prevailed in the army came to ſuch a height, that *Lucullus* was obliged to lie ſtill in his camp all that ſummer, the ſoldiers declare- c
ing in a mutinous manner, that they would not follow him any longer, nor ſerve under a general who refuſed to ſhare the booty with them, taxing thereby *Lucullus* with covetouſneſs; which charge was not altogether groundleſs, for he amaſſed immenſe riches during that war, and was ſuſpected at *Rome* of ſpinning it out, that he might be continued in the government of *Aſia*. Theſe complaints, and the general diſcontent that reigned in the army, obliged the ſenate to recal *Lucullus*, and appoint *Manius Acilius Glabrio*, conſul of that year, in his room. *Glabrio* arriving in *Bithynia*, gave notice by public criers to all the cities, that the ſenate had diſcharged *Lucullus* and his army, and confiſcated his goods for protracting the war, and refuſing to comply with their injunctions. Hereupon *Lucullus* was abandoned by the greater d
part of his army, and forced to retire into *Galatia*, not being in a condition to make head againſt the joint forces of the two kings, who laying hold of that opportunity, recovered the beſt part of *Pontus*, *Bithynia*, *Cappadocia* and *Armenia Minor*; for tho' *Glabrio* had haſtened into *Pontus*, as if he intended to engage the enemy, and rob *Lucullus* of the victory, yet, upon the firſt news of the approach of the two kings, he thought fit to retire, and leave the country open on all ſides to the enemy. When this was heard at *Rome*, a law was enacted there by *C. Manilus*, a tribune of the people, whereby the management of the war againſt *Mithridates* and *Tigranes* was committed to *Pompey*, and likewiſe the provinces of *Cilicia* then under *Quintus Marcius*, and of *Bithynia* under *Glabrio*. By the ſame law he was continued in that unlimited power by ſea, with which he was inveſted when he was firſt ſent out againſt the pirates of *Cilicia* [r] (R). In virtue of this law, *Pompey*, who had juſt then ended the war

Pompey *appointed to ſucceed* Lucullus.

[p] Appian. Plut. Dio, ubi ſupra. [q] Plut. in Lucullo. [r] Dio, l. xxxvi. Liv. lib. c. Vell. Patercul. l. ii. c. 33. Plut. in Pomp.

(Q) *Appian* ſays, that this battle happened near mount *Scotius*, a place, ſays he, ever memorable for the victory of *Mithridates*, and defeat of the *Romans* (56). *Hirtius* likewiſe, in his commentaries on the war of *Alexandria*, mentions this overthrow of the *Romans*, and tells us, that it happened at a place about three miles diſtant from the town of *Zela* in *Pontus*. *Tully*, in his oration for the *Manilian* law, which he pronounced about half a year after that misfortune befel the *Roman* army, ſpeaks of it thus: "The army was courageous and victo- "rious; but *Mithridates* fell upon them. Suffer "me in this place, like thoſe who write of the "*Roman* affairs, to paſs over in ſilence the misfor- "tunes, which were ſo great, that *Lucullus* received "not the tidings of them by any meſſenger from "the fight, but by common fame and report." And in another place of the ſame oration, "Having received that overthrow in *Pontus*, ſays he, "which I put you in mind of againſt my will, our "friends and allies being terrified, the power and "courage of our enemies increaſed, and the pro- "vince having no ſtrength to rely upon, *Aſia* had "been loſt, O *Romans*, had not fortune, in that "critical juncture of time, brought *Pompey*, as it "were from heaven, to the relief of thoſe coun- "tries. His preſence ſtopped *Mithridates*, tho' "ſwelled with ſucceſs, and deterred *Tigranes* from "invading *Aſia*, which he threatened with a power- "ful army (56).

(R) *Livy* obſerves, that this law paſſed againſt the will of the nobility, who thought it a manifeſt injury to *Lucullus*, that one ſhould be appointed to ſucceed him, not ſo much in the war, as in the triumph,

(56) *Appian. p.* 254. (57) *Cic. in orat. pro lege Manil.*

a war with the *Cilician* pirates, took upon him the command of the army, and directed all the allies of the *Roman* people to join him with all poſſible expedition; but before he took the field, he renewed the alliance which *Sylla* and *Lucullus* had concluded with *Phrahates* king of *Parthia*, and then ſent friendly propoſals to *Mithridates*, who at firſt ſeemed inclined to give ear to them, and accordingly diſpatched an embaſſador to the *Roman* army to treat of a peace. *Pompey* required of him to lay down his arms, if he was in earneſt, and deliver up to him all thoſe who had revolted from the *Romans* during the war. This demand was no ſooner bruited abroad in the king's camp, but the deſerters, who were very numerous in the king's army, betaking themſelves to their arms, threatened to put *Mithridates* himſelf to death,
b and would have occaſioned a great diſturbance, had not the king appeaſed the growing tumult, by aſſuring them, that he had ſent embaſſadors not to treat of a peace, but only to take, under pretence of ſuing for peace, a view of the enemy's ſtrength. He moreover obliged himſelf, by a ſolemn oath in the preſence of the whole army, never to enter into any treaty of friendſhip with the *Romans*, nor to deliver up to them ſuch as had ever ſerved under him [s]. *Pompey* finding his propoſals rejected, advanced againſt the king with an army of thirty thouſand foot, and twenty thouſand horſe, as *Plutarch* [t] writes; or thirty thouſand, as we read in *Appian* [u], all choſen troops; for he diſcharged moſt of thoſe who had ſerved under *Glabrio* and *Lucullus*. As he entered *Galatia*, he was met by *Lucullus*, who endeavoured to per-
c ſuade him to march back, the war being near finiſhed, and even deputies ſent by the republic to ſettle the province of *Pontus*; but not being able to prevail with him; after mutual complaints againſt each other, they parted; and *Pompey* removing his camp, commanded the troops that were with *Lucullus* to join him, except one thouſand ſix hundred, whom he left to attend *Lucullus* in his triumph. From thence *Lucullus* ſet out for *Rome*, where he was received by the ſenate with great marks of eſteem, moſt men thinking him highly injured by the authors of the *Manilian* law. *Pompey* purſued his march into *Pontus*; but finding that he could not by any means draw the king to a battle, he marched back into *Armenia Minor*, with a deſign either to reduce that province, or oblige *Mithridates* to venture a battle in order to relieve
d it. *Mithridates* followed him at ſome diſtance, and entering *Armenia*, encamped on a hill over-againſt the *Romans*, and by intercepting their convoys, reduced them to ſuch diſtreſs, that they were obliged to remove to a more convenient place, the king cutting off many in their rear, and haraſſing them with frequent attacks, till he fell into an ambuſcade laid by *Pompey*, whoſe perſonal courage, and prudent conduct on that occaſion, confirmed the king in his reſolution not to hazard a general engagement. The two armies encamped again over-againſt each other, *Pompey* on one hill, and the king on another, near the city of *Daſtira*, in the province of *Aciſilene*, at a ſmall diſtance from the *Euphrates*, which divides *Aciſilene* from *Armenia Minor* [w]. Here *Pompey*, ſeeing he could neither draw the king to a battle, nor force his camp,
e which was pitched on a ſteep and craggy mountain, began to block him up with a ditch, which he carried round the bottom of the hill where the king was encamped, and meeting with no oppoſition, finiſhed his work, and quite cut off the enemy's communication with the country. *Pompey* was amazed to ſee the king thus tamely ſuffer himſelf to be ſhut up, and could not help ſaying, that he was either a fool or a great coward; a fool, if he did not apprehend the danger he was in; a coward, if being appriſed of it, he did not, to the utmoſt of his power, prevent it. By this ditch, which was one hundred and fifty furlongs in circuit, and defended by many forts raiſed at ſmall diſtances from each other, the king was ſo cloſely beſieged, that he could neither ſend out parties to forage, nor receive the ſupplies that came

Mithridates *rejects* Pompey's *propoſals.*

[s] Dio, ubi ſupra. & Appian. [t] Plut. in Pomp. [u] Appian. p. 238. [w] Plut. ubi ſupra.

triumph, and to take poſſeſſion of the ſpoils, rather than to carry on a war; beſides, the ſenate was unwilling to recal *Marcius* and *Glabrio* from their governments, before the time, for which they had been given, was expired. But what gave them the greateſt uneaſineſs was, the extenſive and uncontrouled power which by this law was veſted in *Pompey*, the command of all the armies out of *Italy* being conferred upon him. When news was brought to *Pompey* that this law had paſſed, he is ſaid to have complained, as if the people of *Rome* had laid too great a burden on him; whereas every one knew that the law had been propoſed by *Manilus* at his inſtigation, and that his main aim was to have all the power in his own hands (58).

(58) *Plut. in Pomp. Dio, l.* xxxvi.

to

to him from *Pontus*. He was thus beſieged for the ſpace of forty-five or fifty days, a
and his army reduced to ſuch ſtraits, that having conſumed all their proviſions, they were at laſt forced to live on their dead horſes. Hereupon *Mithridates* reſolved, at all events, to break through the *Roman* fortifications; and accordingly, having put to the ſword all thoſe that were ſick or diſabled, that they might not fall into the enemy's hands, he attacked in the dead of the night the *Roman* guards, and having overpowered them with his numbers, got ſafe into the open fields, and continued his march all night towards *Armenia Major*, where he was expected by *Tigranes*. *Pompey* next morning, by break of day, purſued the enemy with his whole army, and having with much ado overtaken them, found the king encamped on a hill, to which there was but one aſcent, and that guarded by a ſtrong body of foot. The *Romans* b
encamped over-againſt them; but *Pompey*, fearing the king ſhould make his eſcape in the night-time, privately decamped, and taking the ſame rout the enemies were to hold in order to gain *Armenia*, poſſeſſed himſelf of all the eminences and defilees through which the king was to paſs. *Mithridates* thinking that *Pompey* was returned to his former camp, purſued his march, and, about the dusk of the evening, entered a narrow valley, which was ſurrounded on all ſides by ſteep hills. On theſe hills the *Romans* lay concealed, expecting the ſignal to fall upon the enemy, and attack them on all ſides at once, while they were tired with their march, and ſeemingly, as they had ſent out no ſcouts, in great ſecurity (S). *Pompey* was at firſt for putting off the attack till the next morning, thinking it not ſafe to engage in the night-time among c
ſuch ſteep and craggy mountains; but was at laſt prevailed upon, by the earneſt prayers and intreaties of all the chief officers of his army, to fall upon the enemy that very night. It was therefore agreed, that, in the dead of the night, all the trumpets ſhould at once ſound the charge, that this ſignal ſhould be followed by an univerſal ſhout of the whole army, and that the ſoldiers ſhould make what noiſe they could, by ſtriking their ſpears againſt the braſs veſſels that were uſed in the camp. The king's army, at this ſudden and unexpected noiſe, which was echoed again by the mountains, imagined at firſt that the gods themſelves were come down from heaven to deſtroy them; and the *Romans* charging them on all ſides with ſhowers of ſtones and arrows from the tops of the hills, they betook themſelves to a d
precipitate flight; but finding all the paſſes beſet with ſtrong bodies of horſe and foot, were forced to fly back into the valley, where, for many hours together, they were expoſed to the enemy's ſhot, without being able, in that confuſion, either to attack them, or defend themſelves. They attempted indeed to make ſome reſiſtance when the moon roſe; but the *Romans* running down upon them from the hills, did not give them time to draw up, and the place was ſo narrow, that they had not room even to make uſe of their ſwords (T). The king loſt on that occaſion ten thouſand men, according to *Appian*, but forty thouſand according to *Eutropius* and others [x]. On *Pompey*'s ſide there fell between twenty and thirty private men, and two centurions. *Mithridates*, at the head of eight hundred horſe, broke thro' the *Roman* e
army, and being, after this effort, abandoned by all the reſt, becauſe they were cloſely purſued by the enemy, he travelled all night, attended by three perſons only, *viz.* his wife, or, as *Plutarch* calls her, his concubine, by name *Hypſicratia*, his daughter *Dripetine*, and an officer. At day-break he fell in with a body of mercenary horſe, and three thouſand foot, who were marching to join him. By theſe he was eſcorted to the caſtle of *Sinoria*, ſituated on the borders of the two *Armenias*. As great part of his treaſures were lodged here, he rewarded very liberally thoſe who accompanied him in his flight, and taking ſix thouſand talents, withdrew into *Armenia*.

Pompey attacks Mithridates *in the night.*

And gains a complete victory.

[x] Appian. in Mithridat. p. 239, 240. Eutrop. l. vi. Dio, l. xxxvi. Plut. ubi ſupra.

(S) *Plutarch* tells us, that *Mithridates*, retiring to his pavilion to take ſome repoſe after his march, was by a dream forewarned of the misfortune that befel him; for he ſeemed to be ſailing with a fair wind in the *Pontic* ſea, and to diſcover with great joy the *Boſphorus*, when all on a ſudden he found himſelf ſhipwrecked, and caſt on an abandoned and inhoſpitable ſhore. While he was in this perplexity, his generals ruſhed into the tent, and acquainted him that *Pompey* was at hand, which gave him great uneaſineſs, tho' he did not at that time communicate his dream to any of his moſt intimate friends (59).

(T) *Florus*, *Plutarch* and *Eutropius* tell us, that as the *Romans* advanced, the moon ſhining on their backs, and becauſe ſhe was then in her wane, making their ſhadows appear mighty long, the enemy thereby judging of their nearneſs, diſcharged their darts againſt their ſhadows, and gave the *Romans* an opportunity of attacking them unarmed (60).

(59) *Plut. in Pomp.* (60) *Flor. l.* iii. *Eutrop. l.* vi. *Plut. ubi ſupra.*

As

a As ſoon as he entered the borders, he diſpatched embaſſadors to *Tigranes*, acquainting him with his arrival; but that prince, who was then on the point of concluding a ſeparate peace with the *Romans*, clapt his embaſſadors in irons, pretending that his ſon *Tigranes* had, at the inſtigation of *Mithridates*, revolted firſt to the *Parthians* and then to the *Romans*. *Mithridates* finding himſelf thus abandoned, even by his ſon-in-law, left *Armenia*, and directing his courſe towards *Colchis*, which was ſubject to him, and had not as yet been invaded by the *Romans*, paſſed the *Euphrates* the fourth day, and got ſafe into his own territories. *Pompey* ſent out ſeveral parties in purſuit of the king; but remained himſelf with the main body of the army in the field of battle, where he built a city, calling it, from that remarkable victory, *Nicopolis*. Mithridates *retires to* Colchis.

b This city, with the adjoining territory, he beſtowed upon ſuch of his ſoldiers as were old or diſabled; and many flocking to it from the neighbouring countries, it became, in a ſhort time, a very conſiderable place [y]. This battle is by moſt of the *Roman* hiſtorians ſaid to have been fought in the night-time (U), tho' *Appian*, and thoſe that have copied after him, tell us, that it happened in the day-time. Be that as it will, it was certainly attended with very fatal conſequences for *Mithridates*, who was forced, his army being intirely either cut off or diſperſed, to abandon his own dominions, and fly for ſhelter to the moſt remote parts of *Scythia*. *Pompey*, having concluded a peace with *Tigranes*, as we have related in the hiſtory of *Armenia*, and ſettled the affairs of that kingdom, began his march in purſuit of *Mithridates* through

c thoſe countries that lie about mount *Caucaſus*. The barbarous nations through which he paſſed, chiefly the *Albanians* and *Iberians*, attempted to ſtop his march; but were put to flight. However, he was obliged, by the exceſſive cold and deep roads, to paſs the winter near the river *Cyrus*. Early in the ſpring he purſued his march; but meeting with great oppoſition from the *Iberians*, a warlike nation, and intirely devoted to *Mithridates*, he was employed moſt part of the ſummer in reducing them, as we ſhall relate more at length in the hiſtory of that people. In the mean time *Mithridates*, who had wintered at *Dioſcurias*, on the iſthmus between the *Euxine* and *Caſpian* ſeas, and had been joined there by ſuch of his troops as had made their eſcape from the late unfortunate battle, continued his flight through the countries of the Pompey *purſues him.*

d *Achæans*, *Zygians*, *Heniochians*, *Cercetans*, *Moſchi* and *Colchians*. Of theſe nations ſome received him kindly, and even entered into an alliance with him; through others he was forced to make himſelf a way with his ſword [z]. *Pompey* took the ſame rout, directing his courſe by the ſtars, eſpecially in the northern parts of *Scythia*, and carrying with him even proviſion of water to ſupply the army in the vaſt deſarts through which he marched. He ſpent two years in warring with theſe nations, and was often in danger of loſing both his life and his army; but at laſt he overcame them all, and believing *Mithridates*, of whom he could have no account, to be dead, he marched back into *Armenia Minor*, where he allowed ſome reſt to his ſoldiers, who were quite worn out with the hardſhips they had endured in that expedition [a]. Having *And ſubdues the* Colchi, Albanians, *&c.*

e refreſhed his army, he marched into *Pontus*, to reduce ſome ſtrong holds, which were ſtill gariſoned by the king's troops. While he was at *Aſpis* in *Pontus*, many of the king's concubines were brought to him; but he ſent them all home to their parents, without offering them the leaſt injury, and thereby gained the affection of the chief lords of *Pontus*, whoſe daughters they were. The ſtrong caſtle of *Symphori* was delivered up to him by *Stratonix*, one of the king's concubines, upon no other terms than that he would ſpare her ſon *Xiphares*, who was with the king, in caſe he ſhould

[y] Appian. ubi ſupra. Strabo, l. xii. p. 555. Oros. l. vi. c. 4. Dio, l. xxxvi. [z] Liv. 101. Appian. p. 240. [a] Dio, l. xxxvii. Plut. in Pomp.

(U) *Plutarch*, *Florus*, *Dio*, *Eutropius* and *Oroſius* (61) agree, that this memorable battle was fought in the night-time; but *Appian* (62) relates it as happening in the day-time, and after the following manner: Both armies, ſays he, were drawn up early in the morning, and ſome parties beginning to skirmiſh among the rocks, ſome of the king's horſe diſmounting, haſtened to the relief of their friends; but ſeeing the *Romans* ſupported by a body of cavalry, ran back for their horſes, that they might ſo be a match for the enemy; but the *Pontics* that were encamped on the eminences, obſerving their companions running back in ſuch a hurry, and apprehending that the enemy had entered the camp in ſome other part, betook themſelves to a precipitate flight, and finding all the avenues poſſeſſed by the *Romans*, threw themſelves headlong from the rocks. As they were thus diſordered, and intangled among the rocks, it was eaſy for *Pompey* to perform the reſt. He put ten thouſand to the ſword, made a great many priſoners, and took their camp, with all their baggage and proviſions. Thus *Appian*.

(61) *Ubi ſupra. Oroſ. l.* vi. *c.* 4. (62) *Appian. in Mithridatic. p.* 239, 240.

fall into his hands. She likewiſe diſcovered to him great treaſures hid under ground, a
which he, with great generoſity, beſtowed upon her, reſerving for himſelf only ſome
veſſels to ſet off his triumph [b]. Having taken another fort called the *New Caſtle*,
and to that time looked upon as impregnable, he found in it great ſtore of gold, ſilver,
and other valuable things, which he afterwards conſecrated to *Jupiter Capitolinus*.
Here in looking over the king's manuſcripts, he came to diſcover where the reſt of
his treaſures were concealed, what troops he could raiſe and maintain, what ſums
were yearly paid him by his ſubjects and tributaries, *&c.* whereby he could make a
true eſtimate of his whole power and wealth [c]. Amongſt other manuſcripts he found
ſome books of phyſic wrote by *Mithridates* himſelf, which he commanded *Lenæus*,
a learned grammarian, to tranſlate into *Latin* [d]. *Pompey*, having thus reduced all b
Pontus, marched into *Syria* with a deſign to recover that kingdom, and paſſing
through *Arabia* to penetrate as far as the *Red-Sea*. But while he was employed in
this expedition news was brought him, that *Mithridates*, whom he believed dead, had
appeared unexpectedly in *Pontus* at the head of a conſiderable army, and ſurprized
Panticapæum, a famous empory at the mouth of the *Euxine* ſea. He had lain all this
Mithridates *appears again at the head of a conſiderable army.* time concealed in the territories of a *Scythian* prince adjoining to the *Palus Mæotis*;
but hearing that *Pompey* had left *Pontus*, and was engaged in other wars, he ventured
out of his hiding-place, reſolved either to recover his paternal kingdom, or die in
the attempt. He returned privately into *Pontus*, and managed matters there ſo dex-
terouſly, that the *Roman* gariſons knew nothing of his arrival till he appeared with a c
conſiderable army in the field. He advanced firſt to the caſtle of *Symphori*, and un-
derſtanding that *Stratonix* had delivered it up to *Pompey* on condition he would ſave
the life of her ſon in caſe he ſhould take him priſoner, the king immediately cauſed
the youth, who was in his army, to be put to death, and his body to be left un-
buried, *Stratonix* beholding from the walls the cruel and unnatural murder, for he
was her ſon by *Mithridates*, and had ſerved him with great fidelity. At the ſame time
he ſent embaſſadors to *Pompey* to treat of a peace, offering to pay a yearly tribute to
the republic on condition he reſtored him to his kingdom. *Pompey* replied, that he
would hearken to no propoſals whatſoever without the king came to treat with him
in perſon, as *Tigranes* had done. This *Mithridates* looked upon as no ways conſiſtent d
with his dignity, and therefore laying aſide all thoughts of an accommodation, began
to make what preparations he could for renewing the war. He ſummoned all his
And poſſeſſes himſelf of ſeveral important places. ſubjects that were able to bear arms to meet at an appointed place, and having choſen
out of the whole multitude ſixty cohorts, each conſiſting of a hundred men, he incor-
porated them with the regular troops that were already on foot. Being now in a
condition to act offenſively, for *Pompey* had left but a ſmall number of troops in *Pontus*,
he poſſeſſed himſelf of *Phanagorium*, *Cherſoneſus*, *Theudoſia*, *Nymphæum*, and ſeve-
ral other important places. But in the mean time *Caſtor*, whom *Mithridates* had
appointed governor of *Phanagorium*, falling out with *Tripho*, one of the king's favou-
rite eunuchs, killed him, and dreading the king's reſentment, ſtirred up the inhabi- e
tants to a revolt; and by this means *Phanagorium* was again loſt; but the caſtle,
which was defended by four of the king's ſons, *Artaphernes*, *Darius*, *Xerxes*, and
Oxathres, held out for ſome time. The king haſtened to their relief; but the caſtle
being ſet on fire by the rebels, they were forced to ſurrender themſelves to *Caſtor* before
his arrival. Theſe four ſons with one of the king's daughters, by name *Cleopatra*,
Caſtor ſent to the *Romans*, and fortifying himſelf in the town, perſuaded moſt of the
neighbouring cities, which were oppreſſed with heavy taxes, and ſtrangely haraſſed
by the king's collectors, to join in the rebellion. *Mithridates* finding that he could
neither rely upon the ſoldiery, moſt of them being forced into the ſervice, nor on his
other ſubjects, who were diſſatisfied by reaſon of the exorbitant taxes, ſent embaſſa- f
dors to invite the princes of *Scythia* to his relief, and with them his daughters to be
beſtowed in marriage upon ſuch as ſhewed themſelves moſt inclined to aſſiſt him. But
as the embaſſadors he employed on this occaſion were eunuchs, a race of men no leſs
abhorred by the army than favoured by the king, over whom they had a great aſcen-
dant, eſpecially in his old age, the ſoldiers, who were ſent to attend them on their
journey, put them all to the ſword aſſoon as they were out of the king's reach, and
delivered his daughters up to the *Romans*. *Mithridates* finding himſelf thus deprived
of his children, betrayed by his army, and forſaken even by thoſe on whom he chiefly

[b] Plutarch. Appian. Dio, ubi ſupra. [c] Plutarch. ubi ſupra. [d] Plin. l. xxv. c. 2.

relied,

a relied, could not yet be induced to ſubmit to the *Romans*, though *Pompey* promiſed him honourable conditions provided he came to treat with him in perſon. In this deſperate condition he left no ſtone unturned to ſtir up the princes of *Aſia* againſt the *Romans*, eſpecially the *Parthians*, but finding them awed by the great opinion they all had of *Pompey*, he had recourſe at laſt to the *European Gauls*, whom he underſtood to be at war with the *Romans*; and having ſent before ſome of his truſty friends to engage them in his favour, taking leave of his own kingdom, he began his long march, deſigning to paſs through *Boſphorus Cimmerius*, *Scythia*, *Pannonia*, &c. and joining the *Gauls*, paſs the *Alps*, and invade *Italy*. This deſign was no ſooner known in the army, but the ſoldiers began openly to complain, and mutiny, exaggerating the b boldneſs of the attempt, the length of the march, and the unſurmountable difficulties that muſt neceſſarily attend ſuch a deſperate enterprize. The chief commanders did all that lay in their power to divert him from it, repreſenting to him, that if he was not able to cope with the *Romans* in his own kingdom, much leſs would he be a match for them in *Italy* or *Gaul*, where they could daily receive new ſupplies, whereas he would loſe the beſt part of his army in ſo long and difficult a march, and the reſt perhaps in the firſt engagement, without any poſſibility of repairing the loſs. But all was to no purpoſe, for they found him ſo unalterably fixed in his reſolution, that he cauſed thoſe to be put to death, who with moſt warmth remonſtrated againſt it, not ſparing even his own ſon *Exipodras* for dropping ſome unguarded c expreſſions on that occaſion [e]. Thus they were forced to let him purſue his own meaſures, till they found a more proper opportunity to oppoſe them, which ſoon after offered as they were encamped at *Boſphorus Cimmerius* on their march into *Scythia*. Here *Pharnaces*, the king's favourite ſon, whom he had appointed to ſucceed him, obſerving the general diſcontent that reigned in the army, began to entertain thoughts of placing the crown on his own head, and not doubting but the ſoldiery would ſtand by him if he declared againſt the intended expedition into *Italy*, openly proteſted among the *Roman* deſerters, who were a conſiderable part of the army, that if they would follow him, he would return into *Pontus*. The *Romans*, who were well appriſed of the danger that attended ſuch an undertaking, and had moſt of d all exclaimed againſt it, promiſed to ſupport him to the utmoſt of their power, and even encouraged him, upon ſome expreſſions, which he purpoſely dropt, to aſſume the title of king, a title which his father ſeemed determined to hold till he had deſtroyed by his raſh and deſperate attempts himſelf, his friends, and his army. *Pharnaces* finding he could depend on the *Romans*, engaged the ſame night moſt of the chief commanders in his party, and by their means the greater part of the ſoldiery. It was agreed that next morning by break of day all thoſe who had declared in his favour ſhould appear in arms, and with a loud ſhout proclaim *Pharnaces* king; which was done accordingly, and the ſhout returned even by thoſe, whom *Pharnaces* had not thought fit to let into the ſecret. The king, who had taken up his quarters in e the city, being awaked by the noiſe, ſent out ſome of his domeſtics to know what had happened in the army. Neither did the officers or ſoldiers diſſemble the matter, but boldly anſwered, that they had choſen a young king inſtead of an old dotard governed by eunuchs. Hereupon *Mithridates* mounting on horſe-back, and attended by his guards, went out to appeaſe the tumult; but his guards forſaking him, and his horſe being killed under him, he was obliged to fly back into the city; from whence he ſent ſeveral of his attendants one after another to deſire of his ſon a ſafe conduct for himſelf and his friends. But as none of the meſſengers returned, ſome being ſlain, others ſiding with the new king, *Mithridates* endeavoured to move his ſon to compaſſion by ſignifying to him from the walls the diſtreſſed condition he was reduced f to by a ſon, whom he had favoured above the reſt of his children; but finding him no ways affected by his ſpeech, turning to the gods, he beſeeched them with many tears to make his ſon know one day by experience the grief and agony which a father muſt feel in ſeeing his love and tenderneſs requited with ſuch ungrateful and monſtrous returns. Having thus ſpoke, he thanked in a very obliging manner thoſe who had ſtood by him to the laſt, and exhorted them to make their ſubmiſſion to the new king on the beſt terms they could procure, adding, that as for himſelf he was determined not to outlive the rebellion of a ſon, whom he had always diſtinguiſhed with particular marks of paternal affection. After this he withdrew into the

The army mutinies againſt Mithridates.

His ſon revolts.

[e] Dio. l. xxxvii. Oros. l. vi. c. 5. Appian. p. 246. Flor. l. iii. c. 5. Plutarch. in Pomp.

apartment

apartment of his wives and concubines, where he firſt took poiſon himſelf, and then preſented it to them, and to his favourite daughters *Mithridatis* and *Niſſa*, who not long before had been betrothed to the kings of *Egypt* and *Cyprus*. To the women it proved immediate death, but on the king, who had from his infancy inured his conſtitution to poiſonous potions, it had ſo ſlow an operation, that he was forced, through fear of falling into the rebels hands, to recur to his ſword. Neither did the wound, as he was greatly weakened by the poiſon, prove mortal; ſo that the rebels having in the mean time ſtormed the town, and broke into the houſe, found the king wallowing in his blood, but ſtill alive, and in his ſenſes; which *Pharnaces* hearing, ſent ſome of thoſe that were about him to dreſs his wounds, with a deſign to deliver him up to the *Romans*, and thereby ingratiate himſelf with *Pompey*. But in the mean time a *Gaul*, who ſerved in the army, by name *Bitætus* or *Bithocus*, entering the king's room in queſt of booty, and being touched with compaſſion in ſeeing him forſaken by all his friends, and ſtruggling on the bare ground with the pangs of death, drawing his ſword, put an end to his preſent agonies, and prevented the inſults which he chiefly apprehended, if he ſhould fall alive into his ſon's hands. The barbarian is ſaid when he firſt ſaw the king, to have been ſo awed with the majeſty of his countenance, that, forgetful of his booty, he fled out of the room, but being called back, and earneſtly intreated by the dying prince to put an end to his miſery, he ſummoned all his courage to perform, as he did, with a trembling hand, that office, and immediately retired without touching any thing that belonged to the king, tho' the hopes of a rich booty was the only motive that had led him thither [f]. Thus died *Mithridates* at *Panticapæum* in the *Cimmerian Boſphorus* (W), in the ſixtieth year of his reign, a prince, as *Velleius Paterculus* [g] deſcribes him, neither to be paſſed over in ſilence, nor mentioned without reſpect, endowed with eminent virtues, which would have put him upon a level with the beſt of princes, had he not ſtained them with no leſs vices; an experienced commander, but more to be admired for the greatneſs of mind with which he bore miſfortunes, than for the many victories he gained. *Tully* calls him the greateſt king after *Alexander* that ever ſwayed a ſceptre [h]. He ſubdued twenty-four nations, and could talk their various languages with the ſame eaſe and fluency as his own. He is ſaid to have applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the *Greek* tongue, and even to have wrote in that dialect a learned treatiſe of botanics [i]. *Pliny* tells us [k], that he had extraordinary skill in phyſic, and was the inventor, not only of *Mithridate*, but of many other uſeful medicines. But nothing gives us a greater idea of this prince than the joy which the *Romans* ſhewed, notwithſtanding

Mithridates *lays violent hands on himſelf.* *Year of the flood* 2935. *Before Chriſt* 64.

His character.

[f] Dio, l. xxxvii. Liv. l. 102. Flor. l. iii. c. 5. Valer. Maxim. l. ix. c. 2. Plin. l. xxv. c. 2. Justin. l. xxxvii. c. 2. Appian. p. 248. &c. [g] Vellei Patercul. l. ii. c. 18. [h] Cicer. in Lucull. [i] Epiphan. Panar. tom. 1. [k] Plin. l. xxv. c. 2.

(W) *Appian* (63), tells us, that *Pharnaces* having conſpired againſt his father's life, and being diſcovered by his accomplices on the rack, was apprehended, but pardoned at the intreaties of *Menophanes*, one of the king's chief favourites. *Dio* makes no mention of his being pardoned, but often repeats, that the king, finding him to be at the head of the conſpiracy, ſent a detachment of his guards to ſeize him, but that they being won over by him, joined the other conſpirators, took the city of *Panticapæum*, and the king himſelf priſoner. He adds this obſervation, that *Mithridates*, in other reſpects a wiſe prince, did not conſider that arms and multitudes of ſubjects do not avail without their goodwill; but on the contrary, the more numerous they are, the more they are to be dreaded, if they are diſaffected to the prince or his government. As to the time which the *Mithridatic* war laſted, *Oroſius* writes thus (64): "The *Mithridatic* war, which involved many provinces, was protracted for the ſpace "of forty years. For it broke out in the year 662 "of *Rome*, a year remarkable for the firſt civil war, "and in the conſulſhip of *Cicero* and *Antonius*; to "uſe the expreſſion of that excellent poet *Lucan*, "*Barbarico vix conſummata veneno*, it was ended not by dint of ſword, but by poiſon". But this ſpace conſiſts of thirty years only, and how moſt authors came to write forty, is not eaſy to find out. *Juſtin* (65), *Florus* (66), and *Eutropius* (67), will have the *Mithridatic* war to have laſted forty years; *Appian* (68), writes, that *Mithridates* warred with the *Romans* forty-two years; the inſcription which *Pompey* placed under the ſpoils conſecrated to *Minerva* in her temple at *Rome*, informs us, as it is related by *Pliny* (69), that the *Mithridatic* war laſted only thirty years. But neither is it an eaſy matter to make out even the ſpace of thirty years; for from the firſt breaking out of that war to the death of *Mithridates*, we can reckon but twenty-ſix years, even taking the years of peace between the firſt and ſecond war into the account; ſo that the war may be ſaid to have laſted thirty years only to make up an even number; thus *Tully* in an oration, which he made during his conſulſhip (70), ſays, that he had defended *C. Rabirius* forty years before that honour was conferred upon him: but *Dio* by a more exact computation ſhews this to have happened only thirty-ſix years before that time (71).

(63) *Appian. p.* 246. (64) *Oroſ. l.* vi. *c.* 1. (65) *Juſtin. l.* xxxvii. *c.* 1. (66) *Florus, l.* iii. *c.* 5. (67) *Eutrop. l.* vi. (68) *Appian. p.* 170. (69) *Plin. l.* vii. *c.* 26. (70) *Cic. in Piſonem.* (71) *Dio, l.* xxxvii.

their

a their many victories, and the low ebb he was reduced to, when they firſt heard the news of his death. *Pompey*, who was at that time engaged in a war with the *Jews*, received the firſt notice of the death of *Mithridates*, as he was on his march to *Jeruſalem*. The meſſenger who brought the joyful tidings, was ſent by *Pharnaces*, and appeared unexpectedly before *Pompey* with the branch of a laurel, as was cuſtomary on the like occaſions, twiſted round the head of his javelin. When he heard what had happened at *Panticapæum*, he was ſo impatient to impart it to the ſoldiery, that he could not even wait till they raiſed him a mount with turf to ſpeak from thence to the army according to the cuſtom of the camp; but ordered thoſe who were by him to form a kind of mount with their ſaddles, and from thence acquainted the b ſoldiery that *Mithridates* had laid violent hands on himſelf, and his ſon *Pharnaces* was ready to acknowledge the kingdom as a gift of the people of *Rome*, or reſign it, if they were unwilling he ſhould reign. This news was received with joyful ſhouts of the whole army, and the day ſolemnized with feaſts and ſacrifices throughout the camp, as if in *Mithridates* alone all the enemies of the republic had died [l]. *Pompey* diſpatched without delay a meſſenger with letters to the ſenate, acquainting them with the death of *Mithridates*, and the ſubmiſſion of his ſon *Pharnaces*. When his letters were read, the ſenators were ſo overjoyed, that they appointed, at the propoſal of *Cicero*, then conſul, twelve days for returning due thanks to the gods, who had delivered them from ſuch an inſulting and powerful enemy [m]; and the tribunes of the c people enacted a law, whereby *Pompey*, in conſideration of his eminent ſervice in the *Mithridatic* war, was to wear a crown of laurel with the triumphal gown at the *Circenſian* ſports, and a purple gown at the ſcenical plays [n].

The joy of the Romans *at his death.*

But to return to *Pharnaces*, when he heard of his father's death, he cauſed his body to be preſerved in brine, propoſing to preſent it to *Pompey*, who had promiſed to return into *Pontus* after the reduction of *Judæa*, and there ſettle matters to his ſatisfaction. And accordingly having taken the city and temple of *Jeruſalem*, he ſet out with two legions for *Pontus*, and being arrived at *Sinope*, he was met there by embaſſadors from *Pharnaces*, acquainting him that their maſter had forbore aſſumeing the title of king, till his will and pleaſure were known; that he put both himſelf d and the kingdom intirely into his hands, and that he was willing to attend him at what time or place he thought fit to appoint. The ſame embaſſadors delivered up to *Pompey* thoſe who had taken *Manius Aquilius* the *Roman* legate, whom *Mithridates* had put to a cruel death, all the priſoners, hoſtages and deſerters, whether *Romans*, *Greeks*, or *Barbarians*, and the body of *Mithridates*, with his rich apparel and arms, which were greatly admired by *Pompey* and the other *Romans*. Both ſoldiers and officers flocked to ſee the king's body, but *Pompey* declined that ſight; and ſaying that all enmity between that great prince and the people of *Rome* was ended with his life, he returned the body to the embaſſadors, and cauſed it to be interred with the utmoſt pomp and magnificence among his anceſtors in the burying-place of the kings e of *Pontus*, *Pompey* defraying all the charges of that ceremony, which was the moſt coſtly and pompous that ever had been ſeen in thoſe parts. With the body *Pompey* reſtored his wearing apparel and armour; but the ſcabbard of his ſword, which coſt four hundred talents, was ſtolen by *Rublius* a *Roman*, and ſold to *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia*; and his cap or turbant, which was a very curious piece of workmanſhip, was privately taken by one *Caius*, who preſented it to *Fauſtus* the ſon of *Sylla*, in whoſe houſe it was kept, and ſhewn for many years after among the many rarities which *Sylla* had brought out of *Aſia*. *Pompey* beſtowed the kingdom of *Boſphorus* on *Pharnaces*, and honoured him with the title of a friend and ally of the people of *Rome* [o]. *Pharnaces* being thus acknowledged king of *Boſphorus*, ſent orders to all f the garriſons of *Pontus* to ſubmit themſelves with the caſtles and treaſures which they were truſted with to *Pompey*, who by that means amaſſed an immenſe booty. In the city of *Talaura*, which *Mithridates* uſed to call his wardrobe, he found two thouſand cups of onyx ſet in gold, with ſuch ſtore of gold and ſilver veſſels, of coſtly furniture, of ſaddles, bridles, and trappings ſet with jewels and precious ſtones, that the *Roman* commiſſaries ſpent thirty days in taking the inventory of the whole [p]. In another caſtle he found three large tables with nine ſalvers of maſſy gold, inriched with precious ſtones to an ineſtimable value, the ſtatues of *Minerva*, *Mars*, and *Apollo*, of pure gold, and moſt curious workmanſhip, and a pair of gaming tables

Pompey *beſtows the kingdom of* Boſphorus *on* Pharnaces.

[l] Plut. in Pomp. [m] Cicero de provin. conſular. [n] Vellei. Patercul. l. ii. c. 40. Dio, l. xxxvii. [o] Dio, l. xxxvii. Appian. p. 250, 251, 252, 253, 254. [p] Appian. p. 251, 252.

of two precious ſtones, three foot broad, and four foot long, on which was a moon a
of gold weighing thirty pounds, with their men all of the ſame precious ſtone. In a fort ſituated among the mountains were delivered up to him the king's ſtatue of maſſy gold eight cubits high, his throne and ſceptre, and the bed of *Darius* the ſon of *Hyſtaſpes*. Moſt of theſe treaſures had been tranſmitted to him from his anceſtors, chiefly from *Darius* king of *Perſia*; ſome belonged to the *Ptolemies* of *Egypt*, and had been depoſited by *Cleopatra*, as we have hinted above, in the hands of the *Coans*, who delivered them to *Mithridates*; great part of them had been collected by the king himſelf, who was very fond of rich and ſtately furniture [q]. *Pompey* having thus got intire poſſeſſion of *Pontus*, and reduced it to the form of a *Roman* province, marched into *Aſia* properly ſo called, and having wintered at *Epheſus*, early in b
the ſpring ſet out for *Italy* with a fleet of ſeven hundred ſhips. As he brought over his army with him, the ſenate was under no ſmall apprehenſion, leſt he ſhould make himſelf abſolute, and rule without controul. But he no ſooner landed at *Brundiſium* than he disbanded the army without waiting for any decree either of the ſenate or people; what neither his friends nor his enemies had believed [r]. His triumph laſted two whole days, and though he was attended in his triumphal chariot by three hundred and twenty-four captives of diſtinction, among whom were five ſons and two daughters of *Mithridates*, yet he would not ſuffer any of them to be put to death, as it had been practiſed by others, but ſent them all back, except ſuch as were of royal extraction, to their reſpective countries, and even ſupplied them with money c
to defray the charges of their journey [s]. After his triumph he delivered into the treaſury twenty thouſand talents, though at the diſmiſſing of the army he had divided ſixteen thouſand talents among the tribunes and centurions, two thouſand ſeſtertiums among the quæſtors, and had given to each ſoldier fifty ſeſtertiums.

Pharnaces II. *Pompey* had no ſooner left *Aſia*, but *Pharnaces* fell unexpectedly upon the *Phanagorenſes*, a people of *Boſphorus*, whom *Pompey* had declared free, becauſe they had revolted the firſt of all from *Mithridates*, and by their example induced others to abandon the king's party. *Pharnaces* beſieged their chief city *Phanagoria*, and kept them blocked up, till for want of proviſions they were forced to ſally out, and put all to the iſſue of a battle; which proving unſucceſsful, they delivered up themſelves d
and their city to the conqueror [t]. Some years after, the civil war breaking out between *Cæſar* and *Pompey*, he laid hold of that opportunity to recover the pro-

Recovers great part of his hereditary dominions. vinces which his father had formerly poſſeſſed; and having raiſed a conſiderable army, over-ran *Pontus*, *Colchis*, *Bithynia*, *Armenia*, and the kingdom of *Moſchis*, where he plundered, as *Strabo* obſerves [u], the temple of the goddeſs *Leucothea*. He alſo took the ſtrong and important city of *Sinope*, but could not reduce *Amiſus*. But in the mean time *Cæſar*, having got the better of *Pompey* and his party, appointed *Cn. Domitius Calvinus* governor of *Aſia*, injoining him to make war upon *Pharnaces* with the legions that were quartered in that province [w]. *Domitius* immediately diſpatched embaſſadors to *Pharnaces*, commanding him to withdraw his troops from *Armenia* e
and *Cappadocia*. The king returned anſwer, that he was willing to abandon *Cappadocia*; but as for the kingdom of *Armenia Minor*, it was part of his heridetary dominions, and therefore he would not reſign it, till he had an opportunity of laying his pretenſions before *Cæſar* himſelf, whom he was ready to obey in all things. Hereupon *Domitius* drawing together what forces he could, marched into *Cappadocia*, which he recovered without oppoſition, *Pharnaces* having abandoned it to make a ſtand in *Armenia*, which lay nearer his own dominions. Thither *Domitius* purſued him, and having overtaken him near *Nicopolis*, found his army drawn up in battle-array, and the king ready to come to an engagement, which *Domitius* not declining, both armies advanced. The king at the head of a choice body of men f

Defeats Domitius Calvinus. fell upon the *Romans* left wing, conſiſting moſtly of raw and undiſciplined *Aſiatics*; and having without much ado put them to flight, penetrated to the centre, where the thirty-fifth legion, the only one which *Domitius* had, after a faint reſiſtance gave ground, and retiring to the neighbouring mountains, left their allies to ſhift for themſelves, who were all cut off. *Domitius* with the remains of his ſcattered army marched back into *Cappadocia*, and from thence, winter drawing on, into the province of *Aſia* [x].

[q] APPIAN. ubi ſupra. PLIN. l. xxxvii. c. 2. DIO, ubi ſupra. [r] APPIAN. ubi ſupra. [s] VELLEI. PATERCUL. l. ii. c. 40. PLUTARCH. APPIAN. [t] APPIAN. p. 253, 254. [u] STRAB. l. xi. p. 254. [w] DIO, l. xlii. HIRTIUS de bell. Alexandrin. [x] HIRTIUS de bell. civil. l. ii. & APPIAN. p. 484. & DIO, l. xlii.

The

a The king being puffed up with this victory, and hearing that *Cæſar* with the flower of the *Roman* forces was engaged at the ſiege of *Alexandria*, appointed one *Aſander* governor of *Boſphorus*, and marched himſelf into *Cappadocia* in purſuit of *Domitius*, with a deſign to invade *Aſia*, and recover all the provinces which had been once ſubdued by his father. *Bithynia* and *Cappadocia* readily ſubmitted; but *Armenia the Leſſer*, which was held by *Dejotarus*, made ſo vigorous a reſiſtance, that he was forced to give over the enterprize, leſt the *Romans* ſhould in the mean time ſtrengthen themſelves in *Aſia*, whither he was in haſte to march, in hopes of meeting there with the ſame ſucceſs as his father *Mithridates* had done. But before he reached that province, he was informed that *Aſander* had revolted, in hopes of gaining thereby
b the good-will of the *Romans*, and obtaining of them the kingdom of *Boſphorus* for himſelf. At the ſame time he received intelligence, that *Cæſar* having at laſt reduced *Alexandria*, and ſettled the affairs of *Egypt* and *Syria*, was marching into *Armenia*. He was not a little diſmayed at this news, and therefore without delay diſpatched embaſſadors to ſue for peace, hoping that *Cæſar*, who was haſtening into *Italy* with a deſign to paſs over into *Afric*, would willingly give ear to any propoſals of that nature. *Cæſar* courteouſly entertained the embaſſadors, and though he did not propoſe to agree to their conditions, yet, that he might come upon *Pharnaces* unawares, he ſhewed himſelf very deſirous of entering into a treaty of peace. But in the mean time he purſued his march with all poſſible expedition, and arriving on the confines of *Pontus*,
c ordered all the troops that were quartered in the neighbouring provinces to join him; for he had brought from *Alexandria* but one legion, namely the ſixth, and that conſiſting of a thouſand men only, the reſt having been killed at the ſiege of *Alexandria*: Beſides this veteran legion he found at the place of the general rendezvous three others, but all of them very indifferently armed, and worſe diſciplined [y]. With theſe forces however, ſuch as they were, he advanced againſt *Pharnaces*, who being greatly frightened at his approach by reaſon of the ſucceſs that had attended him in all his expeditions, again diſpatched embaſſadors to him with a crown of gold, offering him his daughter in marriage, and promiſing to do whatever he ſhould require. The embaſſadors took care to let *Cæſar* know that their maſter, though highly obliged to
d *Pompey*, yet had never been prevailed upon to ſend him any ſupplies during the civil war, which *Dejotarus* king of *Armenia the Leſſer*, whom he had honoured with his friendſhip, had done. *Cæſar* returned anſwer, that he was willing to conclude a peace with *Pharnaces*, provided he retired without delay from *Pontus*, returned all the captives and hoſtages, whether *Romans*, or their allies, and reſtored the goods of the *Roman* citizens and publicans which he had ſeized ſince he firſt took up arms. He added, that as to his not ſending ſupplies to *Pompey*, they ought rather to have concealed ſuch an ungrateful proceeding of their maſter, than alledged it as any merit, ſince the forſaking of one, to whom he was indebted for his crown, beſpoke him a man of mean, ſelfiſh, and wicked principles [z]. *Pharnaces* upon the return
e of his embaſſadors acquainted *Cæſar*, that he agreed to the conditions; but finding that *Cæſar*'s affairs called him into *Italy*, he required a longer term of time for the performance of what was ſtipulated between them, ſtarting daily new difficulties, in hopes that *Cæſar* would in the mean time be obliged to depart, and leave the affairs of *Pontus* in the ſame poſture he had found them. *Cæſar* ſeeing himſelf thus diſappointed, and put off from day to day, could not longer brook the king's deceitful behaviour. Wherefore he determined to put himſelf at the head of his ſmall army, and attack the enemy in his camp, when he leaſt expected it. And accordingly marching out in the night, he came by break of day in ſight of the king's army, and uttering theſe words, *Shall this treacherous parricide go unpuniſhed?* broke into the camp at the
f head of a thouſand horſe. The king's chariots, which were armed with ſithes, cauſed ſome ſmall diſorder among *Cæſar*'s horſe; but in the mean time the reſt of his army coming up, he put the enemies to flight, and obtained a complete victory [a]. This battle was fought near the place where *Mithridates* had routed with great ſlaughter the *Roman* army under the command of *Triarius*. Moſt of the king's army were either taken or cut in pieces; but *Pharnaces* himſelf had the good luck to make his eſcape, while the *Romans* were buſy in plundering the camp. This victory was ſo quick, that *Cæſar* in a letter to his friend *Aminitius*, or *Anitius* at *Rome*, expreſſed it in three words, thus: *I came, I ſaw, I conquered.* He ever afterwards uſed to call *Pompey*

Sends embaſſadors to Cæſar *to treat of a peace.*

Overcome by Cæſar.

[y] Hirtius, ubi ſupra. [z] Hirtius, ubi ſupra. Dio, l. xli, xlii. [a] Appian. de bell. civil. l. ii. p 485. Jul. Frontin. Stratagemat. l. ii. c. 2.

a for-

a fortunate rather than a great commander, ſince he had gained his chief glory in the *Mithridatic* war, fighting with ſo cowardly an enemy [b]. He divided the rich booty, and the ſpoils of the camp among his ſoldiers, and becauſe *Mithridates* had erected a trophy near that place as a monument of his victory over *Triarius*, which *Cæſar*, as it was conſecrated to the gods, did not think lawful to pull down, he ſet up another over-againſt it to tranſmit to poſterity his victory over *Pharnaces*. After this victory he recovered and reſtored to the allies of the people of *Rome* all the places which *Pharnaces* had poſſeſſed himſelf of during the war, declared *Amiſus* a free city, and appointed *Mithridates Pergamenus*, of whom more hereafter, king of *Boſphorus* in the room of *Pharnaces*. Having thus ſettled the affairs of *Pontus*, he ſet ſail for *Italy*, leaving *Domitius Calvinus* to purſue the war againſt *Pharnaces*, if he ſhould appear again in the field. *Pharnaces* had retired after the battle to *Sinope* with a thouſand horſe, where he was quickly beſieged by *Domitius*, to whom he ſurrendered the town upon no other conditions than that he ſhould be ſuffered to retire into *Boſphorus* with the ſmall body that attended him. This *Domitius* willingly granted, but cauſed all the king's horſes to be killed, ſince he had asked a ſafe conduct only for his horſemen [c]. With theſe and a band of *Scythians* and *Sarmatians* he attempted to recover the kingdom of *Boſphorus*; but being met between *Theudocia* and *Panticapeum*, both which cities he had reduced, by *Aſander*, who was ſtill in poſſeſſion of the kingdom, a ſharp engagement enſued, wherein the king's men, as not being uſed to fight on foot, were put to flight, and *Pharnaces* himſelf, who remained alone in the field, ſurrounded by the enemy, and cut in pieces, after having reigned in *Boſphorus Cimmerius*, the kingdom which *Pompey* had beſtowed upon him [d], according to *Appian*, fifteen years, according to others, ſeventeen.

And killed by Aſander.

Darius. UPON the death of *Pharnaces* the kingdom of *Pontus* was again reduced to the form of a province, and ſo continued to the triumvirate of *Marc Antony*, who after the battle at *Philippi* conferred it upon *Darius* the ſon of *Pharnaces* for his ſervices during the civil war [e]. He continued faithful to the *Romans*, but did nothing during his reign worth mentioning.

Polemon I. *Darius* was ſucceeded in the kingdom by *Polemon*, preferred to that honour by *Marc Antony*. He was the ſon of *Zeno*, a famous orator of *Laodicea*, and greatly favoured by *Antony*. From him that part of *Pontus*, which borders on *Cappadocia*, borrowed the name of *Pontus Polemoniacus*. He attended *Marc Antony* in his expedition againſt the *Parthians*, and being taken priſoner in the unſucceſsful battle fought by *Statianus*, he was ſent by the king of the *Medes*, an ally of the *Parthians*, to conclude a peace with the *Romans*. In which embaſſy he acquitted himſelf ſo well, that *Antony* added the kingdom of *Armenia* to his other dominions. In the war between *Antony* and *Auguſtus* he ſided with the former; but after the battle at *Actium* was received into favour by the latter; and being ſent by *Agrippa* againſt *Scribonius*, who upon the death of *Aſander* had uſurped the kingdom of *Boſphorus*, he overcame him, and reduced the kingdom of *Colchis*, which was beſtowed upon him by *Agrippa*, who likewiſe honoured him with the title of friend and ally of the people of *Rome*. He afterwards waged war with the neighbouring *Barbarians*, refuſing to live in ſubjection to the *Romans*, but was overcome, taken, and put to death by the *Aſpungitani*, a people bordering, according to *Strabo*, on the *Palus Mœotis* [f].

Polemon II. UPON his death his ſon *Polemon* II. was by the emperor *Caligula* raiſed to the throne of *Boſphorus* and *Pontus*. But the emperor obliged him to exchange the kingdom of *Boſphorus* with part of *Cilicia*, and *Nero* with his conſent reduced that part of *Pontus*, which he enjoyed, to the form of a province. He fell in love with *Berenice* daughter to *Agrippa* king of *Judæa*, and in order to marry her, embraced the *Jewiſh* religion. But as ſhe became ſoon tired of his riotous way of living, and returned to her father, ſo he renounced his new religion, and again embraced the ſuperſtitions of paganiſm [g]. *Polemon* dying without iſſue, the ancient kingdom of *Pontus* was parcelled out into ſeveral parts, and added to the provinces of *Bithynia*, *Galatia*, and *Cappadocia*, only that part of it, which was called *Pontus Polemoniacus*, retaining the dignity of a diſtinct and ſeparate province. During the civil diſcords between *Veſpaſian* and *Vitellius*, one *Anicetus*, firſt a ſlave, afterwards freedman to king *Polemon*, and laſtly commander of the royal navy, took up arms with a deſign to

[b] PLUTARCH. in Cæſare. APPIAN. ubi ſupra, p. 254. [c] APPIAN. ubi ſupra, p. 485. [d] APPIAN. in Mithridatic. p. 254. [e] APPIAN. bell. civil. l. v. [f] STRAB. l. xi. PLUTARCH. in Anton. APPIAN. bell. civil. l. v. DIO, l. xlix, li, lii. [g] JOSEPH. l. xx. Antiq. DIO, ZONARAS, EUTROPIUS, &c.

reſcue

a reſcue the kingdom from the *Roman* bondage; and being joined by great multitudes, drawn together with the proſpect of ſpoil, over-ran the country, and poſſeſſed himſelf of *Trapeſund*, a city founded by the *Grecians* on the utmoſt confines of *Pontus*. Here he cut in pieces a cohort made up of the inhabitants, but which had been formerly preſented with the privilege of *Roman* citizens. He likewiſe burnt the fleet, and with ſcorn and inſults ſcoured the ſea, *Mucianus* having called to *Byzantium* moſt of the *Roman* gallies. Hereupon *Veſpaſian*, who was at that time in *Syria*, ſent *Verdius Geminus* into *Pontus* with a choice body of vexillaries from the legions. He, aſſailing the enemy, while they were in diſorder, and roaming aſunder in purſuit of prey, drove them into their veſſels; then with ſome gallies chaſed *Ani-*
b *cetus* into the mouth of the river *Chobus*, where he thought himſelf ſafe under the protection of *Sedochus* king of the *Lazians*, whoſe alliance he had purchaſed with large ſums, and rich preſents. *Sedochus* at firſt refuſed to deliver him up to the *Romans*, but was ſoon prevailed upon, partly by threats, partly by preſents, to ſurrender both him and all the other fugitives who had taken ſanctuary in his dominions [h]. Thus ended that ſervile war, and the kingdom of *Pontus* continued to be a province of the empire till the time of *David* and *Alexis Comneni*, who being driven from *Conſtantinople* by the *French* and *Venetians* under the command of *Baldwin* earl of *Flanders*, ſettled, the one at *Heraclea*, the other at *Trebiſond*. The new troubles that aroſe among the *Latins* gave *Alexis Comnenes* an opportunity of erecting here a new empire, which com-
c prehended great part of *Pontus*, and was known by the name of the empire of *Trebiſond*. The *Comneni* held it above two hundred and fifty years, till the time of *Mohamed* II. who carried *David Comnenes*, the laſt emperor of *Trebiſond*, priſoner to *Conſtantinople*, with all his family, and ſubjected his empire to that of *Conſtantinople*, in which abject ſlavery *Trebiſond* and all *Pontus* have continued ever ſince.

[h] Tacit. hiſt. l. iii.

CHAP. V.

The Hiſtory of the Cappadocians.

SECT. I.

The deſcription of Cappadocia.

a THIS country was known to the ancients by the name of *Syria* or *Aſſyria*, and the inhabitants by that of *Leucoſyri*. It borrowed the name of *Cappadocia*, according to *Pliny* [k], from the river *Cappadox*; according to *Herodianus* [l], from one *Cappadocus* the founder of this nation and kingdom. Others ſuppoſe the name of *Cappadocia* derived from ſome barbarous word, whereof the meaning is unknown to us; for the river *Cappadox* is mentioned only by *Pliny*, and *Cappadocus*, the pretended founder of the nation, is ſpoke of by none of the ancient hiſtorians. *Cappadocia* in ancient times compriſed all that country which lies between mount *Taurus* and the *Euxine* ſea, and was divided by the *Perſians* into two ſatrapies or governments, by the *Macedonians* into two kingdoms, the one called *Cappadocia ad Taurum* and *Cappadocia*
b *Magna*, the other *Cappadocia ad Pontum*, and commonly *Pontus*. Of the latter we have given the hiſtory already; of the former we are to write in this chapter. *Cappadocia Magna*, or *Cappadocia* properly ſo called, lies between the thirty-eighth and forty-firſt degrees of north latitude, and was bounded by *Pontus* on the north, by *Lycaonia* and part of *Armenia Minor* on the ſouth, by *Galatia* on the weſt, and

Name and diviſion.

[k] Lib. vi. c. 3. [l] Herodian. apud Stephan.

by the *Euphrates* and part of *Armenia Minor* on the eaſt. Under king *Archelaus*, and ſome of his predeceſſors, *Cappadocia* was divided, as *Strabo* informs us, into ten prefectures, five of which lay near mount *Taurus*, viz. *Melitena*, *Cataonia*, *Cilicia*, *Tyanitis*, *Iſſauritis*; the other five comprehended the remaining part of the kingdom; but *Strabo* leaves us in the dark as to their ſituation, and the towns of note which they contained. The metropolis of all *Cappadocia* in ancient times was *Mazaca* or *Euſebia*, called afterwards *Cæſarea* by *Tiberius* in honour of *Auguſtus*. This latter name it ſtill retains, being called by the inhabitants *Keſaria*. It is built round a rock, as *Tavernier* informs us, on the top of which ſtands a caſtle, and is ſtill a populous and conſiderable city. It was the ſee of the renowned St. *Baſil*, and its archbiſhop to this day holds the firſt rank among the prelates who are under the patriarch of *Conſtantinople*. The other cities of note in *Cappadocia* are, *Comana*, called *Comana Cappadocia*, to diſtinguiſh it from another city of the ſame name in *Pontus*. This city was famous in ancient times for a temple conſecrated to *Bellona*, whoſe prieſts and attendants of both ſexes amounted in *Strabo*'s time to the number of ſix thouſand and upwards. The chief-prieſt was lord of the adjoining country, and in honour next to the king, being commonly of the royal family. *Nyſſa* in *Chriſtian* times the ſee of *Gregory*, ſurnamed *Nyſſenus*, and brother to St. *Baſil*. *Nazianzum* the ſee and place of nativity of another *Gregory* no leſs celebrated by the writers of the eccleſiaſtic hiſtory. *Archelais*, ſo called from *Archelaus* king of *Cappadocia*, who either founded, or repaired and embelliſhed it. *Diocæſarea* placed by *Pliny* in *Cappadocia*, by others in *Phrygia*, and anciently called, as we read in *Strabo*, *Cabria*. *Fauſtinopolis*, ſo called in honour of *Fauſtina*, wife to the emperor *Antoninus*. *Cabiſtra* mentioned by *Tully* in his letters [k]. *Pterium*, memorable for the overthrow of *Cræſus* by *Cyrus*, which was attended with the ruin of the *Lydian* kingdom. The rivers of this country that deſerve any notice, are, the *Melas*, which indeed riſes in the weſtern borders of *Galatia*, but paſſes through the ſouthern borders of this kingdom and *Armenia*, and falls into the *Euphrates*; the *Halys*, which riſes near *Nazianzum*, and bending firſt to the weſt, and then to the north, paſſes through *Galatia* and *Paphlagonia*, and diſcharges itſelf into the *Euxine* ſea between *Synope* and *Amiſus*; the *Iris*, now *Caſalmac*, which, as *Strabo* informs us, paſſed through *Amaſia* his own country, and receiving the *Themiſcyra* falls into the *Euxine* ſea not far from *Amiſus*.

Cities. *Rivers.*

Soil and climate. This country produces excellent wines, and moſt kind of fruits; and was formerly rich in mines of ſilver, braſs, iron, and allom; affording alſo great ſtore of alabaſter, cryſtal, jaſper, and onyx-ſtone. But it was chiefly celebrated by the ancients for its breed of horſes, which were and ſtill are in great requeſt. Some parts of *Cappadocia* are very mountainous and barren, the *Antitaurus* running through thoſe provinces which border on the two *Armenia*'s. In this part of *Cappadocia* ſtands mount *Argaus*, of ſuch an extraordinary height, that one may ſee, as ſome authors relate, from the top of it the *Euxine* ſea on one ſide, and the *Mediterranean* on the other.

Origin. *Cappadocia* was probably peopled by *Togarmah*, the laſt ſon of *Gomer*, and his deſcendants; for it lies contiguous to thoſe countries, which the reſt of *Gomer*'s family poſſeſſed, and is ſituated conformable to that expreſſion of the prophet [l], Gomer *and all his bands, the houſe of* Togarmah *of the north quarters, and all his bands*; which ſeems to be ſpoken of their ſituation with reſpect to *Judæa*. *Turcomannia*, where many have placed this colony, ſeems too remote, becauſe they are ſaid to have traded to the fairs of *Tyre* [m]; and what confirms their having ſettled in *Cappadocia* is, that they *brought horſes, horſemen, and mules*; for that country produced excellent horſes and mules, which laſt are ſuppoſed to have come firſt from thence. Beſides in the borders of *Pontus* and *Cappadocia*, we find a people called *Trocmi*, *Trogmi*, or *Trocmeni*, as *Stephanus* calls them. In the council of *Chalcedon* they are called *Trocmades* or *Trogmades*, which names have an affinity with *Togarmah*, or, as the *Greeks* uſually write it, *Thorgama*. *Bochart* [n] obſerves, that the *Cappadocians* are ſaid by the fathers to be deſcended from *Caphtorim*, the laſt of the offspring of *Mizraim*, and that *Caphtor* is rendered by the ſeptuagint *Cappadocia*. In this without all doubt they followed the *Jews*, who explain thoſe names the ſame way, as do the three *Chaldee* paraphraſts. But by *Cappadocia* in theſe writings is not to be underſtood *Cappadocia* in *Aſia Minor*, as *Bochart* judged; but ſome place in *Egypt*,

[k] Cic. lib. xv. epiſt. 11. ad ſenat. & ad Attic. l. v. epiſt. 18. [l] Ezek. xxxviii. 6. [m] Ezek. xxvii. 14. [n] Bochart. Phaleg. l. iv. c. 31.

generally

a generally ſuppoſed by the rabbies to be *Demyat* or *Demietta* [o], commonly confounded with *Peluſium*.

As to the ſtate of this nation in the early times we are quite in the dark. *Cteſias*, as quoted by *Diodorus Siculus*, tells us, that from the very beginning it was ſubject to foreign princes. But that writer is no ways to be depended upon. *Cappadocia* was without all doubt a province of the kingdom of *Lydia*, and after the overthrow of *Crœſus* paſſed from the *Lydians* to the *Perſians*, to whom the *Cappadocians* paid an annual tribute, as *Strabo* writes [p], of fifteen hundred horſes, two thouſand mules, and fifty thouſand ſheep. The firſt king of *Cappadocia* we find mentioned in hiſtory is *Pharnaces*, a noble *Perſian*, who having ſaved *Cyrus* from a ravenous lion, running b full ſpeed againſt him while he was hunting, was by him rewarded with his ſiſter *Atoſſa*, and the kingdom of *Cappadocia*. *Diodorus* ſtiles him only governor of *Cappadocia*. This country was afterwards ſubdued by the *Macedonians*, and changed into a province; but again reſtored to its former ſtate by *Ariarathes* III. who laying hold of the opportunity which the diſſenſions that reigned among the ſucceſſors of *Alexander* gave him, put *Amyntas* their governor to death, and with forces raiſed in *Armenia* reinſtated himſelf in the kingdom, which he tranſmitted to his poſterity, who held it till the reign of *Ariarathes* VIII. the laſt of the royal race of *Pharnaces*. Two other families reigned in *Cappadocia*, namely thoſe of *Ariobarzanes* and *Archelaus*; but under the latter the kingdom was changed into a province of the *Roman* empire, c nor ever more returned to its former ſtate. It was greatly inlarged under the emperors, by the addition of *Pontus*, and part of *Paphlagonia*; and thus it ſtood in the time of *Ptolemy*, who reckons *Pontus Galaticus*, *Cappadocius*, and *Polemonaicus*, as parts of this province. It was afterwards divided into ten prefectures; but in the time of *Conſtantine the Great*, *Pontus*, *Lycaonia*, and *Piſidia* being made diſtinct provinces, *Cappadocia* was confined to its former bounds. The emperor *Valens* divided *Cappadocia* into two provinces, *Cappadocia Prima*, and *Cappadocia Secunda*, making *Tyana* the metropolis of the latter. We are told that *Valens*, who was a great abetter of the *Arian* faction, did this out of ſpite to St. *Baſil*, who being biſhop of *Cæſarea*, the metropolis of all *Cappadocia*, prevented the ſpreading of that hereſy in places under d his juriſdiction. In this ſtate *Cappadocia* continued till the erecting of the new empire of *Trebiſond*, with which it fell into the hands of the *Turks*, by whom the whole province with the addition of *Pontus* is now called *Amaſia* after the name of that city, where the beglerbeg of *Anatolia* reſides.

Government.

THE religion of the ancient *Cappadocians* was much the ſame with that of the *Perſians*, of which we have given elſewhere an accurate account. At *Cumana* there was a ſtately and rich temple conſecrated to *Bellona*, whoſe battles the prieſts and their attendants uſed to repreſent on ſtated days, cutting and wounding each other, as if ſeized with an enthuſiaſtic fury. No leſs famous and magnificent were the temples of *Apollo Catanius* or *Cataonius* at *Daſtacum*, and of *Jupiter* in the province of *Morimena*, which laſt had three thouſand ſacred ſervants, or religious votaries. The e chief-prieſt was next in rank to that of *Comana*, and had, as *Strabo* informs us [q], a yearly revenue of fifteen talents. *Diana Perſica* was worſhipped in the city of *Caſtaballa*, where women devoted to the worſhip of that goddeſs were reported to tread bare-foot on burning coals without receiving any harm [r]. The temples of *Diana* at *Dioſpolis*, and of *Anias* at *Zela* were likewiſe had in great veneration both by the *Cappadocians* and *Armenians*, who flocked to them from all parts. In the latter were tendered all oaths in matters of conſequence; and the chief among the prieſts was no ways inferior in dignity, power, or wealth, to any in the kingdom, having a royal attendance, and an uncontrouled power over all the inferior officers and ſervants f of the temple. The *Romans*, who willingly adopted all the ſuperſtitions and ſuperſtitious rites of the nations they conquered, greatly increaſed the revenues of this and other temples, conferring the prieſthood on ſuch as they thought moſt fit for carrying on their deſigns. We are told that human ſacrifices were offered at *Cumana*, and that this barbarous practice was brought by *Oreſtes* and his ſiſter *Iphigenia* from *Taurica Scythica*, where men and women were immolated to *Diana*. But this cuſtom, if it ever obtained in *Cappadocia*, was aboliſhed in the *Roman* times.

Religion.

THE *Cappadocians* in the time of the *Romans* bore ſo bad a character, were reputed ſo vicious and lewd, ſo monſtrouſly addicted to all manner of vice, that beſides the

Character.

[o] Rabbi SAADIAS & MAIMONIDES apud Lightfoot. Oper. 2. p. 398. [p] STRAB. l. xi. [q] STRAB. l. xii. [r] STRAB. ubi ſupra.

ſhare

ſhare they had in the old *Greek* proverb, they had ſome peculiar to themſelves re- a
flecting on their enormous wickedneſs; which made them be ſo traduced by other nations, that a wicked and impious man was emphatically called a *Cappadocian.* However this their lewd diſpoſition was in after-ages ſo corrected and reſtrained by the pure morals of chriſtianity, that no country whatſoever has produced greater champions of the *Chriſtian* religion, or given to the church more prelates of unblemiſhed characters.

Laws and trade. We have no ſyſtem of their laws, and ſcarce wherewithal to form any particular idea of them. As to their commerce, they carried on a very conſiderable trade in horſes, great numbers whereof their country produced; and we read of them in ſcripture as frequenting the fairs of *Tyre* with this commodity. As *Cappadocia* abounded with b
mines of ſilver, braſs, iron, and allom, and afforded great ſtore of alabaſter, cryſtal, and jaſper; it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe that they ſupplied the neighbouring countries with theſe commodities. From the reigns of their kings we ſhall be able to judge of their military capacity.

SECT. II.

The reigns of the kings of Cappadocia.

Pharnaces. THE firſt king of *Cappadocia* we read of in hiſtory was *Pharnaces*, who was pre- c
ferred by *Cyrus* to the crown, and honoured with the marriage of his ſiſter *Atoſſa*, as we have hinted above. And this is all we read of him in ancient writers. *Xenophon* calls him *Aribæus*, and ſays that he was killed in warring againſt the *Hyrcanians.*

Smerdis. *Pharnaces* was ſucceeded by his ſon *Smerdis*, mentioned only by *Diodorus*; and
Atamnas. he by his ſon *Atamnas*, or *Ariaramnes*, as *Cteſias* calls him. He cultivated a good underſtanding with the *Perſians*, and ſerved in the army of *Darius* the ſon of *Hyſtaſpes*, by whom he was employed againſt the *Scythians.* In which expedition he took *Marſagetes* their king's brother, and preſented him bound to *Darius.*

Anaphas. His ſon *Anaphas* is celebrated by the ancients for his skill in military affairs. He d
renewed the alliance, which his father had made with the *Perſians*, and was choſen for one of the ſeven princes of *Perſia*, probably in the room of *Intaphernes*, who was put to death by *Darius* for plotting a change in the government.

Anaphas II. *Anaphas* II. ſucceeded his father; but did nothing worth mentioning. His ſon
Datames. *Datames* ſucceeded him, the firſt of his family that waged war with the *Perſians*, we know not on what provocation. In that war having ventured a general engagement, his army was cut in pieces, and himſelf ſlain.

Ariaramnes. His ſon *Ariaramnes* reigned fifty years. In his time the *Perſians* invaded *Cappadocia*, and having reduced great part of it appointed *Datames*, brother to *Ariaramnes*, governor thereof, by way of reward for his ſervices againſt the *Caduſis*, whom he d
had ſubdued.

Ariarathes I. *Ariarathes* aſcended the throne on his father's death, and admitted his brother *Olophernes* to partake of the ſame power. He accompanied *Artaxerxes Ochus* in his expedition againſt the *Egyptians*, and on that occaſion ſignalized himſelf above all the other commanders of the *Perſian* army. He was ſucceeded by his brother *Olo-*
Olophernes. *phernes*, who reigned alone; but in the ſucceſſion to the crown preferred *Ariarathes* his brother's ſon to his own children.

Ariarathes II. *Ariarathes* II. reigned in the time of *Alexander the Great*, and continued faithful to the *Perſians* at a time when moſt of the other princes ſubmitted to the conqueror. *Alexander* was prevented by death from invading his dominions; but *Perdiccas* e
marching againſt him with a powerful and well-diſciplined army, diſperſed his forces, and having taken *Ariarathes* himſelf priſoner, crucified him with all thoſe of the royal blood whom he could get into his power [t]. *Diodorus* [u] tells us, that he was killed in the battle. He is ſaid to have reigned eighty-two years.

Ariarathes III. His ſon *Ariarathes* III. having eſcaped the general ſlaughter of the royal family, fled into *Armenia*, where he lay concealed till the civil diſſenſions, which aroſe among

[t] Appian. in Mithridatic. Curtius, l. xii. [u] Diodor. l. xviii.

the

a the *Macedonians*, gave him a fair opportunity of recovering his paternal kingdom, which he tranſmitted to his poſterity. *Amyntas*, who was at that time governor of *Cappadocia*, oppoſed him, but was overcome in a pitched battle, and the *Macedonians* obliged to abandon the ſtrong-holds which they poſſeſſed. *Ariarathes* after a peaceable reign of many years left the kingdom to his ſon.

Ariaramnes II. who did nothing worth mentioning, but was greatly reſpected by all the neighbouring princes on account of his good nature, juſtice, and other princely virtues. During his reign the kingdom was in a more flouriſhing condition than it had been under any of his predeceſſors, he having maintained a good underſtanding with the adjoining ſtates, and applied himſelf more to the arts of peace than war. He was ſucceeded by his ſon Ariaramnes II.

b *Ariarathes* IV. whom he had taken for partner of the kingdom during his life-time. *Ariarathes* proved a very warlike prince, and having overcome *Arſaces*, founder of the *Parthian* monarchy, conſiderably inlarged his own dominions. Ariarathes IV.

He was ſucceeded by his ſon *Ariarathes* V. who marrying the daughter of *Antiochus the Great*, entered into an alliance with that prince againſt the *Romans*; but *Antiochus* being conquered, he ſent embaſſadors to ſue for peace, which he obtained after having paid two hundred talents by way of fine for taking up arms againſt the people of *Rome* without any juſt provocation. He afterwards concluded an alliance with the *Romans*, and aſſiſted them with men and money againſt *Perſeus*; on which conſideration he was by the ſenate honoured with the title of friend and ally of the Ariarathes V.

c people of *Rome*. In ſome diſputes that aroſe between him and *Pharnaces* II. king of *Pontus*, concerning the confines of *Cappadocia* and *Galatia*, he referred the whole matter to the *Roman* legates, who favoured him as far as the juſtice of his cauſe would allow. He left the kingdom in a very flouriſhing condition to his ſon *Mithridates*, who upon his acceſſion to the crown took the name of *Ariarathes*.

Ariarathes VI. ſurnamed *Philopator* from the filial reſpect and love he ſhewed his father from his very infancy, after having performed with the utmoſt pomp and magnificence his exequies, diſpatched embaſſadors to *Rome* to acquaint the ſenate with his acceſſion to the crown, and to renew the alliance which his father had made with the people of *Rome*. The embaſſadors were kindly received, the alliance renewed, and Ariarathes VI.

d the king highly commended by the ſenate for the reſpect he had ſhewn them. He reſtored *Mithrobuzanes*, ſon to *Zadriades*, king of the *Leſſer Armenia*, to his father's kingdom, merely out of good-nature, though he foreſaw that the *Armenians* would lay hold of that opportunity to join *Artaxias*, who threatened him with war, and was ready to invade *Cappadocia*. But all theſe differences were ſettled, before they came to an open rupture, by the *Roman* legates *Tiberius Gracchus*, *Lucius Lentulus*, and *Servilius Glaucius*. *Ariarathes* ſeeing himſelf thus delivered from an impending war by the mediation of the *Romans*, ſent embaſſadors to preſent the ſenate with a golden crown, and tender his ſervice where-ever they thought fit to employ him. The ſenate accepted of the crown, and requited the preſent with a ſtaff, and chair

e of ivory, which they only beſtowed on ſuch as were looked upon as intirely addicted to their intereſt. Not long before *Demetrius Soter*, king of *Syria*, had proffered him in marriage his ſiſter, the widow of *Perſeus*, king of *Macedonia*; but *Ariarathes* had rejected the offer for fear of giving offence to the *Romans*. For this in particular the ſenate returned him thanks, and injoined the embaſſadors to acquaint their maſter, that the ſenate and people of *Rome* were fully convinced of his attachment to them, and ready to ſhew on all occaſions how much they had at heart the intereſt of their true friends and allies [u], among whom they accounted *Ariarathes* the chief, and moſt to be depended on. Not long after the king found by experience that their proteſtations were ſincere; for *Orophernes*, or, as others call him, *Holophernes*, pre-

f tending to be the lawful ſon of *Ariarathes* V. and the elder brother, had recourſe to *Demetrius Soter*, who was greatly incenſed againſt *Ariarathes* for ſlighting the match which he had propoſed with his ſiſter. *Demetrius* was eaſily prevailed upon to eſpouſe his cauſe, though he well knew that *Orophernes* was but a ſuppoſitious, or, as ſome write, a natural ſon of the deceaſed king. *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus* was ordered by the *Romans* to join *Ariarathes* with all his forces, and aſſiſt him againſt *Demetrius* to the utmoſt of his power, which he did accordingly. But to no effect; for the armies of the confederate kings were worſted, and *Ariarathes* obliged to abandon

[u] Polyb. legat. 119. Diodor. Sicul. legat. 24.

Ariarathes *driven out by* Orophernes. *Year after the flood* 2840. *Before Christ* 159.

the kingdom to his rival [w]. *Orophernes* being thus put in poſſeſſion of *Cappadocia*, diſpatched embaſſadors to *Rome* with a golden crown of great value, which the ſenate declined to accept, till ſuch time as they heard his pretenſions to the kingdom of *Cappadocia*, which he by ſuborned witneſſes made appear ſo plain, that the ſenate decreed *Ariarathes* and he ſhould reign together as brothers and partners in the kingdom [x]. But *Orophernes* was the ſame year driven out by *Attalus* brother to *Eumenes*, and his ſucceſſor in the kingdom of *Pergamus*, and *Ariarathes* reſtored to the intire poſſeſſion of his paternal kingdom. *Orophernes* being driven out, *Ariarathes* ſent embaſſadors to demand of the *Prienians* four hundred talents, which *Orophernes* had depoſited with them. The *Prienians* honeſtly replied, that as they had been truſted with the money, they could not, without breach of the truſt repoſed in them, deliver it to any one except *Orophernes* himſelf, or ſuch as came in his name. Hereupon the king entered their territories in a hoſtile manner, and putting all to fire and ſword, thought he ſhould frighten them into a compliance with his demands. But neither his threats, nor the calamities they ſuffered, could prevail upon them to betray their truſt; nay, in the height of their miſeries, while their city was beſieged by the joint forces of *Ariarathes* and *Attalus*, they found means to reſtore the intire ſum to *Orophernes*, though the king had threatened them with utter deſtruction, in caſe it was not delivered to him upon his entering the city, which he hoped to be maſter of in a few days. But in the mean time the *Prienians* recurring to the *Romans*, the two kings were injoined by the legates to raiſe the ſiege, and withdraw their forces on pain of being deemed enemies to the republic [y]. *Ariarathes* readily complied with the legates orders, and marching his army into *Syria* joined *Alexander Epiphanes* againſt *Demetrius Soter*, by whom he had been formerly driven out of his kingdom. In the very firſt engagement *Demetrius* was ſlain, and his army intirely routed and diſperſed, *Ariarathes* having on that occaſion given uncommon proofs of his courage and conduct. Some years after a war breaking out between the *Romans* and *Ariſtonicus*, who claimed the kingdom of *Pergamus* in right of his father, he aſſiſted the former to the utmoſt of his power, and was ſlain in the ſame battle in which *P. Craſſus*, proconſul of *Aſia*, was taken, and the *Roman* army cut in pieces. He left ſix ſons by his wife *Laodice*, on whom the people of *Rome* beſtowed *Lycaonia* and *Cilicia*. But *Laodice* fearing leſt her children, when they came of age, ſhould take the government out of her hands, poiſoned five of them, the youngeſt only having eſcaped her cruelty by being privately conveyed out of the kingdom. *Laodice* was ſoon after put to death by the *Cappadocians*, who could not brook her cruel and tyrannical government, and the young king placed on the throne of his anceſtors [z].

Ariarathes VII.

Ariarathes VII. ſoon after his acceſſion to the crown married *Laodice* daughter to *Mithridates the Great*, in hopes of having in that prince a powerful friend to ſupport him againſt *Nicomedes* king of *Bithynia*, who laid claim to part of *Cappadocia*. But *Mithridates*, without any regard either to friendſhip or affinity, ſuborned one *Gordius* to poiſon him, and on his death ſeized the kingdom under pretence of maintaining the rights of the *Cappadocians* againſt *Nicomedes*, till the children of *Ariarathes* were in a condition to govern and defend the kingdom by themſelves. The *Cappadocians* were at firſt very thankful to *Mithridates*, as not entertaining any manner of ſuſpicion againſt him; but finding him unwilling to reſign the kingdom to the lawful heir, they roſe up in arms, and driving out all his gariſons, placed on the throne the eldeſt ſon of their deceaſed king, *viz.*

Ariarathes VIII.

Ariarathes VIII. who was ſoon engaged in a war with *Nicomedes* king of *Bithynia*, that prince laying claim to ſome of the provinces that bordered on his kingdom. In this war *Mithridates* joined his nephew, and not only forced *Nicomedes* to abandon *Cappadocia*, but ſtripped him of great part of his own dominions. A peace being at laſt concluded between the kings of *Bithynia* and *Cappadocia*, *Mithridates* ſeeking ſome pretence to quarrel with *Ariarathes*, inſiſted upon his recalling *Gordius*, who had murdered his father; which propoſal he rejecting with abhorrence, both princes began to prepare for war. *Mithridates* took the field the firſt, hoping to over-run *Cappadocia* before *Ariarathes* could be in a condition to make head againſt him. But contrary to his expectation, he was met on the frontiers by *Ariarathes* at the head of an army no ways inferior to his own. Hereupon having recourſe to ſnares, he in-

[w] Polyb. l. iii. p. 161. Liv. l. xlvii. Justin. l. xxxv. c. 1. Appian. Syriac. p. 118. Zonar. ex Dione. [x] Appian. Syriac. p. 118. Zonar. ex Dion. [y] Polyb. in excerpt. Valeſ. p. 173. [z] Justin. l. xxxvii. c. 1.

vited

a vited *Ariarathes* to a conference, and in the ſight of both armies ſtabbed him with a dagger, which he had concealed under his garment, as we have related elſewhere. This ſtruck ſuch terror into the *Cappadocians*, that they immediately diſperſed, and gave *Mithridates* an opportunity of poſſeſſing himſelf of the kingdom without the leaſt oppoſition. But he did not long enjoy his unjuſt conqueſts; for the *Cappadocians* not being able to endure the tyranny and cruelty of his prefects, ſhook off the yoke, and recalling the king's brother, who had fled into the province of *Aſia*, proclaimed him king.

Ariarathes IX. was ſcarce warm in his throne, when *Mithridates* invaded his kingdom at the head of a very numerous army; and having drawn him to a battle, Ariarathes IX.

b defeated his army with great ſlaughter, and obliged him to abandon the kingdom to the conqueror. The king ſoon after died of grief, and *Mithridates* beſtowed *Cappadocia* on his own ſon, who was then but eight years old, giving him alſo the name of *Ariarathes* [z]. But *Nicomedes Philopator*, king of *Bithynia*, fearing leſt *Mithridates* having now got poſſeſſion of the whole kingdom of *Cappadocia*, ſhould invade his territories, ſuborned a youth to paſs himſelf upon the ſenate for the third ſon of *Ariarathes*, and to preſent them a petition in order to be reſtored to his father's kingdom. With him he ſent to *Rome Laodice*, ſiſter to *Mithridates*, whom he had married after the death of her former husband *Ariarathes*. *Laodice* declared before the ſenate that ſhe had three ſons by *Ariarathes*, and that the petitioner was

c one of them; but that ſhe had been obliged to keep him concealed, leſt he ſhould undergo the ſame fate as his brothers. The ſenate aſſured him that they would at all adventures reinſtate him in his kingdom; for the whole matter was carried on with ſuch craft, that they had not the leaſt ſuſpicion of any deceit. But in the mean time *Mithridates* having notice of theſe tranſactions, diſpatched *Gordius* to *Rome* to undeceive the ſenate, and perſuade them that the youth, to whom he had reſigned the kingdom of *Cappadocia*, was the lawful ſon of the late king, and grandſon to that *Ariarathes* who had aſſiſted the *Romans* againſt *Ariſtonicus*, and loſt his life in their ſervice [a]. This unexpected embaſſy put the ſenate upon inquiring more narrowly into the matter, whereby the whole plot was diſcovered, and *Mithridates* ordered to

d reſign *Cappadocia*. *Paphlagonia* was at the ſame time taken for *Nicomedes*, and both kingdoms declared free. But the *Cappadocians* ſent embaſſadors to *Rome*, acquainting the ſenate that they could not live without a king, which the ſenate was greatly ſurprized at; but however, humouring their inclination, gave them leave to elect a king of their own nation, for the royal family of *Pharnaces* was now extinct. They choſe unanimouſly *Ariobarzanes*, and their election was approved by the ſenate, he having on all occaſions ſhewn himſelf a ſteady friend to the *Romans* [b].

Ariobarzanes had ſcarce taken poſſeſſion of his new kingdom, when he was driven out by *Tigranes* king of the *Greater Armenia*, who reſigned it to the ſon of *Mithridates*, according to the articles of an alliance previouſly concluded between theſe two Ariobarzanes I.

e princes. *Ariobarzanes* fled to *Rome*, and having engaged the ſenate in his cauſe, he returned into *Aſia* with *Sylla*, who was injoined to reſtore him to his kingdom; which he did accordingly, having with a ſmall body of men routed *Gordius*, who came to meet him on the borders of *Cappadocia* at the head of a numerous army. But *Sylla* had ſcarce turned his back, when he was driven out anew by *Ariarathes* the ſon of *Mithridates*, on whom *Tigranes* had beſtowed the kingdom of *Cappadocia*. This obliged *Sylla* to return into *Aſia*, where he was attended with the ſame ſucceſs, and *Ariobarzanes* placed again on the throne. After the death of *Sylla* he was the third time forced by *Mithridates* to abandon his kingdom, but was ſoon reſtored by *Pompey*, who after having intirely defeated *Mithridates* near mount *Stella*, rewarded *Ariobarzanes* for his ſervices during the war with the provinces of *Sophene*, *Gordiene*, and great part of *Cilicia*. But he being now advanced in years, and deſirous to ſpend the remainder of his life in eaſe, and free from cares, reſigned the crown to his ſon *Ariobarzanes* in preſence of *Pompey*, and never afterwards interfered with public affairs. *Tully* in one of his letters ſeems to inſinuate as if he had been killed [c].

Ariobarzanes II. proved a no leſs faithful ally and friend to the *Romans* than his father had been. He was very ſerviceable to *Cicero*, as he himſelf witneſſes, during the time he was proconſul of *Cilicia*. The civil war breaking out between *Cæſar* and *Pompey*, he ſided with the latter; but after the death of *Pompey* was received into Ariobarzanes II.

[z] Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 1, 2. [a] Justin. ubi ſupra. [b] Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 2. Strab. l. xii. p. 540. [c] Cic. epiſt. famil. 15.

favour

favour by *Cæſar*; who even beſtowed upon him great part of *Armenia*. While *Cæſar* was engaged in a war with the *Egyptians*, *Pharnaces* king of *Pontus* invaded his territories, and ſtripped him of his paternal kingdom, as well as of his new acquiſitions. But *Pharnaces* being overcome by *Cæſar*, he was not only reſtored to his kingdom, but honoured with new titles by the *Romans*. After the murder of *Cæſar* he refuſed to join *Caſſius* and *Brutus*, who thereupon having declared him an enemy to the republic, invaded his dominions; and having taken him priſoner, cauſed him to be put to death. a

Ariobarzanes III.

He was ſucceeded by his brother *Ariobarzanes* III. who, as we have elſewhere mentioned, was by *Marc Antony* deprived both of his life and kingdom. In him ended the family of *Ariobarzanes*. b

Archelaus.

Archelaus the grandſon of that *Archelaus*, who in the *Mithridatic* war commanded in chief againſt *Sylla*, as we have mentioned above, was by *Marc Antony* placed on the throne of *Cappadocia*, though no ways related either to the family of *Pharnaces*, or that of *Ariobarzanes*. His preferment was intirely owing to his mother *Glaphyra*, a woman of great beauty, but of a very looſe behaviour; who having gained *Antony*'s good graces by indulging his luſt, obtained by way of reward for her compliance the kingdom of *Cappadocia* for her ſon. To this alludes the epigram of *Auguſtus* related by *Martial* [d]. In the war between *Auguſtus* and *Antony* he joined the latter; but at the interceſſion of the *Cappadocians* was not only pardoned by *Auguſtus*, but received from him *Armenia the Leſſer*, and *Cilicia Trachea* for having aſſiſted the *Roman* prætors in clearing the ſeas of pirates, who greatly infeſted the coaſts of *Aſia*. He contracted a ſtrict friendſhip with *Herod the Great*, king of *Judæa*, and even married his daughter *Glaphyra* to *Alexander*, *Herod*'s ſon. *Herod* becoming jealous of his ſon, as if he aſpired to the kingdom, *Archelaus* took a journey into *Judæa* with no other view but to remove his ſuſpicions, and reconcile him to his ſon; which he happily effected, though on account of new ſuſpicions *Alexander* was not long after by his father's order put to death. *Herod* accompanied in perſon *Archelaus* on his return into *Cappadocia* as far as *Antioch*, where he recommended him to *Titus*, then preſident of *Syria*, as the beſt friend he had. After the death of *Alexander*, *Archelaus* gave his children a princely education, and ſhewed a particular tenderneſs and concern for them till the day of his death. In the reign of *Tiberius* he was ſummoned to appear before the ſenate; for he had been always hated by *Tiberius*, becauſe in his retirement at *Rhodes* he had paid him no ſort of court or diſtinction; which proceeded from no pride or averſion to *Tiberius*, but from the warning given him by his friends at *Rome*. For *Caius Cæſar*, the preſumptive heir to the empire, then lived, and had been ſent to compoſe the affairs of the eaſt. Whence the friendſhip of *Tiberius* was then reckoned dangerous. But when he came to the empire, remembering how *Archelaus* had behaved, he enticed him to *Rome* by means of letters from *Livia*, who, without diſſembling her ſon's reſentment, promiſed him his pardon, provided he came in perſon to implore it. He obeyed the ſummons, and haſtened to *Rome*, where he was received by the emperor with great wrath and contempt, and ſoon after accuſed as a criminal in the ſenate. The crimes alledged againſt him were mere fictions; but his concern in ſeeing himſelf treated like a malefactor was ſo great, that he died ſoon after of grief, or, as others ſay, laid violent hands on himſelf [e]. He is ſaid to have reigned fifty years. *Pliny* tells us [f], that he wrote a book of agriculture. Upon his death the kingdom of *Cappadocia* was reduced to a province, and governed by thoſe of the equeſtrian order (Y). c d e

Archelaus *dies, and his kingdom is reduced to a* Roman *province.*

[d] Martial. l. xi. epigram. 21. [e] Tacit. Annal. l. i. [f] Plin. l. xviii. c. 3.

(Y) Other authors tell us, that *Archelaus* would have been condemned by the ſervile ſenate, had not one of the evidences produced againſt him depoſed, that he had heard him ſay, *if ever he went back into* Cappadocia, Tiberius *ſhould feel what nerves he had*; which moved ſuch a laughter in the ſenate, the old king by reaſon of the gout and other diſtempers, not being able to ſtand by himſelf, that he was diſmiſſed; *Tiberius* thinking that he could not puniſh him more effectually, than by ſuffering him to live. This favour, ſay they, the old king conſtrued in the beſt manner, and out of gratitude bequeathed his kingdom to *Rome*.

CHAP.

a

CHAP. VI.

The Hiſtory of the kings of PERGAMUS.

b THE city of *Pergamus* we have already deſcribed in our hiſtory of *Myſia*, to which province it formerly belonged, and was ſubject to the ſame princes, till it became the metropolis of a ſeparate kingdom. We ſhall therefore only add here the hiſtory of the *Pergamenian* kings, who from ſmall beginnings came by degrees to make a conſiderable figure among the potentates of *Aſia*, and proved very ſerviceable to the *Romans* in all their *Aſiatic* wars.

THE firſt of this family we find mentioned in hiſtory was one *Philetærus*, an eunuch, by birth a *Paphlagonian*, of a mean deſcent, and in his youth a menial ſervant to *Antigonus*, one of *Alexander*'s captains. He afterwards ſerved *Lyſimachus* king of *Thrace* and *Macedon*, who appointed him keeper of his treaſures lodged in *Pergamus*. While he held this employment, *Lyſimachus* at the inſtigation of his wife *Arſinoe*, barbarouſly c murdered his ſon *Agathocles*, who had attended him in all his wars, and by whoſe conduct he had gained moſt of his victories. His death was publicly lamented by *Philetærus*, who was chiefly indebted to him for his preferment. Whereupon *Arſinoe* highly incenſed againſt him, found means to work him by degrees out of his maſter's favour; which he being appriſed of, ſeized on the caſtle of *Pergamus*, and the treaſures which he had been intruſted with, to the amount of ninety thouſand talents, which he proffered with his ſervice to *Seleucus* king of *Syria*. But both *Lyſimachus* and *Seleucus* dying ſoon after, he kept the treaſures, and with a ſtrong body of mercenaries held the town till his death, which happened twenty years after he had revolted from *Lyſimachus*. He died in the eightieth year of his age, and is by ſome d ſtyled prince, by others king of *Pergamus*; he was at leaſt the founder of this new kingdom, though perhaps he never aſſumed the title of king. He left the kingdom to *Eumenes* his brother, or, as ſome write, his brother's ſon, who laying hold of the diſſenſions that reigned among the *Seleucidæ*, invaded *Aſia*, poſſeſſed himſelf of many ſtrong-holds in that province, and having hired a ſtrong body of *Galatians*, defeated *Antiochus* as he was returning home, proud with a remarkable victory which he had gained over his brother *Seleucus Callinicus* [f]. This victory put him in poſſeſſion of the greater part of *Aſia*; but he did not long enjoy his new acquiſitions, for he died the next year of immoderate drinking, a vice which he was greatly addicted to, in the twenty-ſecond year of his ſovereignty; for we do not find that he ever took upon him e the title of king.

Philetærus. *Year of the flood* 2715. *Year before Chriſt* 284.

Eumenes I.

Eumenes was ſucceeded by *Attalus* I. the ſon of *Attalus*, brother to *Philetærus* by *Antiochis* the daughter of *Achæus*. For *Attalus*, though of a mean deſcent, being plentifully ſupplied with money by his brother *Philetærus*, viſited moſt of the courts of the *Aſiatic* princes, and was every-where had in great eſteem, being a man of excellent natural parts. He proved ſo ſerviceable to *Achæus*, who revolting from *Antiochus the Great*, aſſumed the title of king, that he beſtowed upon him his favourite daughter *Antiochis*. By her *Attalus* had one ſon named alſo *Attalus*, who upon the death of *Eumenes* took poſſeſſion of *Pergamus*, and the places which he had added to his ſmall principality. In the very beginning of his reign he routed the *Gauls* with f great ſlaughter, and forced them to abandon his territories, where they had propoſed to ſettle. After this victory he took upon himſelf the title of king, and as ſuch was acknowledged by all the neighbouring princes. *Livy* tells us that he was the firſt among the *Aſiatic* princes who refuſed to pay contribution to the *Gauls*, whom he worſted in a pitched battle [g]. While *Seleucus Ceraunus* was employed in other wars he raiſed a powerful army, and entering *Aſia*, ſubdued all the provinces on this ſide mount *Taurus*. But was ſoon driven out of his new acquiſitions by *Seleucus*, and his grandfather *Achæus*, who entering into an alliance againſt him, ſtript him of all his dominions, and even beſieged him in his metropolis. *Attalus* finding himſelf

Attalus I.

[f] JUSTIN. l. xxvii. c. 2. & 3. [g] LIV. l. xxxviii.

thus reduced to the laſt extremity, invited with great promiſes the *Gauls*, who had a
ſettled in *Thrace*, to his aſſiſtance, who marching with all ſpeed to *Pergamus*, obliged
the enemy to raiſe the ſiege, and being headed by the king himſelf, recovered in a
ſhort time all the cities and provinces which they had ſeized. *Attalus* having thus
recovered what the enemy had taken, while *Achæus* was buſy in *Paphlagonia*, he
marched into *Ionia*, and the neighbouring provinces, where the cities of *Cuma*,
Smyrna, and *Phocæa* voluntarily ſubmitted; the *Teians*, *Colophonians*, with the inha-
bitants of *Egea* and *Lemnos*, ſent deputies, declaring themſelves ready to acknow-
His conqueſts. ledge him for their ſovereign; the *Carſenes* on the other ſide the river *Lycus* opened
their gates to him, having firſt driven out *Themiſtocles*, whom *Achæus* had appointed
governor of thoſe provinces. From thence he advanced to *Apia*, and encamping on b
the banks of the river *Megiſtus*, received homage from all the neighbouring nations.
Here the *Gauls*, being frightened with an eclipſe of the moon, refuſed to purſue their
march, which ſtopt the career of his conqueſts, and obliged him to return to the *Hel-
leſpont*, where he gave the *Gauls* leave to ſettle, and allowed them a large and fruitful
territory, aſſuring them that he would always aſſiſt and protect them to the utmoſt of
his power. Having thus inlarged his dominions, he returned to *Pergamus*, where
he received with great pomp and magnificence the *Roman* legate *Lævius*, and entered
Enters into an alliance with Rome. into an alliance with *Rome*, which ſecured to him all his acquiſitions. In the reign
of *Attalus* a certain propheſy was found in the ſibylline books by the college of the
Decemviri, to whoſe care thoſe books were intruſted, to this purport: *Whenſoever a* c
foreign enemy ſhall invade Italy, *he ſhall be driven out and overcome, if the image of the
great mother of the gods at* Ida, *which fell from heaven, be ſent for and brought to* Rome.
Delivers to the Romans *the great mother of the gods.* Whereupon five embaſſadors were without delay diſpatched to *Attalus*, who received
them with all poſſible marks of friendſhip and kindneſs, and attending them in perſon
to *Peſſinus* in *Phrygia*, there delivered into their hands a ſtone which the inhabitants
worſhipped as the great mother of the gods [h]. He joined the *Romans* in both their
wars with *Philip* king of *Macedon*, who invaded his dominions, laying waſte whole
provinces, but was not able to reduce one city. In the ſecond war *Attalus* had the
command of the *Rhodian* fleet, with which he not only drove the *Macedonians* quite
out of the ſeas, but even, in conjunction with his allies the *Athenians*, invaded d
Macedonia, and obliged *Philip* to march off from *Athens*, which he had greatly
diſtreſſed, in order to defend his own kingdom. For which ſervices the *Athenians*
heaped upon *Attalus* all the favours they could, and even called one of their own tribes
after his name, an honour which they had never before beſtowed upon any foreigner [i].
His death. He died of an apoplexy, which ſeized him at *Thebes* in *Bœotia*, while he was make-
ing an harangue to the *Bœotians*, and exhorting them with more vehemency, than
his age and ſtrength could bear, to enter into an alliance with the *Romans* againſt *Philip*
their common enemy. In the midſt of his harangue, he fell down ſpeechleſs; but
returning to himſelf, deſired to be carried by ſea from *Thebes* to *Pergamus*, where he
died ſoon after his arrival [k], in the ſeventy-ſecond year of his age, and forty-third e
of his reign. He was a great encourager of learning, and wrote himſelf ſome books,
which are often quoted by *Pliny*, *Artemidorus*, and *Strabo*. He cauſed the gram-
marian *Daphidas* to be thrown headlong from a high rock for ſpeaking diſreſpect-
fully of *Homer* [l]. His generoſity towards men of learning knew no bounds, whence
he is highly commended by all the writers that flouriſhed in his time; as is alſo his
wife *Apollonias*, or, as others call her, *Apollonis*, whom, though of a mean extrac-
tion, they propoſe as a pattern of all princely virtues. By her he left four ſons, *Eu-
menes*, *Attalus*, *Philetærus*, and *Athenæus* [m].

Eumenes II. *Year of the flood* 2802. *Year before Chriſt* 197. He was ſucceeded by *Eumenes* his eldeſt ſon, who upon his acceſſion to the crown
renewed the alliance which his father had made with the *Romans*, and obſerved it ſo f
religiouſly, that *Antiochus the Great* having proffered him his daughter *Antiochis* in
marriage, he declined his affinity, being appriſed that *Antiochus* courted his friend-
ſhip with a view to ſtrengthen himſelf by his alliance againſt the *Romans*; for his
eldeſt daughter he had beſtowed on *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*, and offered the ſecond
to *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia*, and was at that time making great preparations
for war both by ſea and land [n]. *Eumenes*, who was very jealous of ſo powerful a
neighbour, did not fail to acquaint the ſenate with all his motions, who thereupon

[h] Polyb. l. xxix. Liv. l. ix. [i] Liv. l. xxxi. Polyb. legat. 3. p. 786, 787. [k] Liv. l. xxxiii. Polyb. p. 820. Plutarch. in Quinto Flaminio. [l] Suidas. Val. Max. l. i. c. 8. [m] Suidas at the word Attalus. [n] Polyb. legat. 25. Liv. l. xxxvii.

ſent

a ſent *P. Villius*, and *P. Sulpitius* under appearance of an embaſſy to *Antiochus*; but really to inform themſelves of the preparations he was making, and by often converſing with *Hannibal*, who was then in great eſteem with *Antiochus*, either to abate his hatred towards the *Romans*, or make *Antiochus* jealous of him; for they apprehended *Hannibal* to be at the bottom of thoſe vaſt preparations [o]. The embaſſadors went firſt to *Elæa*, and from thence to *Pergamus*; for their inſtructions were to confer with *Eumenes*, before they went to the court of *Antiochus*. *Eumenes* did all that lay in his power to inflame them againſt *Antiochus*, aſſuring them, that he had nothing leſs in view than the empire of all *Aſia*. Soon after the departure of the embaſſadors, who returned very much diſſatisfied with *Antiochus*, *Eumenes* ſent his brother *Attalus* b to *Rome*, to acquaint the ſenate, that *Antiochus* at the perſuaſion of the *Ætolians* had paſſed over into *Greece* with an army conſiſting of ten thouſand foot, five hundred horſe, and ſix elephants, and that the *Ætolians* were all to a man ready to join him. The ſenate received *Attalus* with the greateſt demonſtrations of friendſhip and kindneſs, returned thanks both to him and the king his brother, provided him with lodgings at the expence of the public, and diſmiſſed him loaded with preſents, promiſing to ſend an army into *Greece*, which ſhould defeat the king's meaſures, and keep in awe the *Ætolians*. Which they did accordingly, ſending *M. Acilius* conſul into *Greece*, who having vanquiſhed *Antiochus* at *Thermopylæ*, obliged him to fly back into *Aſia* [p]. In this war *Attalus* was appointed to command the *Roman* fleet; and his c brother *Eumenes* aſſiſted the *Romans* both with his navy, and all the land-forces he could raiſe. As the fleet of *Antiochus* was returning from *Greece* into *Aſia* under the command of *Polyxenidas*, they happened to fall in with the *Roman* fleet commanded by *Eumenes* and *C. Livius Salinator*, who falling upon them ſunk ten of their ſhips, took thirty, and diſperſed the reſt. This victory was in great meaſure owing to *Eumenes*, who boarded ſome of the enemies ſhips in perſon, and during the whole action behaved himſelf with uncommon bravery. Some time after *Eumenes* with a body of five thouſand men entered the territories of *Antiochus*, and having laid waſte all the country about *Thyatira*, returned to *Canas*, where the *Roman* fleet wintered, with an immenſe booty [q]. While *Eumenes* was thus employed in aiding the *Romans* d abroad, he was unexpectedly called home to the defence of his own country. For *Antiochus* invading his territories, laid waſte the whole country about *Elæa*, and even ſent his ſon *Seleucus* to lay ſiege to the royal city of *Pergamus*. *Attalus*, the king's brother, held out with a handful of men, till the *Achæans*, the allies of *Eumenes*, ſent a thouſand foot and an hundred horſe to his aſſiſtance. Theſe were all choſen troops, who had ſerved under *Philopœmen*, and were commanded by *Diophanes*, a man of great experience in war. *Diophanes* obſerving from the walls of the town the careleſsneſs of the enemy, obtained leave of *Attalus* to march out of the city, and encamp at a ſmall diſtance from them. Both *Attalus* and the citizens of *Pergamus* looked upon him as a mad-man, who durſt venture out while the city was beſieged by an e army ten times their number. The enemy likewiſe were not a little ſurprized at firſt; but finding that he kept himſelf quiet in his camp, they returned to their former negligence and diſorders, not imagining that with ſuch a handful of men he would make any attempt upon their camp. Which *Diophanes* obſerving, ſallies out unexpectedly at the head of an hundred horſe, and having put in diſorder their advanced guards, attacked *Seleucus* in his camp, and the *Achæan* foot coming up in the mean time, drove the whole army from their poſts, and purſued them with great ſlaughter as far as he could ſafely venture without loſing a man. The next day *Seleucus* encamped at a greater diſtance from the town, and drawing out his men offered the enemy battle; but *Diophanes* kept quiet in his camp, till *Seleucus*, deſpairing to draw him to an engage- f ment, began to march his forces back to the camp, when falling upon their rear with his horſe, he purſued them to their trenches with greater ſlaughter than he had done the day before. The boldneſs of the *Achæans* ſtruck ſuch terror into the enemy, that *Seleucus* thought fit to abandon the ſiege, and retire. *Attalus* and the *Pergamenians* beheld from the walls of the town, and admired the gallant behaviour of the *Achæans*, but had not the courage to venture out, which if they had done, the army of *Seleucus* might have been that day eaſily cut in pieces. This cowardly behaviour reflected no ſmall diſhonour on *Attalus*, though he had on all other occaſions behaved

Inflames the Romans *againſt* Antiochus.

Antiochus *invades his territories, and lays ſiege to the city of* Pergamus.

The ſiege raiſed.

[o] Liv. l. xxxiv, xxxv. Justin. l. xxxi. c. 4. Frontin. Stratag. l. i. c. 8. Appian. in Syriac. p. 90. 91. [p] Liv. l. xxxvi. Plutarch. in Cato. Major. Appian. in Syriacis. Frontin. Stratag. l. ii. [q] Liv. l. xxxvii.

with

with uncommon gallantry[r]. In the mean time *Eumenes* himſelf arriving at *Pergamus*, and the *Rhodian* and *Roman* fleets joining that king's, *Antiochus* and his ſon *Seleucus* retired with great precipitation out of his territories; and hearing that the conſul *L. Scipio* was ready to paſs over into *Aſia* with all his forces, diſpatched embaſſadors to *L. Emilius*, who commanded the *Roman* army, to ſue for a peace. *Emilius* ſent for *Eumenes* to adviſe with him in this conjuncture, as he likewiſe did with *Eudamus* and *Pamphilidas*, commanders of the *Rhodian* fleet. The *Rhodians* were not againſt a peace; but *Eumenes*, who would hearken to no terms, perſuaded *Emilius* to diſmiſs the embaſſadors with this anſwer; that no peace could be concluded before the arrival of the conſul; for *L. Scipio* was then in full march to join them. *Antiochus* ſeeing there was no hopes of obtaining a peace upon honourable conditions, either of *Emilius*, or afterwards of *Scipio*, reſolved to venture a general engagement, in which he was intirely defeated in great meaſure by the gallant behaviour of *Eumenes*, who not only bore, without giving ground, the firſt onſet of the elephants, and armed chariots, but drove them back upon their own men; which putting the ranks in diſorder, gave the *Roman* horſe an opportunity of attacking them, and throwing the whole army into the utmoſt confuſion. After this battle, which was fought at the foot of mount *Sipylus*, not far from *Magneſia*, *Antiochus* was glad to accept a peace upon any terms. One of the conditions was, that he ſhould pay four hundred talents to *Eumenes*, and a certain quantity of corn to make amends for the loſſes he had ſuſtained during the war. The peace being concluded, *Eumenes* took a journey to *Rome*, where he repreſented to the ſenate with a great deal of moderation what he had done in the ſervice of the republic, and told them, that he was come to beg of them, that the *Greek* cities, which at the beginning of the war were ſubject to *Antiochus*, might be added to his dominions, ſince in him they might promiſe themſelves a faithful friend and ally, and look upon his new acquiſitions as their own. His demand was warmly oppoſed by the *Rhodian* embaſſadors, and thoſe of all the *Greek* cities in *Aſia*. But both parties being heard, the ſenate after a long debate decreed, that all the countries on this ſide mount *Taurus*, which belonged to *Antiochus*, ſhould be given to *Eumenes*, together with the other provinces lying between the mountain and the river *Mæander*, except *Lycia* and *Caria*, which were beſtowed on the *Rhodians*. Moreover all the cities, which had been tributary to *Attalus*, were ordered to pay the ſame tribute to *Eumenes*; but ſuch as had been tributary to *Antiochus* were declared free[s]. *Eumenes* having thus by ſiding with the *Romans* inlarged his dominions, was ſoon after engaged in a new war with *Pruſias* king of *Bithynia*, who confiding altogether in *Hannibal*, whom he entertained at his court, invaded his territories. But *Eumenes* being aſſiſted by the *Romans*, gave him two great overthrows, one by ſea, and the other by land, which ſo diſheartened him, that he was ready to accept of a peace upon any terms whatſoever. However, before the conditions were agreed upon, *Hannibal* found means to draw *Philip* king of *Macedon* into an alliance againſt *Eumenes*, and the *Romans*. *Philip*, who was highly incenſed againſt the *Romans*, who had obliged him to evacuate the cities of *Enus* and *Maronæa* in *Thrace*, and no leſs exaſperated againſt *Eumenes*, on whom they had beſtowed them, ſent *Philocles*, an old and experienced officer, with a conſiderable body to join *Pruſias*. Hereupon *Eumenes* ſent his brother *Athenæus* to *Rome* with a golden crown valued at fifteen thouſand talents, to complain of *Philip* for aiding *Pruſias*, and of *Pruſias* for making war upon the allies of the people of *Rome* without any manner of provocation. The ſenate accepted of the preſent, and promiſed to ſend forthwith embaſſadors to ſettle matters to the ſatisfaction of *Eumenes*, whom they looked upon as the moſt ſteady friend the republic had in *Aſia*. But in the mean time *Pruſias* having ventured a ſea-fight, obtained, by a contrivance of *Hannibal*'s, a complete victory over *Eumenes*. For *Hannibal* adviſed him to fill a great many earthen veſſels with various kinds of ſerpents, and other poiſonous reptiles, and in the heat of the fight to throw them into the enemies ſhips, ſo as to break the veſſels, and let the ſerpents looſe. All the ſoldiers and ſea-men were injoined to attack the ſhip, in which *Eumenes* himſelf was, and only defend themſelves againſt the others as well as they could; and that they might not miſtake the ſhip, a herald was ſent before the engagement with a letter to the king. As ſoon as the two fleets drew near, all the enemies ſhips ſingling out the king's, diſcharged ſuch a quantity of ſerpents againſt it, that neither the ſailors nor

The gallant behaviour of Eumenes *at the battle of* Magneſia.

How rewarded by the Romans.

His war with Pruſias *king of* Bithynia.

a b c d e f

[r] LIV. l. xxxvii. POLYB. legat. 20. p. 810. APPIAN. 102. [s] POLYB. legat. 25. & 36. DIODOR. SICUL. legat. 10. LIV. l. xxxvii. & xxxviii. APPIAN. in Syriac. p. 116.

ſoldiers

a ſoldiers could perform their duty, but were forced to fly to the ſhore, leſt they ſhould fall into the enemies hands. The other ſhips after a faint reſiſtance followed the king's example, and were all driven aſhore with great ſlaughter, the ſoldiers being no leſs annoyed by the ſtings of the ſerpents than the arrows of the enemies. Moſt part of *Eumenes*'s ſhips were ſet on fire, ſeveral taken, and the others ſo ſhattered that they could be of no further ſervice. *Eumenes* encamped on the ſhore where he had placed ſome companies of foot; but the enemy did not think fit to abandon their ſhips [t]. Thus *Pruſias* gained a complete victory by ſea, and the ſame year two remarkable victories by land, which were intirely owing to *Hannibal*, who by one ſtratagem or another ever put *Eumenes* to flight. Having once adviſed *Pruſias* to b engage, and the king replying, that he durſt not venture, becauſe the entrails of the ſacrifices portended no good ſucceſs; *What*, ſaid Hannibal, *do you rely more on the entrails of an undiſtinguiſhing beaſt, than on the judgment of an experienced commander?* and commanding the ſignal to be given, put *Eumenes* to flight at the firſt onſet [u].

Defeated in a ſea-fight by a ſtratagem of Hannibal.

When news of the defeat of *Eumenes* was brought to *Rome*, the ſenate immediately diſpatched embaſſadors to conclude a peace between the two kings, and to demand *Hannibal*, who had ſtirred up *Pruſias* to this war [w] (A). By the mediation of the *Roman* embaſſadors a peace between the two kings was agreed on, and *Pruſias* even conſented that *Hannibal* ſhould be delivered up to the *Romans*. That great general kept himſelf cloſe in a caſtle which had been given him by *Pruſias*. He had made c ſeven doors in the caſtle, whereof ſome were private, and known to none but himſelf; for he entertained ſome diffidence of *Pruſias*, and therefore had contrived thoſe private outlets, that he might be able to withdraw in caſe the king's ſoldiers ſhould come to apprehend him. But this contrivance ſtood him in no ſtead; for the ſoldiers ſent by *Pruſias* ſurrounded the caſtle on all ſides, which *Hannabal* obſerving had recourſe to a preſent poiſon, which he ever carried about with him, and thereby prevented the ill treatment he was likely to meet with from the *Romans* (B).

A peace concluded between the two kings by the mediation of the Romans.

A peace being thus concluded between *Eumenes* and *Pruſias*, a new war unexpectedly broke out between *Eumenes* and *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia* on one ſide, and *Pharnaces* king of *Pontus*, and the *Aſiatic Gauls* on the other. *Pharnaces* lay- d ing claim to ſome territories poſſeſſed by *Eumenes*, invaded his dominions, and ſeized on the city of *Synope*, which by the articles of a former treaty was to remain free. Hereupon *Eumenes* and *Ariarathes* his ally took the field, and in ſix days march arriving at *Amiſus* in *Cappadocia*, encamped in ſight of the enemy. But before they came to an engagement, news was brought of the arrival of the *Roman* legates, who had been ſent by the ſenate to compoſe all differences in an amicable manner. *Eumenes* immediately diſpatched his brother *Attalus* to welcome the *Roman* commiſſaries into thoſe parts, and declared himſelf ready to refer all matters to their arbitration. But *Pharnaces* could by no means be prevailed upon to aſſiſt at any conference where *Attalus* was preſent; however he ſent his embaſſadors with full powers, declaring that he e was willing to agree to ſuch conditions as the *Romans* ſhould think proper. But his embaſſadors behaved in ſuch manner, as plainly ſhewed that *Pharnaces* had no mind to come to any agreement. Whereupon the conferences were broke off, and *Eumenes*

Eumenes *engaged in a new war with* Pharnaces *king of* Pontus, *&c*

[t] Justin. l. xxxii. c. 4. Æmil. Prob. in Hannibale. Valer. Max. l. iii. c. 7. [u] Cic. de divinat. l. ii. Plut. de exilio. [w] Polyb. legat. 47. Liv. l. xxxvi.

(7.) The crown continued in his family to the third generation, of which *Suidas* relates an anſwer given him by the oracle of *Delphos*, in theſe words: *Go on*, Taurocerus; *you ſhall wear a crown, and your ſon's ſons; but to no other ſhall it paſs*. He was called *Taurocerus* from a pair of bull's horns, which were put, we know not by whom, on the head of his ſtatue. He was alſo called the *ſon of a bull* by another oracle, wherein it was foretold that he ſhould one day make a great ſlaughter of the *Gauls*; the anſwer of the oracle is related by *Pauſanias* in the following words (72): Jupiter *ſhall quickly ſend them a deliverer, the ſon of a bull, educated by* Jupiter, *who ſhall bring a diſmal day on the* Gauls.

(A) *Polybius* (73) tells us, that *Ti. Qu. Flaminius* was on this occaſion ſent both to *Pruſias* and to *Seleucus* king of *Syria*. But *Livy* (74) aſſures us, that *L. Scipio Aſiaticus*, and *P. Scipio Naſica* were joined with him in the ſame commiſſion.

(B) He died in the ſeventieth year of his age. Of his death the following oracle is ſaid to have been uttered many years before: Λιβύδα κρύψει Βώλος Αὐνίξ δ'ἔμας; that is, *The land of* Libya, *or* Libyſſa, *ſhall cover the body of* Hannibal. By *Libya* or *Libyſſa Hannibal* underſtood *Libya* in *Afric*; whereas the place meant by this oracle was a little village in *Bithynia*, near the ſea-ſide, called by the ſame name, whereof *Pliny* (75) ſpeaks thus: *There was formerly in thoſe parts a little town called* Libyſſa; *where there is now nothing worth ſeeing except* Hannibal's *tomb*.

(72) *Pauſan. in Phocicis, p.* 334. (73) *Polyb. legat.* 47. (74) *Liv. l.* xxxvi. *ex Galer. Amiat.* (75) *Plin. l.* v. *c.* 32.

with the aſſiſtance of *Ariarathes* falling upon *Galatia*, reduced great part of that country, and was even preparing to invade *Pontus*, though he had ſent at the ſame time a conſiderable body to the aſſiſtance of the *Rhodians* againſt the *Lycians*, refuſing to live in ſubjection to their new maſters. The ſucceſs which attended the arms of the confederate kings, obliged at laſt *Pharnaces* to ſue for a peace, which was granted on the following terms: that *Pharnaces* ſhould forthwith march out of *Galatia*, and break off all former alliance with the *Gauls*; that he ſhould likewiſe reſign all the ſtrong-holds which he poſſeſſed in *Paphlagonia*, and ſend home without ranſom ſuch of the inhabitants as he had carried from thence; that he ſhould reſtore to *Ariarathes* all the places which he was in poſſeſſion of before the war broke out, and deliver both to him and *Eumenes* all the deſerters and fugitives who had fled over to him ſince the beginning of the war; that he ſhould pay back to *Morzias* and *Ariarathes* nine hundred talents, which he had taken from them, and three hundred more to *Eumenes*, to defray the expences he had been at during the war. By this treaty *Mithridates* king of *Armenia* was likewiſe to pay three hundred talents to *Ariarathes* for joining *Pharnaces* againſt him contrary to an agreement between *Mithridates* and *Eumenes* [w]. *Pharnaces* no ſooner gave hoſtages for the performance of theſe articles, but the armies broke up, and retired to their reſpective countries. *Eumenes* reſtored to *Pruſias* the city of *Teius* in *Pontus*, which *Pruſias* had reſigned to him purſuant to the articles of agreement [x].

A peace concluded.

Eumenes being thus delivered from any apprehenſion of war with his neighbours, entered into an alliance with *Antiochus* ſon of *Antiochus the Great*, king of *Syria*, whom *Heliodorus* after the murder of his brother *Seleucus* with-held from his paternal kingdom. Some writers ſay, that he began now to grow jealous of the too great power of the *Romans*, and to ſtrengthen himſelf with other alliances, fearing leſt they ſhould at laſt prove as troubleſome neighbours as *Antiochus the Great* had been to the kings of *Pergamus* [y]. But be that as it will, *Eumenes* with the aſſiſtance of his brother *Attalus* drove out the uſurper, and placed *Antiochus* on the throne of his anceſtors. About the ſame time *Eumenes* falling out with the *Rhodians* his ancient allies, not only ſtirred up the *Lycians* to a revolt, but moreover made frequent inroads into their territories on the continent. Embaſſadors were therefore diſpatched to *Rome* to complain of the violent proceedings of *Eumenes*. But as the king himſelf happened to go to *Rome* at the ſame time upon another errand, the *Rhodian* embaſſadors could not obtain any ſatisfaction for the damages they had ſuffered. *Enmenes* had undertaken this journey to acquaint the ſenate with the vaſt preparations which *Perſeus*, king of *Macedon*, to whom *Eumenes* bore an implacable hatred, was making both by ſea and land. The king was received at *Rome* with the higheſt honours, and entertained in a manner ſuitable to his dignity. Being admitted into the ſenate, he made a long and elegant harangue, wherein he told them, that beſides the deſire he had of ſeeing the gods and men to whom he owed his kingdom, and his preſent happy ſituation, he had been induced to expoſe his perſon to ſo dangerous a journey by the mighty preparations which *Perſeus* was carrying on with a deſign to drive the *Romans* out of *Aſia*; he inlarged upon this topic, and exhorted the ſenators with great vehemency to prevent the impending danger by falling upon the common enemy before he was in a condition to hurt them or their allies; he offered himſelf ready to aſſiſt them with men and money to the utmoſt of his power, and ended his ſpeech with a modeſt rehearſal of his own ſervices in behalf of the republic [z]. What he ſaid on this occaſion, and the ſenate's anſwer, were kept ſo ſecret, that no one knew the true motive of his journey to *Rome*, till the war was ended, and *Perſeus* taken priſoner (C) [a]. After *Eumenes* the embaſſadors of the *Rhodians* were heard, who inveighed againſt *Eumenes* for encouraging and abetting the *Lycian* rebels, and told the ſenate, that *Eumenes* under the ſhadow of their power was become as troubleſome to *Aſia* as *Antiochus* himſelf. But as the *Rhodians* were grown ſomewhat out of

Eumenes *enters into an alliance with* Antiochus *king of* Syria.

Goes to Rome *to acquaint the ſenate with the deſigns of* Perſeus.

[w] Polyb. legat. 59. [x] Idem ibid. Appian. legat. 25. [a] Ful. Urſino edit. [y] Appian. in Syriac. p. 116, 117. [z] Liv. l. xlii. [a] Liv. ubi ſupra. Valer. Maxim. l. ii. c. 2.

(C) *Valerius Antias* writes, that *Attalus* brother to *Eumenes*, and not the king himſelf, came to *Rome* to give notice to the ſenate of the preparations which *Perſeus* was making. But all other writers agree, that *Eumenes* came in perſon, and mention many particulars of his journey and reception at *Rome*. Among others they tell us, that *Cato* could not be induced to viſit him, or ſhew him any kind of civility; and that being asked the reaſon of his peculiar conduct on that occaſion, he anſwered, *A king is by nature a carnivorous animal.*

favour

favour with the *Romans* for having conveyed *Laodice* the daughter of *Seleucus* to her husband *Perſeus*, their ſpeech, though applauded by the *Aſiatics*, rather enhanced the eſteem and kindneſs of the ſenate to *Eumenes*, on whom they heaped all the honours they could, preſented him with a ſtately chariot, and ivory ſtaff, and ſent him home loaded with rich preſents [b]. On his return as he was going from *Cirra* to perform a ſacrifice at *Delphos*, two aſſaſſins ſent by *Perſeus* rolled down too great ſtones upon him as he entered the ſtraits of the mountains. With one he was dangerouſly wounded on the head, with the other in the ſhoulder. As he fell with the blows from a ſteep place, and thereby received many other wounds, thoſe who attended him carried him on board of his ſhip, not well knowing whether he was dead or alive. From *Cirra*, finding that he was ſtill alive, they conveyed him to *Corinth*, and from *Corinth* to *Ægina*, having cauſed their veſſels to be carried over the iſthmus. There he was cured of his wounds with ſuch ſecreſy, that none being admitted to ſee him, the report of his death was ſpread all over *Aſia*, and even believed at *Rome* [c]. His brother *Attalus* being over-haſty in giving credit to the public fame, not only aſſumed the royal enſigns, but alſo married his brother's wife *Stratonice* daughter to *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia*. But not long after hearing that his brother was alive, and on his journey to *Pergamus*, laying down the diadem, he went to meet him, bearing an halbert as one of his guards. The king embraced both him and the queen with great tenderneſs, but is ſaid to have whiſpered in his brother's ear; *Don't be again in haſte to marry my wife till you are ſure that I am dead.* Nor did he during his whole life ever do or ſay any thing elſe that could reflect on his brother's or wife's raſh and imprudent behaviour, but ſhewed them the ſame love and tenderneſs as he had ever done [d]. The news of his recovery cauſed an univerſal joy at *Rome*, whence embaſſadors were ſent to congratulate him on his ſafe arrival into his own kingdom without any other commiſſion or inſtructions. But *Eumenes* laying hold of that occaſion, did all that lay in his power to inflame them againſt *Perſeus*, and began himſelf, this treacherous attempt increaſing his ancient hatred and averſion to the *Macedonians*, to make vaſt preparations in order to join the *Romans* and their allies againſt the king of *Macedon*. His example was followed by *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia*, and the *Romans* drew into the ſame alliance *Ptolemy* king of *Egypt*, and *Maſaniſſa* king of *Numidia*. *Perſeus* in the mean time ſent embaſſadors to *Rome* to clear himſelf of the crimes laid to his charge by *Eumenes*; they made an artful ſpeech to the ſenate, but as they gave no ſatisfaction with relation to the treacherous attempt of their maſter upon the life of *Eumenes*, a war was decreed againſt *Perſeus*, and the embaſſadors ordered to depart *Rome* the ſame day, and within thirty days all *Italy* [e].

Narrowly eſcapes being killed by two aſſaſſins ſent by Perſeus.

Eumenes upon advice that the *Romans* had at laſt declared war againſt *Perſeus*, ſailed with his two brothers, *Attalus* and *Athenæus* to *Chalcis* in *Bœotia*, leaving his youngeſt brother *Philetærus* at *Pergamus* to defend his own dominions. From *Chalcis* he marched into *Theſſaly*, where he joined the conſul *Licinius* with four thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe. *Athenæus* was left at *Chalcis* with two thouſand foot to aſſiſt *Marius Lucretius*, who commanded a body of ten thouſand men at the ſiege of *Haliartus* [f]. The town was taken and levelled with the ground, and great part of *Bœotia* reduced. The like ſucceſs did not attend *Licinius*, *Eumenes*, and *Attalus*, in *Theſſaly*, where they had two encounters with *Perſeus*; in the firſt both parties claimed the victory, but in the ſecond the *Romans* with their allies were put to flight, and *Caſſignatus*, commander of the *Gauls*, with many other officers, killed on the ſpot [g]. After this defeat the conſul retired to *Lariſſa*, and from thence ſent *Eumenes* and *Attalus* home; the reſt of his army he kept during the winter in *Theſſaly*, in order to be ready to take the field early in the ſpring. In the mean time the *Achæans* foreſeeing that with the kingdom of *Macedon* the liberties of *Greece* muſt inevitably fall, and in that view bearing a grudge to *Eumenes*, who had incenſed the *Romans* againſt *Perſeus*, abrogated by a public decree all the honours they had conferred upon him. Which *Attalus*, who then wintered at *Elatia*, no ſooner heard, but he ſent embaſſadors to expoſtulate thereupon with the common council of the nation. After the embaſſadors were heard, at the perſuaſion of *Polybius* the hiſtorian, a decree was made, whereby *Eumenes* was reinſtated in all his ancient honours, and embaſſadors

Joins the Romans *againſt* Perſeus.

[b] Liv. ubi ſupra. Diodor. Sicul. 9. legat. 16. [c] Liv. l. xlii. Appian. legat. 25. [d] Liv. ubi ſupra. Diodor. Sicul. in excerpt. Valeſ. p. 306. Plutarch. in Apophthegm. [e] Polyb. legat. 67. Diodor. Sicul. legat. 17. Liv. xlii. [f] Liv. l. xliii. [g] Liv. ubi ſupra.

diſpatched

diſpatched to *Attalus* with a copy of the ſaid decree. In that council it was likewiſe decreed, that auxiliaries ſhould be ſent to the *Romans*; and *Polybius* was appointed to command them [h]. Thus *Attalus* prevailed upon the *Achæans*, not only to reſtore his brother to the honours they had conferred upon him, but alſo to join him and the *Romans* againſt the king of *Macedon*, whom they had favoured to that time. a

EARLY in the ſpring *Eumenes* ſailing with twenty ſhips from *Elæa*, joined on the coaſt of the *Caſſandrenſes Marcius Figulus* the *Roman* admiral, and inveſted both by ſea and land the city of *Caſſandrea*, but was not able to reduce it. He likewiſe made unſucceſsful attempts on the two ſtrong-holds, *Toron* and *Demetrias*, being obliged with conſiderable loſs to retire from before them. As *Eumenes* about this time grew cold in his affection towards the *Romans*, ſome writers tell us, that he did not exert himſelf on this occaſion as he might. What alienated his mind from his ancient allies, is uncertain; but it is agreed on all hands, that from *Demetrias* he returned home, and could not, though earneſtly entreated by the conſul *Marcius*, be prevailed upon to leave behind him ſome troops of *Gauliſh* horſe, which would have proved very ſerviceable to the *Romans*. Some ſay, that a reconcilement between him and *Perſeus* was privately negotiated by one *Cydas* of *Crete*, and *Antimachus* governor of *Demetrias*. For *Cydas*, who was greatly in favour with *Eumenes*, had had private conferences at *Amphipolis* with one *Chimaras*, likewiſe of *Crete*, and greatly addicted to *Perſeus*, and at *Demetrias* had conferred with *Menecrates*, one of *Perſeus*'s commanders, and with *Antimachus* under the very walls of the city [i]. Others ſay, that having joined *Marcius*, as he had done the other conſuls, he was very coldly entertained by him, and not ſuffered to incamp within the ſame trenches; which he highly reſenting, took his leave of the conſul, and with his forces returned home to *Pergamus* [k]. *Perſeus* no ſooner heard that *Eumenes* had left the *Romans*, but he ſent *Cryphontes*, as *Polybius* calls him, or *Eropontes*, as he is named in the printed copies of *Livy*, to propoſe conditions of agreement between him and *Eumenes*. *Cryphontes* repreſented to *Eumenes* that there could be no ſincere friendſhip between a king and a free ſtate; that the *Romans* hated all kings alike, though they ſhewed the effects of their hatred to one only at a time, employing the forces and wealth of one king againſt another with a deſign to compaſs the utter deſtruction of them all; that they had reduced *Philip* with the aſſiſtance of *Attalus*, *Antiochus* with the help of *Philip* and *Eumenes*, and now deſigned to deſtroy *Perſeus* with the forces of *Eumenes* and *Pruſias*; but when he was deſtroyed they would certainly fall upon *Eumenes*, whoſe territories lay next to theirs; that they already pretended to be diſſatisfied with him, in order to have a plauſible pretence of treating him as they had treated other kings. *Eumenes* anſwered, that he apprehended no greater danger from the *Romans* than from *Perſeus*, if he ſhould happen to get the better of them. But however, that he would ſtand neuter provided *Perſeus* paid him a thouſand talents, and for fifteen hundred talents more would perſuade the *Romans* to hearken to conditions of an honourable peace. *Perſeus* promiſed the ſum required, but would not pay it before-hand, though *Eumenes* offered to give hoſtages for the performance of what he promiſed. *Perſeus* finding that he could not prevail upon *Eumenes* but with ready money, offered to depoſit the ſum agreed on in a temple of *Samothrace*, whence it ſhould be conveyed to him as ſoon as the peace was concluded. But as the iſland of *Samothrace* was ſubject to *Perſeus*, *Eumenes* thought himſelf no ſurer of the money, while it was there, than if it had been kept in the king's treaſures at *Pella*. Beſides, he thought that his good offices deſerved ſome acknowledgment, whether they were attended with ſucceſs or no; and therefore inſiſted upon this, that part of the ſum ſhould be paid before he made any ſtep in the affair. This *Perſeus*, who miſtruſted *Eumenes*, could not be brought to; and thus the conferences were broke off, but the ſubject of them kept ſecret, *Eumenes* having ſent an expreſs to the *Roman* conſul, acquainting him that their negotiations were concerning the redemption of captives [l]. However, as the truth of the matter was ſoon after known by the *Romans*, they began to entertain no ſmall jealouſy of *Eumenes*, and heap all their favours on his brother *Attalus*, who had ſtaid with the conſul, and given undoubted proofs of his fidelity during the whole time of the *Macedonian* war. After the overthrow of *Perſeus*, and utter deſtruction of the kingdom of *Macedon*, *Eumenes* ſent his brother *Attalus* to congratulate the ſenate on the happy iſſue of that war, and at the ſame time to crave their aſſiſtance againſt

Grows cold in his affection towards the Romans. b

Confers with an embaſſador ſent to him by Perſeus. c d e

The Romans *grow jealous of him.* f

[h] Liv. l. xliv. Polyb. legat. 78. [i] Liv. l. xlv. [k] Vellei. Patercul. hiſtor. l. i. c. 9.
[l] Appian. Macedonic. in excerpt. Valeſ. p. 562.

the

a the *Aſiatic Gauls*, who began to be very troubleſome neighbours. *Attalus* was received at *Rome*, and entertained in a princely manner. Several of the ſenators, who went to viſit him before he had his audience, encouraged him to lay down the character of an embaſſador from his brother, and treat for himſelf, aſſuring him, that as the minds of the *Romans* were alienated from *Eumenes*, his brother's kingdom would be given to him, if he requeſted it of the ſenate. Theſe promiſes at firſt awaked his ambition; for he approved or ſeemed to approve of the motion, and even promiſed to beg of the ſenate his brother's kingdom. But his honeſt nature was ſoon reclaimed by the wholeſome admonitions of *Stratius* the phyſician, a man of great truſt and authority with *Eumenes*, who had been ſent with him to *Rome* as a truſty b monitor, in caſe the *Romans* ſhould tempt his fidelity. *Stratius* repreſented to him, that at preſent he reigned no leſs than his brother; and, in a ſhort time, conſidering his brother's old age and infirmities, would have the kingdom intirely to himſelf without being guilty of rebellion; that the kingdom could ſcarcely be defended againſt the power of the *Gauls* by their mutual agreement, much leſs could they hold out againſt ſo warlike a nation, if their ſtrength were impaired and divided by civil diſſenſions. Theſe conſiderations had ſo good an effect upon *Attalus*, that when he was admitted into the ſenate, he firſt congratulated them on their victory over *Perſeus*, then modeſtly rehearſed his own ſervices during the *Macedonian* war, and laſtly acquainted them with the motive of his journey, intreating them to ſend embaſ- c ſadors to the *Gauls*, who by their authority might oblige them to lay down their arms, and forbear all hoſtilities againſt his brother *Eumenes*; he requeſted the ſenate, that the cities of *Ænus* and *Maronea* might be beſtowed on himſelf. As he omitted to ſue for his brother's kingdom, they ſuppoſed that he deſigned to ask another day of audience for that affair alone. Wherefore they not only granted him all his requeſts, but ſent him more rich and magnificent preſents than they had ever done to any before. Nevertheleſs *Attalus* took no notice of their meaning, but left *Rome* contented with what they had granted him already. His unexpected departure provoked the ſenate to ſuch a degree, that while he was yet in *Italy*, they declared the cities of *Ænus* and *Maronea* free; thereby making their promiſe ineffectual, which otherwiſe d they could not without ſhame revoke. And as for the *Gauls*, who were ready to fall upon the kingdom of *Pergamus*, they diſpatched embaſſadors to them with ſuch inſtructions as rather encouraged than prevented their deſign [m]. *Eumenes* being informed by his brother of what had paſſed at *Rome*, thought it well worth his while to go in perſon and juſtify his proceedings before the ſenate. But his deſign being underſtood at *Rome*, a law was there enacted, that no king ſhould be permitted to come to *Rome*; for they did not think it expedient to treat him as an enemy; and to entertain him as a friend was more than their diſpleaſure for his ingratitude, as they ſtyled it, would permit. Upon the firſt notice of his landing at *Brunduſium* the ſenate diſpatched the quæſtor to him with a copy of the edict, injoining him to e acquaint the king, that if he had any thing to lay before the ſenate, he was commiſſioned to hear and propoſe it; but if he had no affairs to tranſact with the ſenators, to command him without delay to depart *Italy*. *Eumenes* underſtanding from the quæſtor the pleaſure of the ſenate, told him that he had no buſineſs of conſequence to tranſact, and did not ſtand in any need of their aſſiſtance; and without adding one word more retired on board his ſhip, and ſailed back to *Pergamus*. This treatment not only abated the courage of the king's friends, but animated the *Gauls* to invade his territories, ſeeing he could not expect any help from the *Romans* [n]. But *Eumenes* raiſing a powerful army, not only drove the *Gauls* out of his own dominions, but invaded at the ſame time *Galatia* and *Bithynia*, laying waſte thoſe countries, plun- f dering the cities, and poſſeſſing himſelf of many ſtrong-holds. Whereupon *Pruſias* king of *Bithynia* ſent embaſſadors to *Rome* to complain of theſe violent proceedings, and acquaint the ſenate, that *Eumenes* had entered into an alliance with *Antiochus* king of *Syria*, and countenanced all thoſe who ſhewed any averſion to the *Romans* [o]. With the embaſſadors of *Pruſias* came alſo thoſe of the *Gauls*, of the *Selgenſes*, and many other cities of *Aſia* to accuſe *Eumenes*, as if he kept a ſecret correſpondence with *Perſeus*, which was alſo confirmed by ſome letters, which the *Romans* themſelves had intercepted. *Eumenes* fearing leſt the ſenate ſhould declare him an enemy, and join the *Gauls* and *Pruſias*, charged his two brothers, *Attalus* and *Athenæus*, to clear

The ſenate encourages his brother Attalus *to demand the kingdom for himſelf.*

The generous behaviour of Attalus.

Eumenes *reſolves to go to* Rome *to juſtify his proceedings.*

But is prevented by the ſenate.

Sends his two brothers to plead his cauſe at Rome.

[m] Polyb. legat. 93. Liv. l. xlv. [n] Polyb. legat. 97. Liv. l. xlvi. [o] Polyb. legat. 104. Liv. ubi ſupra.

him at *Rome* of the crimes objected to him by his enemies. They were both received a
with all poſſible marks of honour, but could not diſſipate the jealouſies which the
ſenate had conceived againſt *Eumenes*. For not long after their departure, *C. Sulpitius*
Gallus, and *Marius Sergius* were ſent into *Aſia* in quality of legates, and injoined to
Legates ſent from Rome *to inquire into the deſigns of* Eumenes. make a ſtrict inquiry into the counſels and deſigns of *Antiochus* and *Eumenes*. *Sulpitius Gallus* upon his entering *Aſia*, cauſed a proclamation to be made in all the cities of that province, whereby all thoſe, who had any complaints againſt *Eumenes*, were ordered to repair to *Sardes*, where they ſhould have juſtice done them. The legate himſelf arriving by the time appointed at *Sardes*, cauſed a tribunal to be erected in a public place, on which for ten days together he received all the accuſations and complaints againſt *Eumenes* that were laid before him, as if he had been ſent on purpoſe b
to pick a quarrel with the king. *Eumenes*, who was well appriſed of his deſign, but unwilling to engage in a war againſt ſo powerful an enemy, eſpecially in his old age, again ſent his brother *Attalus* to *Rome*, hoping that by his mediation he might be ſuffered to end his days in peace. *Attalus* did all that lay in his power to appeaſe the wrath of the ſenators, and bring his brother again into favour. But all was to no purpoſe, they could by no means be prevailed upon to forget his behaviour during the *Macedonic* war, and ſeemed obſtinately bent upon his deſtruction.
Eumenes *dies.* But their deſigns were prevented by the death of the king, which happened ſoon after the return of *Attalus*, to whom he bequeathed both his wife and his kingdom. He died in the thirty-ninth year of his reign, leaving one ſon behind him, whom he c
had by *Stratonice*, the ſiſter of *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia*. But he being an infant at the time of his father's death, was incapable of governing the kingdom; and therefore *Eumenes* choſe to put his brother *Attalus* into the preſent poſſeſſion of the crown, reſerving the next ſucceſſion to his ſon [p] (D).

Attalus. *Year of the flood* 2840. *Before Chriſt* 159. *Attalus* was ſcarce ſeated on the throne, when *Pruſias*, king of *Bithynia*, ſurnamed the *Hunter*, invaded, upon what provocation we know not, his dominions, and committing every-where moſt dreadful ravages, advanced to the very walls of *Pergamus*, overthrew *Attalus* in a pitched battle, and made himſelf maſter of the capital of his kingdom. He expected to have found *Attalus* in the city, but that prince having ſaved himſelf by a timely retreat, *Pruſias* vented his rage upon the unhappy d
Reduced to great ſtraits by Pruſias *king of* Bithynia. citizens, putting a great number of them to the ſword, and ſetting fire to their houſes [q]. Hereupon *Attalus* diſpatched embaſſadors to *Italy* to lay before the *Roman* ſenate the condition to which the kingdom of *Pergamus* was reduced. But *Nicomedes* the ſon of *Pruſias*, who was then at *Rome* for his education, anſwered the complaints that were made againſt his father, and even returned them againſt *Attalus*, as if he had been the aggreſſor. However two commiſſioners were ſent into the eaſt to put an end to the diſputes of the two kings on the ſpot: But *Pruſias* without paying them the leaſt deference continued ravaging the territories of *Pergamus*. *Attalus* therefore, taking the advantage of the return of one of the embaſſadors, ſent his brother *Athenæus* with him to make new complaints to the ſenate. As he advanced e
nothing but what was confirmed by their own embaſſador, the ſenators were at laſt convinced that *Pruſias* was the aggreſſor, and therefore ſent him forthwith orders to withdraw his forces from the territories of *Attalus*. But *Pruſias* under various pretences purſued the war for the ſpace of three whole years, and reduced the kingdom of *Pergamus* to a moſt deplorable condition. At length he pretended to be ready to obey the decrees of the ſenate, and deſired a conference with *Attalus*. At his requeſt it was agreed, that the contending princes ſhould meet on the frontiers of the two kingdoms, each attended by a guard of a thouſand men, in order to put an end to their differences in the preſence of the *Roman* envoys. But *Pruſias*, who
Treachery of Pruſias. had no other view in this than to ſieze *Attalus*, marched his whole army to the f
frontiers, and concealing his troops behind the neighbouring hills, gave them orders to ſurround the *Romans* and *Pergamenſes*, as ſoon as they ſhould appear. But *Attalus* and the *Romans*, having timely notice of his deſign, ſaved themſelves by flight before the *Bithynian* forces could put the king's orders in execution. *Pruſias* followed them

[p] POLYB. ubi ſupra. PLUTARCH. in Apophthegm. STRAB. l. xiii. p. 624. [q] DIODOR. SICUL. in excerpt. Valeſ. p. 169, 170. 337. SUID. in voce Pruſias.

(D) *Suidas* calls him the greateſt and moſt powerful king of his time. We have elſewhere made mention of his famous library at *Pergamus*, wherein were lodged two hundred thouſand choſen books all collected by himſelf. Theſe *Marc Antony* afterwards beſtowed upon *Cleopatra*, by whoſe order they were carried from *Pergamus* to *Alexandria*.

to

a to *Pergamus* after he had plundered the baggage of the embaſſadors; and then marched to *Elæa*, a maritime city of *Æolis*, hoping to ſurpriſe it. But as the place was well gariſoned, and ſtored with all ſorts of proviſions, he did not think it adviſeable to attempt the reduction of it. He therefore ſent back his land-forces to *Bithynia*, and embarking on board his fleet ſet ſail for *Thyatira* [r].

The Romans ſend commiſſioners to put an end to the war.

THE ſenate, being upon the return of their embaſſadors informed of theſe proceedings, were highly provoked againſt *Pruſias*; but however, inſtead of declaring war againſt one who had affronted their embaſſadors, and deſpiſed their orders, they contented themſelves with ſending ten commiſſioners, whoſe number at leaſt might make ſome impreſſion on the *Bithynian*. Among theſe were *L. Anicius*, *C. Fannius*, b and *Q. Fabius Maximus*. Their inſtructions were to put an end to this war, to oblige *Pruſias* to ſatisfy *Attalus* for the damages he had ſuffered by it, and to break off the alliance of the republic with the *Bithynian*, in caſe he did not acquieſce to the decree of the ſenate [s]. In the mean time *Attalus*, having got together a conſiderable army, (for both *Ariarathes* king of *Cappadocia*, and *Mithridates* king of *Pontus*, ſent him underhand powerful ſupplies) took the field, and meeting the *Roman* embaſſadors at *Quada*, marched directly againſt *Pruſias*, who was advancing towards the frontiers of *Pergamus* at the head of a numerous army. The two kings at the requeſt of the embaſſadors came to a conference in a place equally diſtant from both camps. *Pru-*

The two kings come to a conference.

ſias by many ſhifts and evaſions endeavoured to amuſe the embaſſadors; but they at c length exerting themſelves, told him, that he muſt either comply with the decree of the ſenate, or be declared an enemy to the republic; and accordingly, as he ſtill perſiſted obſtinate and untractable, they ſolemnly renounced the alliance and amity which had been between him and *Rome*. *Pruſias* endeavoured to gain them by promiſes and ſubmiſſions; but they were inflexible, and after having exhorted *Attalus* to continue on the defenſive, diſperſed themſelves in the ſeveral ſtates of *Aſia*, to aſſemble forces againſt the king of *Bithynia*. *Rhodes*, *Cyzicum*, and many other maritime cities, fitted out ſhips, and ſent them to the aſſiſtance of *Attalus*; who having out of theſe reinforcements formed a fleet of eighty gallies, gave the command of it to his brother *Athenæus*, with orders to ravage the coaſts of *Bithynia*; which he did accord-

Pruſias *accepts the terms of peace ſent him from* Rome *by three new embaſſadors.*

d ingly, putting all to fire and ſword, and carrying off an immenſe booty. *Pruſias* finding he could not hold out againſt the ſtorm that threatened him, ſubmitted to the decree of the ſenate, and accepted the terms which *Rome* ſent him by three new embaſſadors, viz. *Appius Claudius*, *Lucius Oppius*, and *Aulus Poſthumius*. The terms were, that he ſhould forthwith deliver up to *Attalus* twenty ſhips with decks, that he ſhould pay him five hundred talents within the ſpace of twenty years; that both of them ſhould be contented with what they had before the breaking out of the war; and laſtly, that *Pruſias* ſhould pay the *Methymneans*, *Egeans*, *Cumæi*, and *Heracleats* an hundred talents by way of reparation for the damages he had done them. Theſe conditions being agreed on, and ſigned by the contending parties, c *Attalus* returned to *Pergamus* with all his ſea and land-forces, and *Pruſias* into *Bithynia*, after having evacuated all the cities and ſtrong-holds which he had taken during the war [t].

Attalus being thus by the aſſiſtance of the *Romans* delivered from ſo dangerous a war, ſent his nephew, the ſon of *Eumenes*, named alſo *Attalus*, to thank the ſenate for their kind offices, and to renew the friendſhip and alliance which had been formerly between his father and the people of *Rome*. Young *Attalus* was received by the ſenate with all poſſible marks of diſtinction, the ancient treaties with his father were renewed, and he loaded with preſents ſent back to his uncle, all the cities of *Greece*, through which he was to paſs, being ordered to receive and treat him in a manner ſuitable to f his condition [u].

Pruſias having diſcharged part of the ſum which he was to pay to *Attalus*, hoped by the intereſt of his ſon *Nicomedes*, who reſided at *Rome*, and was in great favour with the ſenate, to prevail upon the ſenators to forgive the remainder. With this view he ſent one *Menas*, a chief lord of his court, to *Rome* in quality of embaſſador; his inſtructions were, to make uſe of *Nicomedes*'s intereſt to gain his point; and in caſe he did not ſucceed, to diſpatch *Nicomedes*, of whoſe great power at *Rome* he began to be jealous. For the more eaſy execution of this wicked deſign, he commanded two thouſand men to embarque with his embaſſador; an extraordinary guard,

[r] POLYB. legat. 128. [s] POLYB. legat. 123. [t] POLYB. legat. 136, 137. APPIAN. in Mithridatic. p. 173. [u] Idem legat. 140.

but

but neceſſary to facilitate the eſcape of *Menas* after the aſſaſſination, and protect him after his return into *Bithynia*. *Menas* on his arrival at *Rome* employed *Nicomedes* to uſe his beſt offices with the ſenate; but *Andronicus*, the embaſſador of the king of *Pergamus*, pleaded his maſter's cauſe ſo well, that the former decree of the ſenate was confirmed. What therefore remained was to put the barbarous orders of *Pruſias* in execution, and murder *Nicomedes*. But as the young prince was greatly beloved at *Rome*, it ſeemed dangerous to *Menas*, notwithſtanding the numerous guard, which he concealed on board his ſhips, to make any attempt upon his life in the ſight of the ſenate. After he had been long in ſuſpenſe, not knowing what to do, he reſolved at laſt to communicate to the ſon his father's deſign, and to turn the plot againſt the author and contriver of it. Accordingly *Menas* diſcovered to him his private inſtructions, and at his requeſt imparted the whole matter to *Andronicus* the *Pergamian* embaſſador, who obtained leave of his maſter to tranſport *Nicomedes* into *Aſia* on board his ſhip, that prince promiſing to take him under his protection, and ſupport him againſt his father, who was no leſs intolerable to his neighbours, than to his own ſubjects. The two embaſſadors ſailed from *Oſtia* much about the ſame time, and arrived, as it had been agreed on before-hand, at *Berenice*, a ſmall city on the coaſt of *Epirus*. There they both landed their men under pretence of refreſhing them after the voyage, and met privately to conſult together with *Nicomedes* about the meaſures that might ſeem moſt proper for the execution of their deſign. The next morning *Nicomedes*, as it had been concerted the night before, went aſhore in a purple robe, with the royal diadem on his head, and a ſceptre in his hand. Hereupon *Andronicus* with an hundred men he had with him, ſaluted and proclaimed him king of *Bithynia*. *Menas* pretending to be ſurpriſed at this ſtep, aſſembled in great haſte his two thouſand *Bithynians*, and in an artful ſpeech exhorted them to ſide with that party which was moſt likely to prevail, inſinuating at the ſame time that *Pruſias* was generally hated, and *Nicomedes* beloved, not only by the *Bithynians*, but by the *Romans*, and the ſubjects of the king of *Pergamus*, who were ready to aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of their power. Having ended his ſpeech, he obſerved in the countenances of his men an unanimous determination to adhere to the young prince; whereupon ſeconding their inclination, he immediately joined the troops of *Andronicus*, and ſaluted *Nicomedes* king of *Bithynia*. After great ſhouts, and repeated acclamations, they all reimbarqued, ſet ſail, and landed in a port of the kingdom of *Pergamus*. *Attalus* received young *Nicomedes* with great joy, and immediately diſpatched meſſengers to *Pruſias*, requiring him to deliver up ſome provinces to his ſon, and fix certain revenues on him for his ſubſiſtence. To this demand the old king proudly anſwered, that *Nicomedes* ſhould ſoon have the whole kingdom of *Pergamus* aſſigned to him [w]. But notwithſtanding this haughty anſwer, he forthwith ſent embaſſadors to *Rome*, deſiring the ſenate to ſend commiſſioners into *Bithynia*, and ſettle matters between him and *Attalus* in an amicable manner. But in the mean time *Attalus*, having encouraged *Nicomedes* to make war upon his father by interpreting in his favour the anſwer of an oracle in *Epirus*, as if the god promiſed the young prince the kingdom of *Bithynia* [x], took the field; and entering with *Nicomedes* the dominions of *Pruſias*, was every-where received with great joy, and loud acclamations. The king, not daring to truſt his *Bithynians*, had recourſe to *Diegyles*, one of the petty ſovereigns of *Thrace*, whoſe daughter he had married for his ſecond wife. But all the ſuccours that prince could ſpare him were only five hundred men. With theſe he ſhut himſelf up in the city of *Nice*; but obſerving that the citizens were ready to revolt, and only waited for the arrival of *Nicomedes* and *Attalus*, he left that place, and took refuge in *Nicomedia*, which he thought ſtrong enough to endure a long ſiege, not doubting but in the mean time embaſſadors would arrive from *Rome*, and by the interpoſition of their authority, and good offices, make up matters between him and his ſon [y]. But he was herein greatly diſappointed; for though his embaſſadors on their arrival at *Rome* deſired an audience of the ſenate without delay, yet the prætor, to favour *Attalus*, put it off under various pretences from day to day. At length he preſented them to the conſcript fathers, and being ordered to appoint three embaſſadors to be ſent into *Bithynia*, he made choice of ſuch as were no ways qualified for that commiſſion; for they were men of no parts, and beſides made a very ridiculous figure, one of them being ſtrangely diſfigured with ſcars, the other

Pruſias *makes an attempt upon the life of his ſon* Nicomedes.

Attalus *encourages* Nicomedes *to make war upon his father.*

[w] APPIAN. in Mithridatic. p. 174, 175. [x] ZOSIM. hiſtor. l. ii. [y] APPIAN, ibid.

ſame,

a lame, and the third a mere idiot: whence the saying of *Cato*, that the *Bithynian* embassy had neither head, feet, nor understanding [z]. It may be easily imagined, that men of this figure and character had no great weight in the two courts. *Attalus* and *Nicomedes* made as if they were ready to submit to the authority of the senate; but the *Bithynians*, suborned underhand by them, openly declared, that they could no longer bear the tyranny of *Prusias*, and therefore intreated the embassadors to return to *Rome*, and lay their complaints before the senate, not doubting but they should be able to settle *Nicomedes* on the throne before any new resolutions could be taken by the conscript fathers. The embassadors were easily prevailed upon to leave *Bithynia*, and return for new instructions to *Rome*. They were no sooner gone than *Attalus* and
b *Nicomedes* at the head of the *Pergamian* troops advanced to *Nicomedia*, which readily opened its gates to them, and left the old king at his son's mercy. *Prusias* seeing himself thus deserted and betrayed by all, fled for refuge to the temple of *Jupiter*. But the holiness of the place could not screen him from the violence of his son, who, as he had been brought up at *Rome*, was tainted with the depravity of manners that prevailed there: for he no sooner heard that his father had taken sanctuary in the temple of *Jupiter*, but he sent thither assassins to murder him [a]. *Diodorus Siculus* [b] tells us, that the unnatural son killed him with his own hand; *Strabo* [c] charges *Attalus* with the death of *Prusias*; *Dio Cassius* and *Zonaras* say, that he was assassinated by his own subjects [d]; but *Livy* [e] divides the guilt of this heinous murder between
c *Nicomedes* and *Attalus*. The *Romans* took no notice of what had passed in *Bithynia*, but treated *Attalus* with the same kindness they had formerly shewn him, and suffered *Nicomedes* to enjoy peaceably the fruit of his wickedness. Soon after *Attalus* joined the *Romans* against *Andriscus*, who pretended to be the son of *Perses* king of *Macedon*, and heir to his dominions. This was the last enterprize *Attalus* engaged in; for *Andriscus* being taken prisoner, and an end put to that war, he returned home with his sea and land-forces, and gave himself up to an idle and dissolute life, as *Plutarch* informs us, adding, that *Philopœmen*, one of his courtiers, governed both the king and kingdom at his pleasure; insomuch that no body applied to *Attalus*, but to his prime minister *Philopœmen*, for favours or employments, the whole management of affairs being committed to his care alone [f].

Nicomedes *with the assistance of* Attalus *drives his father from the throne.*

Attalus *gives himself up to an idle and dissolute life.*

d We have observed above, that *Eumenes* had a son, who, as he was a minor at the time of his father's death, the tuition of the young prince with the crown was left to *Attalus* the uncle, who so faithfully discharged his trust, that he not only carefully bred up his pupil, but at his death, which happened in the eighty-second year of his age, and twenty-first of his reign, he left the crown to him, passing by his own children: for he looked upon it as a mere depositum intrusted with him for his nephew, and therefore restored it to him in the next succession; an instance of honesty seldom to be met with, princes being commonly no less sollicitous to preserve their crowns for their posterity than for themselves [g]. He was surnamed *Philadelphus* from the sincere affection which
e he had for his brother, whereof we have related a very remarkable instance in the foregoing reign. He was a great encourager of learning, and took particular pleasure in the conversation of learned men, especially of *Lycon*, a native of *Troas*, and a philosopher of great note, whom he entertained at his court with a magnificence worthy of a king. He built two cities in *Lydia*, the one called *Attalia*, from his name, and the other from his surname *Philadelphia*. The author of the first book of the *Maccabees* mentions him among the allies of the *Roman* people [h]; and *Tully* tells us, that he was a constant friend to *Rome*, and sent magnificent presents to *Scipio Æmilianus*, while he lay at the siege of *Numantia* in *Spain* [i].

Death of Attalus.

Attalus III. *Year after the flood* 2861. *Before Christ* 138.

Attalus the son of *Eumenes* was scarce seated on the throne, when he began to act
f more like a madman, as *Justin* expresses it, than a prince [k]. In the first place he caused most of his relations, and the best friends of his family, to be inhumanly massacred, charging some of them with the death of his mother *Stratonice*, who died in an advanced age, and others with the murder of his wife *Berenice*, though it was well known, that she had died of an incurable distemper, and was generally lamented. Many upon groundless suspicions were cut off with their wives, children, and whole families. In these executions he made use of his mercenaries, whom he had hired

[z] Plut. in Cat. Major. [a] Appian. in Mithridat. p. 174, 175. [b] Diodor. Sicul. in Photii Biblioth. cod. 244. [c] Strab. l. xiii. p. 624. [d] Dio. Cass. l. xlii. Zonar. l. vi. [e] Liv. Epitom. lib. l. [f] Plut. in apoph. [g] Plut. ibid. & in lib. περὶ φιλαδελφίας. [h] Maccab. l. i. c. 15. [i] Cic. in orat. pro Dejotaro. [k] Justin. l. xxxvi. c. 4.

for this purpoſe out of the moſt cruel and ſavage of the barbarous nations. a
His cruelty. After he had thus filled the city of *Pergamus*, and the whole kingdom with blood and ſlaughter, and in a wild fury cut off the beſt men in his kingdom, and thoſe who had ſerved his father and uncle with the greateſt fidelity, being conſcious of the many murders he had committed, and imagining that the manes of his murdered relations were perpetually haunting him, he fell into a deep melancholy, and confineing himſelf to his palace, put on a mean apparel, let his hair and beard grow, and
And wild extravagancies. quite ſequeſtered himſelf from the reſt of mankind. Afterwards he withdrew from the palace, and ſhut himſelf up in a garden, which he cultivated with his own hands, ſowing it with all ſorts of poiſonous herbs. Theſe he mixed with wholeſome pulſe, and in his mad fits ſent packets of them to thoſe whom his gloomy temper led b
him to ſuſpect. In theſe and ſuch-like wild extravagances he ſpent the whole time of his reign, the beſt commendation of which was its ſhortneſs; for it ended after five years in his death, which happened in the following manner. As he was without friends, without relations, and even without courtiers, no one daring to come near
His death. him, he took a fancy to employ his time in the trade of a founder; and having undertaken to make a brazen monument for his mother, while he laboured in melting and working the braſs, the heat of the ſun and the furnace threw him into a fever, of which he died the ſeventh day after, delivering his people from the moſt cruel and barbarous tyrant that ever ſwayed a ſcepter [k]. All the ancients ſpeak of him as a madman; and ſome writers tell us, that the grief, which he conceived for the c
death of his mother *Stratonice*, whom he loved with great tenderneſs, threw him into a deep melancholy, which at length deprived him of his ſenſes. From his tender affection for his mother he was ſurnamed *Philometor*, and not ironically, as *Volaterranus* would have it, as if he had hated, and even murdered her. *Juſtin* tells us in expreſs terms [l], that he well deſerved that name for the extraordinary affection he always bore her; and nevertheleſs the above-mentioned author quotes *Juſtin* to prove what he advances, though diametrically oppoſite to what we read in that writer. *Lucian* and *Zonaras* accuſe this prince of having diſpatched his uncle *Attalus* with poiſon; but other writers, without taking notice of any violence uſed on him, tell us, that he died in the eighty-ſecond year of his age, leaving the crown to his nephew, d
whom he had brought up with great care. *Varro* [m] and *Columella* [n] reckon *Attalus Philometor* among thoſe who have wrote of agriculture, and add, that he was skilled in phyſic, and had a thorough knowledge of ſimples. Hence ſome have conjectured,
Makes the Roman people heirs of all his goods. that the phyſician *Attalus* mentioned by *Pliny* [o], was the king of *Pergamus*, ſince that author elſewhere [p] mentions him among thoſe who have wrote of phyſic. At his death he left a will, whereby he made the *Romans* heirs of all his goods; in virtue of this will the republic ſeized on his kingdom, reckoning that among his goods, and reduced it to a province, which was known by the name of *Aſia Propria*, or *Proper Aſia*. *Eudemus* of *Pergamus* brought this will to *Rome*, and there delivered it to *Tiberius Gracchus* tribune of the people, together with the deceaſed king's crown, and e
purple robes [q] (E). But *Ariſtonicus*, the next heir, did not tamely ſubmit to the

[k] JUSTIN. l. xxxvi. c. 4. [l] JUSTIN. ibid. [m] VARRO de re ruſtic. l. i. c. 1. [n] COLUMELL. de ruſtic. l. i. c. 1. [o] PLIN. l. xxxiii. [p] Idem, l. viii. [q] JUSTIN. l. xxxvi. c. 4. PLUTARCH. in Tiber. Gracch.

(E) The words of *Attalus*'s will were, *Populus Romanus bonorum meorum hæres eſto*; *Let the people of* Rome *be the heirs of my goods*: Theſe words the ſenate interpreted as comprehending his kingdom, which they reckoned among the king's goods. But ſome of the neighbouring princes, namely *Mithridates* king of *Pontus* (75), looked upon this will as a mere forgery; others were of opinion, that the *Romans*, allowing it to be genuine, were in virtue of the abovementioned words intitled only to the deceaſed king's moveable goods, the kingdom itſelf belonging by right of ſucceſſion to *Ariſtonicus* the only ſurviving prince of the blood-royal. 'Tis true, he was the natural ſon of *Eumenes*; but this, according to the cuſtom which obtained among all the eaſtern princes, did not by any means debar him from the crown, when there were no lawful children to ſucceed to it. *Horace* among the *Latin* writers ſeems to inſinuate, as *Acron* obſerves in his notes on that poet, that the *Romans* were intruders, and not lawful heirs to king *Attalus*, in the following words:

——*Neque Attali*
Ignotus hæres regiam occupavi (76).

That is, neither have I, an unknown heir, or an heir no ways related to *Attalus*, invaded his palace. It is not therefore true, that the kingdom of *Pergamus belonged in ſtrict equity to the* Romans, that *the republic had an indiſputable right of dominion over the* Pergamians, that *Ariſtonicus had no manner of claim to the kingdom of* Attalus, as certain modern writers confidently affirm (77).

(75) *Saluſt. l.* iv. *hiſtoriar.* (76) *Horat. l.* ii. *Ode* 18. (77) *Catrou and Rouillé hiſt. Rom. l.* li. *ad Ann. urb.* 624.

will

a will which *Attalus* was ſaid to have made. He was the ſon of *Eumenes*, and brother of *Attalus*, though by another mother, *viz.* by an *Epheſian* courteſan, the daughter of a muſician. As ſon of *Eumenes*, he laid claim to the crown, and having aſſembled a conſiderable army, he put himſelf in a condition to maintain his pretenſions. With the aſſiſtance of a body of *Thracians* and *Phocæans*, whom he took into his ſervice, he made himſelf maſter of ſome ſtrong places, which opened him a way into the heart of the kingdom, where he was joined by great numbers of *Pergamians*, who being accuſtomed to a monarchical, dreaded a republican government; and therefore, without minding the birth of their new leader, preferred his authority to that of a foreign prætor. Having by this means got together in a ſhort time a numerous and

Ariſtonicus lays claim to the crown.

b powerful army, he beſieged the places which were for maintaining the late king's will, and took the cities of *Samos* and *Colophon* in *Ionia*, and *Myndos* in *Caria*. The other places ſurrendered upon terms; ſo that he became, without meeting with any conſiderable oppoſition, maſter of the whole kingdom [r].

And makes himſelf maſter of the whole kingdom.

THIS news was brought to *Rome* about the time the people were to chuſe conſuls, and among the candidates were two men of great abilities, but whoſe employments ſeemed to render them incapable of making war in *Aſia*. Theſe were *Licinius Craſſus* high-pontiff, and *Lucius Valerius Flaccus*, *flamen Martialis*, or in other words, *high-prieſt of* Mars. Both obtained the conſulate, for which they ſtood, and were both very deſirous of leading the armies of the republic into *Aſia*, no commiſſion

c being more profitable than that of commanding in thoſe diſtant countries; but, after a ſharp conteſt, it was determined in the comitia, that *Craſſus* might, tho' *pontifex maximus*, head the armies of the republic in *Aſia*; and he was accordingly appointed to diſpoſſeſs *Ariſtonicus* of the kingdom of *Pergamus*, and reduce it, agreeable to the late king's will, to a *Roman* province. *Craſſus*, notwithſtanding the inteſtine broils which then reigned at *Rome*, immediately ſet out for *Aſia*; but as we find no mention made by hiſtorians of troops, fleets or proviſions ſent with the conſul, he, without all doubt, took it for granted, that the eaſtern kings and nations in alliance with *Rome*, would furniſh him with ſufficient forces on the ſpot to drive out the uſurper. On his arrival in *Aſia*, he found that neither *Syria* nor *Egypt* were in a condition to

Craſſus *ſent by the ſenate againſt him.*

d lend him any aſſiſtance, both thoſe kingdoms being at that time involved in great troubles. The conſul therefore had recourſe to the kings of *Pontus*, *Cappadocia*, *Bithynia* and *Paphlagonia*, who all furniſhed him with troops; ſo that he advanced at the head of a numerous army, or rather of four armies, towards the frontiers of the kingdom of *Pergamus* [s]. *Ariſtonicus* did not care to engage the conſul, but retiring as he advanced, ſuffered him to lay waſte the country, in hopes of finding an opportunity of falling upon him unawares, which ſoon offered; for *Craſſus*, who was a man of an avaricious temper, having got together an immenſe booty, began to retire from the inland parts of the kingdom towards the coaſt, in order to ſhip it off for *Italy*; but as the ſeaſon was far advanced, and the roads almoſt impaſſable, the army

e advanced very ſlowly; beſides, the great number of waggons, loaded with the riches almoſt of the whole kingdom, retarded their march ſtill more, and frequently occaſioned a great confuſion in the army; which *Ariſtonicus* being informed of, lay in wait for the conſul in a narrow paſſage between ſteep hills, and there fell upon him when he leaſt expected it. *Craſſus*, tho' thus ſurprized, might have eaſily repulſed the enemy, having under his command a very numerous and well-diſciplined army; but being wholly intent on preſerving the ſpoils, he unadviſedly thinned the ranks to put a ſtronger guard on them; ſo that the allies, being attacked by *Ariſtonicus*'s men with great vigour, and in a cloſe body, were intirely routed. In the flight the conſul himſelf was taken priſoner by a body of *Thracians* between *Elea* and *Myrina*;

Craſſus *defeated, and taken priſoner.*

f but as they were carrying him in triumph to the camp of *Ariſtonicus*, he began to conſider the reproach it would caſt both on himſelf and his republic, if a conſul and a *pontifex maximus* ſhould become a ſlave to ſo deſpicable an enemy as *Ariſtonicus*, and on that conſideration would have laid violent hands on himſelf, had he not been diſarmed; but as he had a rod in his hand to guide the horſe on which he was mounted, he ſtruck the ſoldier, who was neareſt to him, ſo violently with it, that he beat out one of his eyes. Hereupon the *Thracian*, in a tranſport of rage, drew his ſword, and without further deliberation run the conſul through, and killed him on the ſpot. By

[r] LIV. l. lix. VEL. PATERC. l. ii. c. 4. STRABO, l. xiv. p. 646. FLOR. l. iii. c. 20. JUSTIN. l. xxxvii. c. 1. EUTROP. l. iv.

[s] STRABO, ibid.

this

this means *Ariſtonicus* was deprived of the pleaſure of having a *Roman* conſul, and a *pontifex maximus* in his power; however, the conſul's head was carried to the enemy's camp, and there preſented to *Ariſtonicus*, and expoſed to public view; but his body was honourably buried at *Myrina*, or, as others will have it, at *Smyrna* [t]. a

WHEN news of this defeat was brought to *Rome*, the tribes promoted two perſons to the conſulate, who were very unequal in rank, *viz. C. Claudius Pulcher*, a man of an illuſtrious family, and *M. Perperna*, a ſoldier of fortune. The latter was ſent into *Aſia* to revenge the death of the conſul, and put an end to the *Pergamian* war. He appeared unexpectedly in the kingdom of *Pergamus*, where he found *Ariſtonicus* wholly intent on enjoying the fruits of his victory. Feaſts, revels and entertainments, after the *Aſiatic* faſhion, took up all his thoughts and time; but he was ſoon rouſed out of his lethargy by the new conſul, who having aſſembled, with incredible expedition, the troops of the allies, came unexpectedly upon him, and having obliged him to venture an engagement, gained a complete victory over him. *Ariſtonicus*, after the defeat, fled to *Stratonice* (F), where he had no ſooner ſhut himſelf up than the conqueror was before the place, which he blocked up on all ſides, and, by that means, without expoſing his men to the dangers of an aſſault, reduced the gariſon to ſuch ſtraits, that they delivered both the city and their leader into his hands. The philoſopher *Bloſius* (G), who had aſſiſted *Ariſtonicus* with his counſels during the whole courſe of the war, exhorted him to prefer a voluntary death to a ſhameful captivity, and encouraged him to it by diſpatching himſelf in his preſence; but he, like the other *Aſiatic* princes, not having courage enough to lay violent hands on himſelf, even in the moſt calamitous circumſtances, ſuffered himſelf to be carried to the conſul, who kept him in chains to grace his triumph [u]. b c

Perperna *ſent into* Aſia *in his room.*

Ariſtonicus *defeated, and taken.*

IN the mean time new conſuls being created at *Rome*, viz. *C. Sempronius Tuditanus*, and *Manius Aquilius*, the latter was appointed to ſucceed *Perperna* in *Aſia*, and put an end to that war, by reducing the kingdom of *Pergamus* to a *Roman* province. On his arrival he ſent a proud meſſage to *Perperna*, commanding him to deliver up to him *Ariſtonicus*, as belonging to his triumph rather than to *Perperna*'s. This order *Perperna* refuſed to comply with, and his refuſal was very likely to be attended with bad conſequences; but his death, which happened ſoon after the arrival of *Aquilius*, decided the queſtion. He had quite exhauſted himſelf in purſuing *Ariſtonicus*, and hurrying from place to place after him; however, before his death, he took care to ſhip off for *Rome* all the treaſures of the deceaſed king; which was a great diſappointment to the conſul *Aquilius* [w]. d

THE *Pergamians*, notwithſtanding the captivity of their leader *Ariſtonicus*, and the ſignal victory gained by the brave *Perperna*, ſtill held out againſt the *Romans*, the fear of ſerving new maſters, and receiving laws from a foreign republic, keeping the people every-where in arms; ſo that *Aquilius* was obliged to beſiege almoſt all

[t] LIV. l. lix. VEL. PATERC. l. ii. STRABO, l. xiv. p. 646. VAL. MAX. l. iii. c. 2. FLOR. l. ii. c. 20. JUST. l. xxxvi. c. 4. JUL. OBSEQ. de prodig. EUTROP. l. iv. OROS. l. v. c. 10. [u] LIV. STRABO, FLORUS, JUST. OROS. EUTROP. VAL. MAX. ibid. [w] STRABO, l. xiv. p. 646. VAL. MAX. l. iii. c. 4. JUSTIN. l. xxxvi. c. 4. EUTROP. l. iv. OROS. l. v. c. 10.

(F) The ancient geographers mention three cities in *Aſia* by this name. That which is here ſpoken of ſtood in *Caria*, and was, according to *Strabo* (78), originally a *Syro-Macedonian* colony. It took its name, as *Stephanus* informs us, from *Stratonice* the wife of *Antiochus Soter*. The emperor *Adrian*, who rebuilt it, called it from his own name *Adrianopolis*; but in the ancient *notitiæ* it retained its old name. *Strabo* (79) mentions another city bearing this name in the neighbourhood of mount *Taurus*; and *Ptolemy* a third, which he places in *Meſopotamia*.

(G) *Bloſius* was a native of *Cumæ*, and a philoſopher of great note. He warmly preſſed *Tiberius Gracchus*, who had a great opinion of his integrity and underſtanding, not to drop his deſign of paſſing the famous *Agrarian* law. After the death of his friend *Gracchus*, he was cited to appear before the conſul, and being asked why he had engaged in the party of the ſeditious tribune? he boldly anſwered, Becauſe he thought it the moſt juſt. The conſul further inquired, why he went ſo far as to be his agent? To this queſtion the philoſopher replied, that he did all that lay in his power to ſerve him, becauſe he deſerved to be ſerved and obeyed. Would you then have burnt the capitol, ſaid the conſul, if he had ordered you to do it? Spare his memory, replied *Bloſius*, with a ſurpriſing confidence; he was not capable of ſo black an attempt; but, if he had given me ſuch an order, I ſhould have certainly put it in execution, thinking his ordering it a ſufficient proof of its being neceſſary for the public good (80). The intrepidity of *Bloſius* ſurprized the conſul, who found means to reſcue him from the puniſhment which the ſenate had inflicted on the other friends of the tribune. He afterwards went over into *Aſia*, where he aſſiſted *Ariſtonicus* with his counſels; and after having done all the miſchief he could to the *Romans*, ended his life in the manner we have related.

(78) *Strabo, l.* xiv. (79) *Idem ibid.* (80) *Plut. in Gracch.*

the

a the cities of the kingdom of *Pergamus*, and reduce them one by one. As moſt of the cities of the kingdom of *Pergamus* had no other water but what was brought from far in aqueducts, the conſul, provoked at their obſtinate reſiſtance, inſtead of demoliſhing the aqueducts, as was cuſtomary in war, poiſoned the ſprings, and by that means ſpread death and deſolation in the places he beſieged. All the ancients declare their deteſtation of this perfidious and inhumane way of waging war, condemning it as a moſt notorious infraction of the law of nature; but *Rome*, it ſeems, was not ſo much offended at it, ſince ſhe ſuffered the cruel *Aquilius*, who practiſed it, to govern the kingdom of *Pergamus*, in quality of proconſul, for three whole years after his conſulſhip was expired [x]. *Aquilius* having at laſt reduced the whole b kingdom of *Pergamus*, the *Roman* ſenate appointed ten commiſſioners to ſettle it as a prætorian province, and put *Aquilius* at the head of the commiſſion. By them this great ſtate was divided into ſeveral diſtricts, each of them depending on the metropolis, where the *Roman* prætor fixed his reſidence. The whole province comprehended *Lydia*, *Caria*, the *Helleſpont*, and the two *Phrygias*. Some of theſe countries were beſtowed on the four kings who helped to conquer them. *Lycaonia* and *Cilicia* were given to the ſons of *Ariarathes*, who was killed in this war. *Phrygia Major*, or the *Greater Phrygia* was, according to *Juſtin* [y], conferred upon *Mithridates Euergetes* by the ſenate; according to *Appian* [z], ſold to that prince by *Aquilius* for a conſiderable ſum of money, which the king paid on the ſpot. However that be, it is certain, c that, after the death of *Mithridates*, the ſenate took *Phrygia* from his ſon in his minority, and declared it a free and independent ſtate. As for the unhappy *Ariſtonicus*, he was led in chains before the triumphal chariot of *Aquilius*, as appears from the letter which *Mithridates the Great* wrote to *Arſaces* king of *Parthia*. The *Romans*, ſays he in that letter [a], forging a will, whereby *Attalus* bequeathed to them his kingdom, led *Ariſtonicus* the ſon of *Eumenes* in triumph, for attempting to recover, by force of arms, his father's kingdom. *Velleius Paterculus* tells us likewiſe, that he was led in triumph by *Manius Aquilius*, and afterwards beheaded [b]. *Strabo* ſays, that after the triumph he was carried back to priſon, and there ſtrangled by an order from the ſenate [c]; and with him agree *Eutropius* [d] and *Oroſius* [e]. It is therefore ſurpriſing, that certain d modern writers [f], in oppoſition to theſe glaring authorities, ſhould tell us, that *Ariſtonicus* died before *Aquilius*'s triumph, which happened three years after the intire reduction of the *Pergamian* kingdom. *Rome* having thus reduced the kingdom of *Attalus* to a province, maintained from this time a perpetual intercourſe with the *Aſiatics*; and hence that inundation of vices of all kinds, which over-ran the whole ſtate. The republic gained indeed a conſiderable increaſe of power and riches by this new conqueſt; but ſhe paid dear for it in that univerſal depravation of manners which it introduced. *Rome*, ſays *Juſtin* [g], gave law to *Aſia*; but *Aſia*, in her turn, revenged herſelf on *Rome*, by teaching the *Romans* refinements in debauchery, and profuſeneſs in entertainments and furniture (H).

The kingdom of Pergamus *reduced by* Aquilius *to a* Roman *province.* *Year after the flood* 2870. *Before Chriſt* 129.

[x] Flor. l. ii. c. 20. [y] Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 5. [z] Appian. in Mithridatic. p. 177 & 208. & de bell. civil. p. 362, 363. Justin. ibid. Strabo, l. xiii. p. 624. & l. xiv. p. 646. [a] Saluſt Hiſtoriar. l. iv. [b] Vel. Paterc. l. ii. c. 4. [c] Strabo, l. xiv. p. 646. [d] Eutrop. l. iv. [e] Oros. l. v. c. 10. [f] Catrou and Rouil. Hiſt. Rom. l. li. ad ann. urb. 624. [g] Justin. ibid.

(H) *Pliny* looks on the conqueſt of *Pergamus* as the origin of the many diſorders which afterwards prevailed in *Rome*. With the wealth of *Pergamus*, ſays he, debauchery, effeminacy, luxury, and all kinds of vices, came in crowds to *Rome*, and overwhelmed the capital of the world. Modeſty and innocence were no longer countenanced in a city given up to the pleaſures and delights of *Aſia*. The citizens, dazzled with the ſplendor of the rich moveables that were ſhewn them, began to be aſhamed of their ancient ſimplicity. They picqued themſelves on knowing how to value what their anceſtors took pride in deſpiſing. They rivaled one another in the richneſs of their dreſs, in the furniture of their houſes, and expence of their tables. Thus *Aſia*, when ſubdued, had her full revenge on us, by bringing our city under a much worſe yoke, that of effeminacy. Thus far *Pliny* (81), whoſe teſtimony is confirmed by *Florus*, *Valerius Maximus*, *Seneca*, *Juvenal*, and all the other writers who make any mention of the general diſſolution of manners, which at this time began to reign, without reſtraint, at *Rome*.

(81) *Plin. l. v. c. 7. & l.* xxxiii. *c.* 11.

CHAP. VII.

The Hiſtory of THRACE.

Name, Situation, &c.

THRACE, a country frequently mentioned by the *Greek* and *Latin* hiſtorians, derives its name, according to ſome writers, from *Thrax* the ſon of *Mars*; according, to others from the barrenneſs of the ſoil, or the barbarity of the inhabitants, the *Greek* original bearing either of theſe ſignifications [h]. *Joſephus*, whoſe opinion ſeems to us the moſt probable, thinks it was called *Thrace* and *Thracia*, from *Thyras* the ſon of *Japhet*, who firſt peopled this country; for in his time it ſtill retained the names of *Thyras*, *Thyracia*, and *Thyrace*, which, with a very ſmall alteration, were changed into *Thracia* and *Thrace* [i]. His opinion is confirmed by *Iſidorus* [k], St. *Jerom* [l], *Zonaras* [m], and moſt of the eccleſiaſtic writers, who all tell us, that *Thracia* was firſt called *Thyracia*, from *Thyras*, whoſe deſcendants firſt inhabited the large provinces comprehended under that name. It was bounded on the north by mount *Hæmus*; on the ſouth by the *Ægean* ſea; on the eaſt by the *Euxine* ſea, the *Helleſpont*, and the *Propontis*; and on the weſt by *Macedon* and the river *Strymon* [n]. Some of the ancient geographers extend the bounds of *Thrace* far beyond the river *Strymon* and mount *Hæmus*. *Pliny* [o] carries its frontiers to the *Iſter* or *Danube*; *Appian* joins it to *Illyricum* [p], and *Herodotus* [q] calls it the largeſt country in the world, except *India*.

Cities.

Cities of note on the *Ægean* ſea were, *Oeſyma*, *Neapolis*, *Topiris* or *Toperus*, all three placed by *Stephanus*, *Pliny*, and *Pomponius Mela*, between the rivers *Strymon* and *Neſtus* or *Neſſus*; *Datus*, on the eaſtern bank of that river; and near it *Abdera*, anciently one of the moſt famous cities of *Thrace*. *Mela* tells us, that *Abdera* was founded by the ſiſter of *Diomedes*; but *Stephanus* makes *Hercules* the founder of it, and adds, that he gave it the name of *Abdera* in memory of *Abderus*, one of his companions, who was devoured by the famous, or rather fabulous, horſes of *Diomedes*. In proceſs of time a colony of *Clazomenians* ſettled there; whence the city is by ſome writers called alſo *Clazomene*. The *Clazomenians* were driven out by the natives, who ſuffered the *Teians* to live peaceably in *Abdera* and other places of *Thrace*, after they had been driven out of their own country by *Cyrus the Great*; and hence *Abdera* is called by *Strabo* [r] and other writers a colony of the *Teians*. The *Abderitani* were looked upon by the ancients as a dull, ſtupid people; but nevertheleſs their city gave birth to ſome great men, namely to *Protagoras* and the famous *Democritus* (I). This city is now generally known by the name of *Polyſtilo*, tho' *Niger* calls it *Aſperoſa*, and *Nardus Aſtrizza*. Near *Abdera* were the famous gold and ſilver mines ſpoke of by *Plutarch* [s], *Thucydides*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and moſt of the ancient hiſtorians and geographers. The place was called *Scapteſyle*. *Stephanus* ſays it was a ſmall town, and places it over-againſt the iſland of *Thaſus*. Here *Thucydides*, as *Plutarch* informs us [t], wrote the hiſtory of the *Peloponneſian* war, his wife being a native of that place, as we read in *Marcellinus* [u]. On the ſame coaſt of the *Ægean* ſea were the cities of *Dicæa*, *Tirida*, *Iſmaros*, *Stryma*, *Maronea*, and *Ænos*. The two laſt places were conquered by *Philip* the father of *Perſes*, and upon the defeat of the latter by the *Romans*, promiſed by that republic to *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus*; but afterwards, for political reaſons, declared by the ſenate free and independent [w]. On

[h] Strabo, l xiv. Plin. l. iv. c. 11. [i] Joseph. Antiq. l. i. c. 7. [k] Isidor. de origin. l. ix. [l] Hieronym. de quæſt. Hebraic. [m] Zonar. l. iv. [n] Pomp. Mela, l. xi. c. 11. Ptolemæus, l. iii. c. 11. [o] Plin. l. iv. c. 11. [p] Appian. in Syriac. [q] Herodot. l. v. [r] Strab. l. xiv. p. 443. [s] Plut. in Cim. [t] Idem, de exilio. [u] Marcel. in vita Thucyd. [w] Liv. l. xxxi. c. 31. Polyb. l. v. c. 34.

(I) This made *Juvenal* ſay, in ſpeaking of this philoſopher,

——— *Cujus prudentia monſtrat*
Summos poſſe viros, & magna exempla daturos,
Vervecum in patria, craſſoque ſub aere naſci (81).

(81) *Juvenal. ſatyr.* 10.

the

a the *Propontis* were the cities of *Macrontichos*, *Biſanthe*, *Ganos*, *Arzus*, *Perinthus*, called afterwards *Heraclea*, *Selymbria*, and *Bethynia*. On the *Thracian Boſphorus*, *Byzantium*, and the port of *Daphne*. On the *Euxine* ſea, *Phinopolis*, *Phrygia*, *Philea*, *Aulæum*, *Apollonia*, *Anchialus*, and *Meſembria*. *Byzantium*, now known by the name of *Conſtantinople*, was founded, according to *Euſebius* [x], about the XXXth olympiad, while *Tullus Hoſtilius* reigned at *Rome*; but *Diodorus Siculus* will have the foundations of this city to have been laid in the time of the *Argonauts*, by one *Byſas*, who then reigned in the neighbouring country, and from whoſe name the city was called *Byzantium* [y]. This *Byſas*, if *Euſtathius* is to be credited [z], arrived in *Thrace* a little before the *Argonauts* came into thoſe ſeas, and ſettled there with a colony of *Megarenſes*. *Velleius Paterculus* aſcribes the glory of founding this great metropolis
b to the *Mileſians* [a]; and *Ammianus Marcellinus* to the inhabitants of *Attica* [b]. Some ancient medals of *Byzantium*, which have reached our times, bear the name and head of *Byſas*, with the prow of a ſhip on the reverſe, probably of that ſhip which brought him into *Thrace*. *Juſtin* was greatly miſtaken as to the origin and founder of this city, when he wrote, that *Pauſanias* king of *Lacedæmon* built it, ſince it is certain, that *Pauſanias* took it from the *Perſians*, who had made themſelves maſters of it before the king of *Lacedæmon* had ever ſet foot in *Aſia* [c]. It underwent many revolutions, having been ſometimes ſubject to the *Perſians*, ſometimes to the *Lacedæmonians*, and ſometimes to the *Athenians*. It is not without reaſon that *Byzantium* was looked upon by the ancients as the moſt pleaſantly, and alſo the moſt conveniently
c ſituated for trade of any city in the world; but we ſhall have occaſion hereafter to ſpeak of it more at length. *Perinthus* was founded, according to *Stephanus*, by a companion of *Oreſtes* bearing that name, and afterwards called *Heraclea*, from *Hercules*, who conquered it. *Ammianus Marcellinus* tells us, that it was built by *Hercules*; but *Marcianus* of *Heraclea* will have it to be a colony of the *Samians*. *Euſebius* ſays it was founded in the XLIVth olympiad, which was many years after the time of *Hercules*. This city maintained its liberty againſt *Philip* the ſon of *Amyntas*, after all the other cities of *Thrace* had ſubmitted to him.

THE inland cities of *Thrace* were, *Jemphorina*, the metropolis of the *Mædi*; *Pantalia*, the capital of the *Danthelitæ*; *Uſcudama*, the chief city of the *Beſſi*; *Philippo-*
d *polis*, built by *Philip* the father of *Alexander*, near the *Hebrus*; *Nicopolis*, founded by *Trajan* on the banks of the *Neſtus*; *Mulolitum*, ſtanding between the *Neſtus* and the *Hebrus*; *Tempyrum*, mentioned by *Ovid* [d] as ſituated on the banks of the *Hebrus*; *Adrianopolis*, built by *Adrian*, between the *Hebrus* and mount *Rhodope*; and *Plotinopolis*, ſo called from the wife of *Trajan*, that emperor having founded it.

THE mountains of this country, ſuch as may be proper to take notice of, are *Hæmus*, the higheſt of all the mountains in *Thrace*, and parting it from *Lower Myſia* to the north; *Rhodope*, the higheſt after mountain *Hæmus*, and famous among the poets for the fate of *Orpheus*; *Pangæus*, ſeparating *Thrace* from *Macedon*; and *Orbelus*, not far from the river *Neſtus*. *Hæmus* and *Rhodope* are two long chains of moun-
e tain, running almoſt in a parallel line from the confines of *Macedon* to the *Euxine* ſea. *Pomponius Mela* tells us, that, from one of the ſummits of mount *Hæmus*, one may diſcover the *Euxine* on one ſide, and the *Adriatic* on the other [e]; but herein he was certainly miſtaken. The rivers of note are, the *Hebrus*, which ſprings from mount *Hæmus*, and waters the territories of *Philippopolis*, *Adrianopolis*, *Plotinopolis*, and *Trajanopolis*, diſcharges itſelf by two mouths into the *Ægean* ſea, over-againſt the iſland of *Samothrace*; the *Strymon*, which riſes on mount *Pangæus*, on the borders of *Macedon*, and falls into the ſame ſea between *Amphipolis* and *Oeſyma*; the *Neſſus* or *Neſtus*, ſpringing from mount *Rhodope*, and diſemboguing itſelf into the ſea over-againſt the iſland of *Thaſus*; the *Melas*, the *Arzus*, the *Panyſus*; the firſt emptying
f itſelf into the *Ægean*, the ſecond into the *Propontis*, and the third into the *Euxine* ſea [f]. *Mountains and rivers.*

THE *Thracian Cherſoneſus* is a peninſula, incloſed on the ſouth by the *Ægean* ſea, on the weſt by the gulf of *Melas*, and on the eaſt by the *Helleſpont*, being joined on the north to the continent by a neck of land about thirty-ſeven furlongs broad. It contained the following cities, *Cardia*, *Agora*, *Panormus*, *Alopeconneſus*, *Elæus*, *Seſtus*, *The* Thracian Cherſoneſus.

[x] EUSEB. in Chron. [y] DIODOR. SICUL. l. v. [z] EUSTATH. in Dionyſ. [a] VEL. PATERC. l. ii. [b] AMMIAN. MARCEL. l. iii. [c] THUCYD. l. iii. HERODOT. l. iv. [d] OVID. Triſt. l. i. eleg. 9. [e] POMP. MELA, l. xi. c. 11. [f] Vide POMP. MELA, ibid. PLIN. l. iv. c. 11. STRABO, l. vii. p. 220.

Madytos,

Madytos, *Ciſſa*, *Callipolis*, *Lyſimachia*, and *Pactye*. *Cardia* was ſituated on the gulf a
of *Melas*, at the entrance into the peninſula, and ſo called, according to *Pliny* [g],
from its being built in the form of a heart. *Agora*, *Panormus* and *Alopeconneſus* ſtood
on the ſame gulf; the latter was ſo called from the great number of foxes which
infeſted its territory. *Pliny* [h], miſled by the name, which ſignifies in the original
Greek the *iſland of foxes*, took it to be an iſland; but all the other geographers ſpeak
of it as ſtanding on the *Cherſoneſus*. *Elæus* ſtood on the coaſt of the *Helleſpont* over-
againſt cape *Maſtuſia*, now *Capo Græco*. *Callipolis*, now *Gallipoli*, is placed by *Strabo*
and *Pliny* on the coaſt of the *Propontis*, near the northern mouth of the *Helleſpont*.
It gives its name to the famous ſtreights which divide *Europe* from *Aſia*. Of *Seſtos*
and *Lyſimachia* we ſpoke in the hiſtories of *Perſia* and *Syria*. As for the other cities b
of the *Cherſoneſus*, they contain nothing worthy notice.

Soil. THE inland parts of *Thrace* are very cold and barren, the ſnow lying on the mountains the greateſt part of the year; but the maritime provinces are productive of all ſorts of grain, and neceſſaries for life, and withal ſo pleaſant, that *Mela* compares them to the moſt fruitful and agreeable countries of *Aſia* [i].

Manners, religion, &c. THE ancient *Thracians* were deemed a brave and warlike nation; but of a cruel and ſavage temper, being, generally ſpeaking, quite ſtrangers to all humanity and good-nature. In point of religion they ſcarce differed from the *Macedonians* their neighbours, adoring *Jupiter*, *Hercules*, *Diana*, *Bacchus*, and more eſpecially *Mars* and *Hermes* or *Mercury*, by whoſe name alone their kings uſed to ſwear, pretending c
to be deſcended from him [k]. *Herodotus* gives us the following account of their cuſtoms and manners: When a child is born, his relations ſitting round him in a circle, deplore his condition, on account of the evils he muſt ſuffer in the courſe of his life, enumerating the various calamities incident to mankind; but when any one dies, they inter him with great rejoicing, repeating the miſeries he has exchanged for a complete happineſs. Among the *Creſtoneans*, who inhabit the mountainous parts of *Thrace*, each man has many wives, who, at his death, contend warmly, being ſupported by their ſeveral friends, who ſhall be accounted to have been the moſt dear to the husband. In the end, ſhe who is adjudged to have merited that honour, after having received great commendations, both from the men and women, is killed upon d
the grave by the neareſt of her relations, and buried in the ſame tomb with her huſband; which is a great mortification to the reſt, they being ever after looked upon by all with the utmoſt contempt [l]. The *Thracians* in general, as our hiſtorian tells us, ſell their children, and take no care of their daughters, ſuffering them to live with whom, and in what manner they pleaſe; nevertheleſs they keep a ſtrict guard over their wives, and purchaſe them of their relations at a very great rate. To be marked on the forehead is honourable; and a man without ſuch marks is accounted ignoble. Idleneſs is eſteemed an appendix of greatneſs; husbandry is looked upon as unbecoming, and to ſubſiſt by war and rapine highly glorious. The funerals of eminent perſons among them are celebrated in the following manner: they expoſe e
the dead body to public view for three days, during which time they perform their lamentations, and ſacrifice to the infernal gods various ſorts of animals. When the ſacrifices are over, they either burn or bury the body in the ground, and having thrown up a mound of earth over the grave, they apply themſelves to feaſting, and celebrate all manner of combats and ſports round the place [m].

Government and inhabitants. *Thrace* was anciently divided into numberleſs kingdoms quite independent of each other. *Herodotus* tells us, that if the *Thracians* had been either under the government of one prince, or unanimous in their counſels, they would have been the moſt powerful nation in the world; but that they were no-ways formidable, being divided, as it were, into many different nations, and ever at variance among themſelves [n]. f
Theſe different nations were the *Dolonci*, *Denſeletæ*, *Beſſi*, *Biſtones*, *Odomantes*, *Cicones*, *Edoni*, *Brygi*, *Thyni*, *Pieres*, *Odryſæ*, *Autonomi*, *Crobyzi*, *Mœdi*, *Sapæi*, and *Celetæ*.

Dolonci. The *Dolonci* were ſo called from *Doloncus* one of their kings, who, according to *Euſtathius*, firſt introduced polygamy among them [o]. At the time of *Darius*'s expedition into *Greece*, they were poſſeſſed of the *Thracian Cherſoneſus*, and governed by princes of the family of *Miltiades*, who acquired the ſovereignty in the following manner: The *Dolonci* having ſuffered much in a war againſt the *Abſynthians*, ſent ſome

[g] PLIN. l. iv. c. 11. [h] PLIN. l. iv. c. 12. [i] POMP. MELA, ibid. [k] HERODOT. l. v.
[l] Idem ibid. [m] Idem ibid. [n] HERODOT. l. v. ſub init. [o] EUSTATH. in Dionyſ.

of

a of their chief men to conſult the oracle of *Delphos* about the event of it. The *Pythian*, inſtead of anſwering the queſtion they propoſed, ordered them to deſire the firſt man, who, after their departure, ſhould invite them to lodge in his houſe, to lead a colony into their country. With this anſwer the *Dolonci* departed, and paſſing through the territory of the *Phocæans* and *Bœotians* without receiving any offer of entertainment, turned into the road of *Athens*. As they paſſed through *Athens*, *Miltiades*, the ſon of *Cypſelus*, ſeeing them cloathed and armed in a different manner from the *Athenians*, and knowing thereby that they were ſtrangers, invited them to lodge in his houſe. They accepted the invitation, and being hoſpitably entertained, acquainted him with the anſwer of the oracle, and exhorted him to comply with the admonition of
b the god. As *Miltiades* was grown weary of the government of *Piſiſtratus*, and wanted only ſome plauſible pretence to withdraw from *Athens*, he immediately went to conſult the *Delphian* oracle, whether he ſhould yield to the requeſt of the *Dolonci* or not; and having received an encouraging anſwer, he took with him ſuch of the *Athenians* as were willing to join in this expedition, and ſetting ſail for the *Cherſoneſus* with the *Dolonci*, was, upon his arrival, inveſted with the ſovereign power. The firſt thing he did after he was raiſed to the throne, was to build a wall upon the iſthmus of the *Cherſoneſus*, from the city of *Cardia* to that of *Pactya*, to prevent the *Abſynthians* from infeſting the country for the future with their incurſions. Having completed this work, he, in the next place, made war on the *Lampſacenians*, and
c falling into an ambuſcade, was taken by the enemy; but *Cræſus* king of *Lidya*, who had a great eſteem for him, being acquainted with his misfortune, diſpatched a meſſenger to *Lampſacus*, with orders to demand the liberty of *Miltiades*; and to let them know, that in caſe they refuſed to comply with his demand, *he would uſe them like pines*. The *Lampſacenians*, differing in their opinion about the meaning of that menace, were not a little perplexed at this meſſage; but one of their ſenators obſerving, that of all trees the pine alone periſhes intirely when cut down, without leaving any ſhoots, they immediately ſet *Miltiades* at liberty, and ſent him home without ranſom. Having thus, by means of *Cræſus*, eſcaped ſlavery, he reſumed the government; but died ſoon after, leaving the kingdom, as he had no children of his own, to *Steſagoras*,
d the ſon of his brother *Cimon*. The *Dolonci* honoured his memory with ſacrifices, celebrating annually on this occaſion gymnaſtic and equeſtrian exerciſes, no *Lampſacenian* being permitted to contend at them for the prize [p]. During the war, which ſtill continued with the people of *Lampſacus*, *Steſagoras* likewiſe died without children, being mortally wounded with the blow of an ax which he received on the head from one who pretended to be a deſerter. After his death the ſons of *Piſiſtratus* ſent *Miltiades* the ſon of *Cimon*, and brother of *Steſagoras*, to the *Cherſoneſus* with one ſhip, to take upon him the government of that peninſula. On his arrival he kept himſelf retired, under colour of honouring the memory of his brother *Steſagoras*; which the *Cherſoneſians* hearing, ſent the chief men of each city to his houſe, to condole with him in
e the name of the whole nation. As he found that they had no inclination to beſtow the crown upon him, he cauſed all thoſe to be ſeized who were come to viſit him, and by that means reduced, with the few troops he had, the cities thus deſtitute of their leading men. In the third year of his government he abandoned his dominions, not daring to wait the coming of the *Scythian* nomades, who having been irritated by the expedition of *Darius*, had aſſembled their forces, and were advancing to the frontiers of the *Cherſoneſus*. Upon the departure of the *Scythians*, he was re-inſtated in the ſovereignty by a ſtrong party he had among the *Dolonci*. In the ſixth year of his reign the *Phœnicians*, who attended *Darius* in his expedition into *Greece*, being arrived at *Tenedos*, with a deſign to invade the *Cherſoneſus*, he put all his riches on
f board five ſhips, and ſailed for *Athens*. The *Phœnicians*, upon his retreat, made themſelves maſters of the *Cherſoneſus*; and on this occaſion it was that the *Byzantians* and *Chalcedonians*, leaving their ancient habitations, fled to the coaſts of the *Euxine* ſea, and there built the city of *Meſambria* [q]. This is all we can gather from the ancients concerning the *Dolonci*.

THE *Denſeletæ* are mentioned by *Tully* [r], *Pliny* [s], *Strabo* [t], who calls them *Denthelitæ*, and *Livy* [u]. All we know of them is, that they had at firſt a king of their own; that they were afterwards reduced by the *Macedonians*; that they aſſiſted Denſeletæ.

[p] HERODOT. l. vi. [q] Idem ibid. [r] Cic. orat. in Piſon. [s] PLIN. l. iv. c. 11. [t] STRAB. l. vii. [u] Liv. l. ix. decad. 4.

the *Romans* againſt *Philip* and *Perſes* kings of *Macedon*, and continued faithful to *Rome*, till being provoked by the oppreſſions and cruelties of *Piſo*, they took up arms againſt him, and committed great devaſtations in the neighbouring countries ſubject to the *Romans* [w]. In the reign of *Auguſtus* they were ſtill governed by their own princes; for we find one *Sitas* mentioned by *Dion Caſſius* [x] as reigning over them, and making war upon the *Baſtarnæ*, whom he intirely defeated with the troops ſent to his aſſiſtance by *Craſſus*, at that time prætor of *Macedon*. a

Beſſi. THE *Beſſi* inhabited mount *Hæmus*, living there in huts, and maintaining themſelves by plundering their neighbours. They were by far the moſt ſavage and inhumane of all the *Thracians*, as appears from St. *Jerom* [y], *Paulinus* of *Nola* [z], *Eutropius* [a], aud *Ovid* [b], who make particular mention of their cruelty. Their chief city, *Uſcudama*, is now known by the name of *Adrianople*. They lived under their own kings, the neighbouring princes not thinking it worth their while to diſturb them, till the conſulate of *M. Licinius Lucullus* and *C. Caſſius Varus*; that is, to the 681ſt year of *Rome*, when the conſul *Lucullus* invaded their country, and having gained a ſignal victory over them, took their metropolis, and ſubjected the whole nation to the *Roman* laws [c]. The *Romans*, notwithſtanding they had reduced them by force of arms, ſtill ſuffered them to live under their own kings; for *Piſo*, while he governed *Macedon* in quality of proconſul, having treacherouſly ſeized *Rabocentus*, whom *Suetonius* calls prince of the *Beſſi*, cauſed him to be publicly beheaded; which affront ſo exaſperated the whole nation, that they ſhook off the *Roman* yoke; but were overthrown in a great battle by *Octavius* the father of *Auguſtus* [d]. During the civil wars of *Rome*, they attempted anew to recover their liberty; but were again conquered by the famous *M. Brutus junior* [e]. In the reign of *Auguſtus*, one *Vologæſes*, a native of the country, and prieſt of *Bacchus*, having, under pretence of religion, drawn to himſelf great crowds of people, made himſelf maſter of the whole country; and entering the *Cherſoneſus*, committed there moſt dreadful ravages; but was at laſt overcome by *L. Piſo*, who obliged the ſavage inhabitants to lay down their arms, and ſubmit to ſuch conditions as he was pleaſed to impoſe upon them. From this time the *Beſſi* continued ſubject to the *Romans*, without making any further attempts towards the recovery of their ancient liberty [f]. b c d

Biſtones. THE *Biſtones* inhabited that part of *Thrace*, which lies between mount *Rhodope* to the north, the river *Hebrus* to the eaſt, the *Neſſus* to the weſt, and the *Ægean* ſea to the ſouth. Their metropolis *Tinda* is famous among the poets on account of the fabulous horſes of *Diomedes* king of this country. The *Biſtones* underwent the ſame fate as the other people of *Thrace*, having been firſt ſubdued by the *Macedonians*, and afterwards by the *Romans*.

Odomantes. THE *Odomantes* bordered on *Macedon*, being parted from that country by the river *Strymon*. *Pliny* confounds them with the *Odryſæ* [g]; but *Thucydides* ſpeaks of them as a diſtinct people [h]. *Suidas*, upon the authority of *Ariſtophanes*, tells us, that they uſed circumciſion. In the time of the *Peloponneſian* war they were governed by *Polles*, the only king of the *Odomantes* we find mentioned in hiſtory, who, in that war, ſided with the *Athenians*, as we read in *Thucydides* [i]. e

Cicones. THE *Cicones* inhabited the country lying between the *Hebrus* and the *Mælas*, and are mentioned by *Homer* [k], *Virgil* [l], *Ovid* [m] and *Pliny* [n]. The city of *Ænos*, famous on account of the tomb of *Polydorus*, was their capital. *Homer* ſpeaks of three of their kings, *viz. Pirous*, *Imbraſus* and *Rhigmus*. *Pirous*, if that poet is to be credited, eſpouſed the cauſe of the *Trojans*, add was killed by *Thoas* the *Ætolian* [o]. *Rhigmus*, his ſon and ſucceſſor, was killed in the ſame war by *Achilles* [p].

Edoni. THE *Edoni* or *Edones* poſſeſſed that country which lay between the *Strymon* and the famous city of *Philippi*, and are mentioned by *Herodotus* [q], *Thucydides* [r], *Pliny* [s], &c. *Thamyris*, the celebrated muſician, was a native of this country. He is ſaid to have been the diſciple of *Linus*, and contemporary with *Hercules* and *Orpheus*. He was ſo eminent for his skill in muſic, that he had the confidence to challenge the muſes f

[w] Cic. ibid. [x] Dio. Cass. l. li. [y] Hieron. in epitaph. Nepotiani. [z] Paul. Nolan. carm. 17. ad Nicet. ver. 206. [a] Eutrop. l. vi. c. 8. [b] Ovid. Triſt. l. iv. eleg. i. [c] Eutrop. ibid. Oros. l. vi. c. 3. Hiſt. Miſcel. l. vi. Flor. in epit. l. xcvii. [d] Suet. in Octav. [e] Dion Cass. l. xlvii. [f] Dion. Cass. l. liv. Flor. l. iv. c. 12. [g] Plin. l. iv. c. 11. [h] Thucyd. l. 2. [i] Idem, l. v. [k] Homer. Iliad. β'. [l] Virg. Georg. l. iv. [m] Ovid. Metam. x. [n] Plin. l. iv. c. 11. [o] Homer. Iliad. β' & ε'. [p] Idem, Iliad. υ'. [q] Herodot. l. vii. [r] Thucyd. l. v. [s] Plin. l. iv. c. 11.

them-

a themſelves, by whom he was overcome, and deprived both of his art and ſight [t]. The *Edoni* were governed by kings, like the other *Thracian* nations. The following princes are mentioned by the ancients, *viz. Dryas* I. *Lycurgus*, *Dryas* II. and *Pittacus*. *Dryas* is mentioned by *Apollodorus* [u] and *Ovid* [w]; *Lycurgus* by *Virgil* [x], *Apollodorus* [y], *Hyginus* [z], and *Diodorus Siculus* [a], who tells us, that he made war with *Bacchus*. *Dryas* II. was killed, according to *Apollodorus* and *Hyginus* [b], by his father *Lycurgus*. *Pittacus* lived in the time of the *Peloponneſian* war, and was murdered, as *Thucydides* informs us [c], by the children of *Goaxes*, another petty prince of *Thrace*.

Brygi. ALL we know of the *Brygi* is, that they were ſubdued by *Mardonius*, and ſerved
b under, *Xerxes* when he invaded *Greece* [d]. Of the *Thyni* we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak Thyni. in the hiſtory of the *Bithynians*. The *Pieres* firſt inhabited part of *Macedon*, where Pieres. they conſecrated to the muſes, from them called *Pierides*, the countries of *Pieria*, *Libetrus* and *Pimplia*, as they did alſo *Helicon* in *Bœotia*, having ſent ſome colonies into that country. Being driven out of *Macedon* by the *Temenidæ*, they ſettled under mount *Pangæus* near the banks of the *Strymon*. Thoſe who had ſettled in *Bœotia* were likewiſe driven from thence; and on this occaſion it was that they ſettled in *Phocis*, and conſecrated mount *Parnaſſus* to the muſes [e]. The kings of the *Pieres* mentioned by the ancients are, *Atlas*, *Tharops* and *Oeager*. *Linus* and *Orpheus*, ſo much celebrated by the poets, were the ſons of the latter [f].

c THE *Odryſæ* poſſeſſed great part of that country which lies between the mountains Odryſæ. of *Hæmus* and *Rhodope*, and were by far the moſt powerful people of all *Thrace*. When this kingdom began, is uncertain; *Ovid* [g] will have *Eumolpus*, who waged war with *Erechtheus* king of *Athens*, to have been the founder of the kingdom of the *Odryſæ*. However that be, it is certain that the *Odryſæ* made no figure till the reign *Kings of the* Odryſæ. of *Teres*, who was contemporary with *Perdiccas* II. king of *Macedon*. He was the Sitalces. ſon of *Sitalces* the firſt king of the *Odryſæ* whom we find mentioned in hiſtory. *Sitalces* attended *Xerxes* in his expedition into *Greece*, and loſt his life in that war, as we read in *Æſchylus* [h]. He was ſucceeded by *Teres*, the firſt, according to *Thucydides* [i], who Teres. raiſed the kingdom of the *Odryſæ* above the other petty ſtates of *Thrace*; whence he
d is called by that writer the firſt king of the *Odryſæ*. He reduced great part of *Thrace*, and made himſelf formidable to the neighbouring princes; but was at laſt overthrown in a great battle by the *Thini*. He died in the ninety-ſecond year of his age, having ſpent moſt part of his life in waging war with the other kings of *Thrace* [k]; for *Plutarch* tells us, that he uſed to ſay there was no difference between a pacific king and a groom [l].

Sitalces II. HE was ſucceeded by his ſon *Sitalces*, who entered into an alliance with the *Athe-*
nians againſt the *Lacedæmonians*, and even delivered up to the former the embaſſadors who had been ſent to his court from *Sparta*, in order to perſuade him to abandon his allies. He received into his kingdom, and entertained with great magnificence,
e *Scylis* king of the *Scythians*, who had been driven out of his kingdom, for attempting to introduce among his ſubjects the cuſtoms of the *Greeks*; but *Oſtamaſas*, the baniſhed king's brother, who had been raiſed to the throne, threatening to invade *Thrace* with a very numerous army, unleſs *Sitalces* delivered up the fugitive prince into his hands, he choſe rather to betray his gueſt, than engage in ſo dangerous a war. This prince afterwards made war upon the *Pæonians*, *Macedonians* and *Chalcedonians*, in which he is ſaid by *Thucydides* to have had one hundred and fifty thouſand men under his command [m]. In all theſe expeditions he was attended with good ſucceſs, which ſtruck ſuch terror into the other princes of *Thrace*, that moſt of them voluntarily ſubmitted to him; inſomuch that, at his death, he was poſſeſſed of all
f thoſe provinces, which extend from the city of *Abdera* on the *Ægean* ſea, to the mouth of the *Iſter*, which diſcharges itſelf into the *Euxine* ſea [n]. *Sitalces* dying with-
Scuthes. out children, left the kingdom to *Scuthes* the ſon of his brother *Spardocus*, who having married *Stratonice* the daughter of *Perdiccas* II. king of *Macedon*, entered into an

[t] Vide HOMER. Iliad. β'. PLATO, dialog. 8. de legib. DIODOR. SICUL. l. iii. c. ult. PAUSAN. in Atticis, & NATAL. COM. l. vi. c. 14. [u] APOLLODOR. l. iii. [w] OVID. in Ibin. [x] VIRG. Æneid. 3. [y] APOLLODOR. ibid. [z] HYGIN. fab. 132. [a] DIODOR. SICUL. l. iii. c. 5. [b] APOLLODOR. & HYGIN. ibid. [c] THUCYD. l. iv. [d] HERODOT. l. vi. [e] THUCYD. l. ii. STRABO, l. ix. [f] Vide DIODOR. SICUL. l. iii. c. 5. EUSEB. de præpar. evang. l. x. c. 2. [g] OVID. l. ii. de Ponto, eleg. 9. [h] ÆSCHYL. Perſis. [i] THUCYD. l. ii. [k] THUCYD. l. i. XENOPH. Anab. l. vii. [l] PLUT. in apoph. [m] THUCYD. l. ii. [n] Idem ibid. HERODOT. l. iv. & vii. DIODOR. SICUL. l. xii.

alliance

alliance with that prince, and being aſſiſted by him, made ſeveral new acquiſitions, a
Amadocus. extending the confines of his dominions even beyond mount *Hæmus* [o]. *Amadocus*
Meſades. and *Meſades*, the ſons of *Scuthes*, ſucceeded each other in the kingdom; but performed
Scuthes II. nothing worth mentioning. *Scuthes* II. who ſucceeded his father *Meſades*, ſubdued the *Thyni*, joined the *Lacedæmonians* againſt the *Perſians*, obtained a conſiderable victory over the *Athenians*, who had made a deſcent on the coaſts of *Thrace*, &c. But as he was obliged to lay heavy taxes on his ſubjects to defray the expences of the many wars he was engaged in, the chief lords of his kingdom entering into a conſpiracy againſt him, drove him from the throne; however, he was afterwards
Cotys. reſtored by *Iphicrates*, and left the kingdom to *Cotys* the ſon of *Amadocus* [p]. *Cotys* was a moſt voluptuous prince; but at the ſame time a man of courage and reſolu- b
tion. He maintained, during the whole time of his reign, a war with the *Athenians*, and was at laſt aſſaſſinated by *Python* and *Heraclidas*, both natives of *Ænos*, who, after the murder, flying to *Athens*, were kindly received by the *Athenians*, made free of their city, and preſented with crowns of gold, for having thus delivered
Cerſobleptes. them from ſo troubleſome an enemy [q]. Upon his death his ſon *Cerſobleptes* took poſſeſſion of the kingdom, which the *Athenians* obliged him to divide with his two brothers *Beriſades* and *Amadocus*. The *Cherſoneſus* he gave up to the *Athenians*, chuſing rather to part with that peninſula, than engage in a war againſt ſo powerful an enemy. However, he could not avoid coming to a rupture with *Philip* the father of *Alexander*, by whom he was overcome, and ſtripped of great part of his dominions [r]. He died after a reign of eleven years, leaving the kingdom to his ſon
Scuthes III. *Scuthes*, who was then an hoſtage at the court of *Philip* king of *Macedon*, who imme- c
diately ſent him home to take poſſeſſion of the throne; but he was ſcarce well ſeated in it, when he fell upon the *Macedonians* who inhabited the countries which had been taken from his father, drove them quite out, and recovered all the provinces which had formerly belonged to the kingdom of the *Odryſæ*. Theſe he held under *Alexander the Great*, whom he aſſiſted againſt the *Perſians*; but, upon that prince's death, he marched againſt *Lyſimachus* at the head of twenty thouſand foot, and eight thouſand horſe, proteſting, that he would not ſubmit to the diviſion which the captains of *Alexander* had made. He engaged *Lyſimachus* twice; in the firſt battle no conſiderable advantage was gained on either ſide; but in the ſecond *Scuthes* was intirely routed, and his army cut in pieces [s]. He died ſoon after this overthrow, d
Ariopharnes. and was ſucceeded by his brother *Ariopharnes*, who having, on his acceſſion to the throne, eſpouſed the cauſe of *Eumelus* againſt *Satyrus* king of *Boſphorus*, was by the latter overthrown, with the loſs almoſt of his whole army [t]; which ſo grieved him, that he died ſoon after.

Scuthes IV. Next to him reigned *Scuthes* IV. who, as we read in *Livy*, was attacked in the heart of his dominions by *Philip* the father of *Perſes*, and by that prince reduced to great ſtraits, having loſt *Philippopolis*, and ſeveral other ſtrong holds [u]. *Scuthes* was
Cotys. II. ſucceeded by *Cotys* II. who joined *Perſes* againſt the *Romans*, aſſiſting him with a body of a thouſand choſen horſe; but *Eumenes* king of *Pergamus* having ſtirred up againſt him a neighbouring prince named *Atlesbis*, and ſent a body of troops into his e
dominions, under the command of *Corrabus*, one of his generals, *Cotys* was obliged to leave *Perſes*, and haſten to the defence of his own kingdom. As he had been ever faithful to *Perſes*, and almoſt the only ally on whom he could depend, the king of *Macedon* followed him in perſon, put the *Pergamians* and *Thracians*, who infeſted his territories, to flight, retook the cities he had loſt, and reſtored tranquillity to his dominions. *Perſes*, on his parting with *Cotys* to return to *Macedon*, diſtributed two hundred talents among the *Thracians*, who had ſerved under him the laſt campaign; but as this was only ſix months pay, whereas he had promiſed a whole year's, *Cotys* taking it amiſs that his men ſhould be thus defrauded of what was their due, refuſed to aſſiſt him the enſuing year, and no ſooner heard he was defeated and taken by the f
Romans than he ſent embaſſadors to *Rome* to congratulate the ſenate on the ſucceſs of their army, and excuſe his joining *Perſes*. The embaſſadors were received very kindly by the ſenate, and the *Thracian* hoſtages, that had been taken together with
Diegylis. *Perſes*, reſtored to them without ranſom [w]. *Cotys* was ſucceeded by *Diegylis*, who

[o] Thucid. ibid. & l. iv. [p] Xenoph. ibid. [q] Demosthen. contra Ariſtocrat. Athen. l. xii. c. 14. [r] Demosthen. ibid. Polyæn. l. vii. Isocrat. orat. de pace. [s] Æschyn. de falſ. legat. Diodor. Sicul. l. xviii. Curt l. xi. [t] Diodor. Sicul. l. xx. [u] Liv. decad. 5 l. ii. & decad. 4. l. ix. [w] Liv. decad. 5. l. ii. & v. Zonar. Tom. II. Eutrop. l. iv. Oros. l. iv. c. 20. Hiſt. Miſcell. l. iv.

having

a having led a body of *Thracians* to the aſſiſtance of *Pruſias* his ſon-in-law, was defeated and taken priſoner by *Attalus* [x]; and this is all we know of him. *Sothymus* the ſon of *Diegylis* reigned at the time of the ſocial war, or the war between *Rome* and her *Italian* allies. Theſe domeſtic diviſions he improved to his advantage, invading *Greece*, and laying waſte *Macedon*, whence he returned with an immenſe booty; but was at laſt overcome, and obliged to abandon the countries he had poſſeſſed himſelf of, by *C. Sentius*, prætor of *Macedon* [y]. *Cotys* III. the ſon of *Sothymus*, ſucceeding his father, entered into an alliance with *Rome*, and prevailed upon *Piſo* proconſul of *Macedon*, by a preſent of three hundred talents, to put to death *Rabocentus* king of the *Beſſi*, and beſtow part of his dominions on him. In the civil war of *Rome* he ſent
b five hundred horſe to the aſſiſtance of *Pompey* [z]. *Cicero* and *Cæſar* call him *Cottus*; but *Lucan Cotys* [a]. His ſon *Saſales*, after his death, followed the ſame party, and had great ſhare in the ſignal victory which was gained over *L. Caſſius Longinus*. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the battle of *Pharſalia*; but nevertheleſs was pardoned by *Cæſar*. He died not long before the battle of *Philippi*, and left his kingdom, as he had no children, to the people of *Rome*; but *M. Brutus* ſeized it after *Cæſar*'s death [b]. *Plutarch* tells us, that he was ſtill alive at the time of the battle of *Actium*, and ſerved in that war under *Antony* [c]. That writer calls him *Sadalus*, as does alſo *Cicero*; but we have followed *Cæſar*, who gives him the name of *Saſales*. Tho' he had bequeathed his dominions to the *Romans*, yet *M. Brutus* beſtowed them on his
c brother *Cotys*, who dying ſoon after, left them to his ſon *Rhymetalces*, who being, at his father's death, under-age, was carefully educated, together with his brother *Rhaſciporis*, by *Rhymetalces* their uncle by the mother. Both brothers ſerved under *Tiberius* in the *Pannonic* war, and had a great ſhare in the victories he gained over thoſe barbarians [d]. Upon the death of *Rhymetalces*, *Auguſtus* divided his kingdom between *Rhaſciporis* his brother, and *Cotys* his ſon. In this partition the cities and countries bordering upon *Greece* fell to *Cotys*, and the mountainous and barren provinces to *Rhaſciporis*; who thereupon invading his nephew's dominions, ſeized the moſt fruitful parts of them for himſelf. *Cotys*, thus provoked, raiſed a powerful army; but while the two princes were ready to take the field, *Tiberius*, who had
d ſucceeded *Auguſtus* in the empire, diſpatched meſſengers to them, ordering them to lay down their arms, and refer the deciſion of their differences to the arbitration of the *Roman* people. *Cotys* forthwith diſmiſſed his army, and, at the requeſt of *Rhaſciporis*, came to an interview with him, where he was treacherouſly ſeized, and loaded with chains, *Rhaſciporis* pretending that he had formed a deſign of ſeizing him. When news of theſe proceedings were brought to *Rome*, *Tiberius* diſpatched meſſengers to *Rhaſciporis*, enjoying him to ſend *Cotys* to *Rome*, and to appear himſelf in perſon before the ſenate, to give an account of the whole matter; ſince neither he nor the ſenate could pronounce ſentence without hearing the cauſe. Hereupon *Rhaſciporis* cauſed *Cotys* to be murdered, giving out that he had laid violent hands on
e himſelf. This *Tiberius* feigned to believe; but however inſiſted upon the king's coming to *Rome*; which he refuſing to do, *Tiberius* preferred to the government of *Mæſia*, which bordered on the country of the *Odryſæ*, *Pomponius Flaccus*, an intimate friend of the king's, who having treacherouſly drawn him into the *Roman* territories, cauſed him to be ſeized, and ſent to *Rome*, where he was accuſed by the wife of *Cotys*, and being convicted of the crimes laid to his charge, condemned to exile, and ſent to *Alexandria*. He was ſoon after put to death by an order from *Tiberius*, for attempting to fly from the place of his baniſhment [e]. This prince is called by *Dion Caſſius* *Rhaſcipolis*; by *Tacitus* *Rheſcuporis*; by *Velleius* *Rhaſcupolis*. Upon the baniſhment of *Rhaſciporis* the kingdom was divided between *Rhemetalces* his ſon, who had oppoſed
f all his father's meaſures, and the ſons of *Cotys*. As theſe were minors, *Trebellienus* *Rufus* was appointed their guardian, and charged with the adminiſtration. The ſons of *Cotys* having ſome how or other diſobliged the emperor *Caligula*, were by him driven out of their kingdom, which was conferred upon *Rhemetalces*, who by this means became the ſole maſter of all the countries that had ever belonged to the *Odryſæ* [f]. From this time we find no mention made of the *Odryſæ* till the reign of *Veſpaſian*, who, as we read in *Suetonius* [g], reduced their country to a *Roman* province.

Sothymus.

Cotys III.

Saſales.

Cotys IV. Rhymetalces.

Rhaſciporis *and* Cotys V.

Rhemetalces.

[x] Strabo, l. xiii. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 2. [y] Oros. l. v. c. 18. Hiſt. Miſcel. l. v. [z] Cic. in Piſon. Cæs. de bell. civil. l. iii. Lucan. l. v. [a] Cic. Cæs. Lucan. ibid. [b] Dio, l. xli & xlvii. Cæs. l. iii. de bell. civil. Lucan. l. v. [c] Plut. in Anton. [d] Tacitus, Annal. l. ii. Suet. in Tiber. Dio, l. xliv. Velleii. Patercul. l. ultim. [e] Dio. Caſs. l. lv. Tacitus, Annal. l. ii, iii, iv. [f] Suet. in Veſpaſ.

The Autonomi. The *Autonomi*, ſo called becauſe every man among them was a law to himſelf, a inhabited the moſt rocky and barren places of *Thrace*, being ſeparated from *Mæſia* by mount *Hæmus* [g]. *Herodotus* calls them ſometimes *Autonomi*, and ſometimes *Satræ* [h]. They were, according, to that writer, the moſt gallant and warlike people of all *Thrace*. They were not afraid even to engage *Alexander*, and on that occaſion behaved with extraordinary valour; but their army was cut in pieces, their baggage taken, and their wives and children made priſoners. After this overthrow they ſubmitted to the conqueror, who, to prevent them from revolting in his abſence, took along with him into *Aſia* all the chief men of their nation [i]. They ſerved under *Perſes* againſt the *Romans*; but however were allowed to live according to their own laws till the reign of *Veſpaſian*, who made their country part of the province of b

Crobyzi. *Thrace*. The *Crobyzi* poſſeſſed that part of *Thrace* which lay between mount *Hæmus*, and the *Euxine* ſea. They are mentioned by *Herodotus* [k], and *Athenæus*, the laſt writer telling us, that they had kings of their own, and amongſt others one *Iſanthus*, who was one of the moſt wealthy and comely princes of his age [l].

Mœdi. The *Mœdi* inhabited that part of *Thrace* which bordered upon *Macedon*, and are mentioned by moſt of the ancients, namely, by *Thucydides* [m], *Plutarch* [n], *Vegetius* [o], *Pliny* [p], *Livy* [q], *Stephanus*, &c. who all tell us, that they were a brave and gallant nation, ſtrangers to all manner of effeminacy, and inured to the fatigues of war. Their warlike temper gave occaſion to poets to feign, as *Vegetius* obſerves [r], that *Mars* the god of war was born in their country. However, they were reduced by c *Philip* the ſon of *Amyntas*; but having ſhaken off the yoke while he was employed againſt the *Byzantii*, they were anew ſubdued by his ſon *Alexander*, who poſſeſſed himſelf of their metropolis, called formerly *Jampharina*; but from him *Alexandropolis* [s]. But notwithſtanding the great loſs they ſuſtained on this occaſion, *Alexander* no ſooner left, *Macedon* than they invaded that country anew, and penetrated as far as *Greece*, committing every-where moſt dreadful ravages; and thus they continued to haraſs the *Macedonians*, till that kingdom became a *Roman* province, when they were at laſt, after a long war, intirely reduced by the *Romans*, in the conſulate of *Cn. Octavius*, and *C. Scribonius*, in the year of *Rome* 675. They had ſome years before plundered the rich temple of *Delphos*, and with part of the booty bribed *L.* d *Scipio*, who had been ſent againſt them, to let them depart unmoleſted, and even to conclude an alliance with them [t]. To this ſacrilegious connivance of the *Roman* general, *Appian* aſcribes the civil wars, and the many calamities which not long after fell upon *Rome* [u].

Sapæi. The country of the *Sapæi* lay between the rivers *Melas* and *Arzus*, bordering on the gulf of *Melas*, on the *Cherſoneſus*, and the *Propontis*. The *Sapæi* were governed by their own kings. Thoſe, whoſe names have reached us, are, *Olorus*, *Timotheus*, *Rhaſcipolis*, *Rhaſcus*, and *Cotys*. *Olorus* gave his daughter *Hegeſipole* in marriage to *Miltiades*, the ſecond of this name. From this *Olorus* was deſcended the father of *Thucydides* the hiſtorian, called alſo *Olorus*, as *Plutarch* informs us [w]; but at what e time, or on what occaſion he ſettled at *Athens*, is uncertain. *Thucydides* had great poſſeſſions and rich mines in *Thrace* [x]; and although they might have come to him by his wife, who was a native of *Scapte-Hyle*, as ſome have affirmed, yet it is manifeſt from *Plutarch* [y], *Cicero* [z], and *Ammianus Marcellinus* [a], that the great men of that country looked upon him as nearly related to them before his marriage. *Timotheus* is mentioned by *Ammianus Marcellinus* as reigning in this part of *Thrace*; but neither he nor other writers give us any account of his actions. *Rhaſcipolis* and *Rhaſcus* reigned many years, or rather ages, after *Olorus*; that is, in the time of the civil wars between *Cæſar* and *Pompey*; but as to the actions, and even the names of the intermediate kings, we are quite in the dark, the works of *Calliſthenes* and *Socrates*, who wrote a f particular and diſtinct account of the affairs of *Thrace*, as *Plutarch* informs us [b], having been long ſince loſt. *Rhaſcipolis* and *Rhaſcus*, in the civil wars, ſided with *Pompey*, and afterwards with *Brutus*; but being pardoned by *Octavianus*, aſſiſted *Antony* with three thouſand horſe, till he fell out with *Octavianus*, when they both declared for the latter. *Cotys* was the ſon of one of theſe two brothers, ſucceeded them in the kingdom, and enjoyed it till the latter end of the reign of *Tiberius*, when

[g] Thucyd. l. ii. [h] Herodot. l. vii. [i] Arrian. l. i. Frontin. l. ii. c. 11. [k] Herodot. l. iv. [l] Athen. l. xii. c. 17. [m] Thucyd. l. ii. [n] Plut. in Æmil. Paul. [o] Veget. l. i. c. ult. [p] Plin. l. iv. c. 11. [q] Liv. decad. 3. l. vi. [r] Veget. ibid. [s] Plutarch. in Alexand. [t] Liv. decad. 3. l. vi. Polyb. l. x. Appian. in Illyric. [u] Appian. ibid. [w] Plut. in Cimon. [x] Thucyd. l. ii. [y] Plut. ibid. [z] Cic. l. ii. de orator. [a] Ammian. Marcellin. l. iii. [b] Plut. in Parall.

he

a he was treacherouſly murdered by his own ſubjects, and his kingdom reduced to the form of a province [c].

THE *Celetæ* inhabited part of mount *Hæmus*, and part of mount *Rhodope*, and are called by *Pliny* [d] the moſt ſavage of all the *Thracians*. *Livy* tells us, that they fell upon *Cn. Manlius*, as he was returning out of *Aſia* into *Europe*, and took from him great part of the booty which he had got by plundering ſome rich cities of *Gallogræcia* [e]. And this is all we find recorded of them in hiſtory. *Celetæ.*

THE *Thracian Cherſoneſus* had likewiſe its own kings, among whom mention is made of *Polymneſtor*, *Euſorus* and *Acamas*. *Polymneſtor* married *Ilione* the daughter of king *Priam*, and, after the deſtruction of *Troy*, treacherouſly murdered *Polydorus*, *Kings of the* Thracian Cherſoneſus.

b who had been ſent by his father *Priam* to be brought up at his court as in a place of ſafety [f]. *Hyginus* tells us, that *Polydorus* being ſent very young into *Thrace*, *Ilione* his ſiſter brought him up as the ſon of *Polymneſtor*; and that not *Polydorus*, but his own ſon *Deiphilus*, was murdered by the cruel *Polymneſtor*. *Euſorus* and *Acamas* are mentioned by *Homer* [g], and the latter ſaid to have led a body of *Thracians* to the relief of *Troy*, during the ſiege of which city he was killed by *Ajax*. His daughter *Acete* married *Æneus* a *Theſſalian*, by whom ſhe had *Cyzicus*, who built the famous city bearing his name [h]. Before we diſmiſs this ſubject, we cannot help obſerving, that the *Greeks* were chiefly indebted to the *Thracians* for the polite arts that flouriſhed among them; for *Orpheus*, *Linus*, *Muſæus*, *Thamyris*, and *Eumolpus*, all *Thracians*,

c were the firſt, as *Euſtathius* informs us [i], who charmed the inhabitants of *Greece* with their eloquence and melody, and perſuaded them to exchange their fierceneſs for a ſociable life and peaceful manners; nay, great part of *Greece* was anciently peopled by *Thracians*. *Tereus* a *Thracian* governed at *Daulis* in *Phocis*, where the tragical ſtory of *Philomela* and *Progne* was acted. From thence a body of *Thracians* paſſed over to *Eubœa*, and poſſeſſed themſelves of that iſland. Of the ſame nation were the *Aones*, *Tembices*, and *Hyanthians*, who made themſelves maſters of *Bœotia*; and great part of *Attica* itſelf was inhabited by *Thracians*, under the command of the celebrated *Eumolpus* [k]. It is not therefore without the utmoſt ingratitude and injuſtice that the *Greeks* ſtyle them *Barbarians*, ſince to them chiefly they were indebted both for the

d peopling and poliſhing of their country.

[c] APPIAN. l. iv. de bell. civil. DIO, l. xlvii. LUCAN. l. v. CÆS. de bell. civil. l. iii. [d] PLIN. l. iv. c. 7. [e] LIV. decad. 4. l. viii. [f] PLUT. in Parall. EURIPID. in Hecub. VIRGIL. Æneid. l. iii. ver. 45. & ſeq. OVID. Metam. l. xiii. [g] HOMER. Iliad. β′ & ζ′. [h] Scholiaſt. Apollonii, p. 149. [i] EUSTATH. in Iliad. β′. [k] STRABO, l. v. p. 392.

CHAP. VIII.

The Hiſtory of the ancient kingdom of EPIRUS.

e *EPIRUS*, the ancient kingdom of the *Æacidæ*, was at firſt called *Epirus Dodonæa*, that is, *the continent of the* Dodonæans, or the continent inhabited by the *Dodonæans*, and afterwards *Epirus*, or *the continent*, without any addition, that being the import of the *Greek* word *Epeiros*. It was bounded on the north by the *Ceraunian* mountains; on the ſouth by the *Ambracian* gulf; on the eaſt by *Theſſaly* and *Macedon*; and on the weſt by the *Ionian* ſea [l]. It was anciently divided into three diſtricts or provinces, namely, *Chaonia*, *Theſprotia*, and *Moloſſis*, to which ſome authors add *Caſſopia*, *Caſſiope* or *Ceſtrine*, and *Pindus*. *Chaonia*, the moſt northern part of *Epirus*, was ſo called from its ancient inhabitants the *Chaones*, who were deſcended, according to the ſcholiaſt of *Ariſtophanes*, from the *Thracians*; according to *Ariſtotle*, *Name, ſituation, &c.*

f from the *Oenotrii*, one of the moſt ancient nations of *Italy*. Cities of note in this part of *Epirus*, were, according to *Ptolemy*, *Oricum* or *Oricus*, ſituated on the coaſt of the *Ionian* ſea, at the foot of the *Ceraunian* mountains. It was founded, according to *Cities.*

[l] PTOLEM. l. iii. c. 14. PLIN. l. iv. c. 1. SOLIN. c. 12. POMP. MELA, l. ii. c. 1.

Pliny,

Pliny [m], by a colony from *Colchis*, had a famous harbour, and was in the *Roman* a
times a place of great note, but of no ſtrength, as we read in *Livy* and *Cæſar* [n]. *Caſſiope*, or *Caſſope*, famous on account of the temple of *Jupiter Caſſius*; whence ſome are of opinion that it borrowed its name. *Torrentius*, and moſt of the modern writers confound *Caſſiope* in *Epirus* with another city in the iſland of *Corcyra* bearing anciently the ſame name [o]. This city was the metropolis of the province *Caſſopia* or *Caſſiope*, which contained, according to *Strabo* [p] and *Pliny* [q], three other ſmall towns, *viz. Buchætium*, *Elatria*, and *Pandoſia*. The inland towns of *Chaonia* were, *Antigonia*, founded by *Antigonus*, *Phœnice*, *Hecatompedum*, *Omphalium*, *Elæus*, and the ſtrong town, or, as *Pliny* calls it [r], caſtle of *Chimera*, much frequented on account of its hot baths. The moſt remarkable cities in *Theſprotia*, which lay between the b
Ambracian lake and the ſea, were, *Buthrotum*, *Ephyra*, *Nicopolis* built by *Auguſtus* after the *Actiac* victory, and called by *Pliny* [s] a free city, and a *Roman* colony, *Mæandria*, *Cæſtria*, *Charadra*, and *Ambracia*. The latter city, which was one of the moſt conſiderable of *Epirus*, ſtood not far from the mouth of the river *Arachtus*, near the gulf to which it gave its name. It was in the *Roman* times a place of great ſtrength, as we have obſerved in the hiſtory of *Greece*, full of people, and about three miles in compaſs. In ancient times it was a free city; but afterwards reduced by the *Æacidæ* kings of *Epirus*, who choſe it for the place of their reſidence [t]. In proceſs of time the *Ætolians* made themſelves maſters of it, and held it till they were ſubdued by the *Romans* [u]. *Moloſſis* was an inland province, and, according to *Scylax*, c
only forty ſtades or furlongs in compaſs [w]. It was called *Moloſſis* from *Moloſſus* the ſon of *Pyrrhus* and *Andromache*, and contained the following cities, *Dodona*, *Paſſaron*, *Tecmon*, *Phylace*, and *Horreum*. *Dodona* is placed by ſome writers in *Theſporatia* [x], and by others in *Moloſſis* [y]; but *Strabo* [z] reconciles theſe two oppoſite opinions, by telling us, that anciently it belonged to *Theſporatia*, and afterwards to *Moloſſis*; for it ſtood on the confines of theſe two provinces. This city was once famous for the temple and oracle of *Jupiter Dodonæus*, much ſpoke of by all the ancient writers (K). The

[m] Plin. l. iii. c. 23. [n] Liv. l. xxiv. c. 40. Cæs. de bell. civil. l. iii. c. 7, 8, 15. [o] Vide Jac. Palmerium, l. ii. Antiq. Græc. c. 4. [p] Strabo, l. vii. p. 223. [q] Plin. l. iv. c. 1. [r] Idem ibid. [s] Idem ibid. [t] Polyb. legat. 28. Pomp. Mela, l. xi. c. 1. Strabo, l. vii. p. 225. [u] Florus, l. xi. c. 9. Liv. l. xxxviii. c. 6. [w] Scylax, in Periplo. [x] Marcian. Capella, l. vi. [y] Pausan. in Attic. c. xvii. [z] Strabo, l. vii. p. 227.

(K) The city of *Dodona* is ſaid to have been built by *Deucalion*, who, in that univerſal deluge, retreated to this place, which, by reaſon of its height, ſecured him from the waters. Hither reſorted to him all thoſe who had eſcaped from the inundation. With theſe he peopled his new-built city, calling it *Dodona*, according to ſome, from a ſea nymph of that name, according to others, from *Dodon* the ſon, or *Dodone* the daughter of *Jupiter* and *Europa*. At the ſame time *Deucalion* is ſaid to have founded a temple, which he conſecrated to *Jupiter*, who is from thence ſtyled *Dodonæus*. This was the firſt temple of *Greece*; for the *Epirots* were anciently reckoned among the *Greeks*. But the oracle ſeems to have been a conſiderable time before it; for *Herodotus* (83) tells us, that it was the moſt ancient of all the oracles of *Greece*, which could not be true, if it had not been before *Deucalion*'s time; for he having eſcaped the deluge, adviſed with the oracle of *Themis* on mount *Parnaſſus*, about the means he ſhould uſe to re-people the country; and the ſame oracle is ſaid to have belonged to the *earth* and *Neptune* before it was poſſeſſed by *Themis*. *Herodotus* (84) gives us two accounts of the origin of this oracle: in the firſt, which he received from the prieſts of *Jupiter* at *Thebes* in *Egypt*, he tells us, that the *Phœnicians* having carried away two prieſteſſes from that place, and ſold one of them in *Libya*, and the other in *Greece*, each of them eſtabliſhed the firſt oracles in thoſe nations, the one of *Jupiter Hammon*, the other of *Jupiter Dodonæus*. The other account was given him by the prieſteſſes at *Dodona*, and confirmed by all thoſe who miniſtred in the temple, *viz.* That two black pigeons taking their flight from *Thebes* in *Egypt*, one of them arrived in *Lybia*, where ſhe commanded an oracle to be erected to *Jupiter Hammon*. The other came to *Dodona*, where ſhe perched on an oak, and admoniſhed the inhabitants with an articulate voice to found an oracle in that place in honour of the ſame *Jupiter*. Afterwards *Herodotus* delivers his own opinion relating to this ſubject, *viz.* that if the *Phœnicians* did really carry away two women from *Thebes*, and ſell one of them in *Libya*, and the other in *Greece*, the latter was in all likelihood bought by the *Theſprotians*, who inhabited that country, which, in his time, was called *Hellas*; but formerly named *Pelaſgia*, where, during her ſervitude, ſhe conſecrated an altar to *Jupiter* under an oak, nothing being more natural than to ſuppoſe, that ſhe who had been a prieſteſs of that god in *Thebes*, would not be unmindful of his worſhip in another place. To confirm this conjecture he adds, that theſe two oracles had a near reſemblance to each other; and moreover tells us, that, in his opinion, the two pigeons, or rather women, were ſaid to be black, becauſe they came from *Egypt*, and called pigeons, becauſe they were barbarians or foreigners, and their ſpeech no more underſtood than the chattering of birds; but as ſoon as they learned the *Greek* tongue, they were ſaid to ſpeak with a human voice. *Euſtathius* gives two reaſons more for this appellation (85), *viz.* that they were called Πελειαι or *doves*, becauſe they made their predictions by the obſervation of thoſe birds; as thoſe who made uſe of crows in divination were named Κορακομάντεις; and ſecondly, becauſe, in

(83) *Herodot. l.* ii. (84) *Idem ibid.* (85) *Euſtath. Odyſſ.* ξ'. *p.* 544, 545.

a The other cities of *Moloſſis* contained nothing worthy of obſervation. The kingdom of *Epirus* muſt have comprehend in the *Roman* times a great many cities, of which no mention is made by the ancient hiſtorians or geographers, if what *Polybius*, as quoted by *Strabo* [a], and after him *Livy* [b], tells us, be true, *viz.* that *Æmilius Paulus* diſmantled and plundered about ſeventy cities ſubject to the *Epirots*. *Strabo* [c] counts the *Athamanes*, *Æthices*, *Tymphæi*, *Oreſtæ*, *Paroræi*, *Atintanes*, and *Perrhæbi* among

[a] Strabo, l. vii. p. 223. [b] Liv. l. xlv. c. 34. [c] Strabo, ibid.

in the *Moloſſian* language, old women were ſtyled Πελειαὶ, and old men Πελειοὶ; and that thoſe propheteſſes being old women, either by a miſtake of the word, or a poetical equivocation, were called *doves*. Why old perſons ſhould be thus termed, the old ſcholiaſt upon *Sophocles* informs us (86); for the old propheteſſes, ſays he, were called Πελειαὶ, becauſe of their grey hairs. *Servius* gives another reaſon for this appellation (87), *viz.* that, in the *Theſſalian* tongue, the word Πελειὰς ſignified both a dove and a propheteſs. Others tell us, that, in the hieroglyphical way of writing, by a black pigeon was ſignified a widow, who remained unmarried till death. Some writers ſay, that this oracle was founded by the *Pelaſgians*, who were the moſt ancient of all the nations that inhabited *Greece*. Of this opinion is *Strabo* (88), being led hereunto by *Homer*, who beſtows upon the ſame *Jupiter* the names of *Dodonæus* and *Pelaſgicus* (89). The ſame *Strabo* relates another fabulous opinion concerning the origin of this oracle out of *Suidas's Theſſalica*. That writer, ſays *Strabo* (90), to gratify the *Theſſalians* with a new-invented fable, relates, that the oracle of *Dodona* was tranſlated out of *Pelaſgia*, a country of *Theſſaly*, into *Epirus*, being accompanied by a great number of women, from whom the propheteſſes in after-ages were deſcended; and that from them *Jupiter* received the appellation of *Pelaſgicus*. The perſons who delivered the oracles, were at firſt men, as *Strabo* and *Euſtathius* obſerve out of *Homer*, who calls them in the maſculine gender Πεφήτας and Σέλλους (91). The ſame *Strabo* tells us (92) in his deſcription of *Bœotia*, that, in after-ages, all thoſe who conſulted the oracle received anſwers from women, except the *Bœotians*, who had theirs from men; and of this cuſtom he gives the following reaſon: In a war between the *Bœotians* and *Pelaſgians*, the former conſulting the oracle of *Dodona* about the event of the war, received for anſwer, that their enterprize ſhould be crowned with ſucceſs, if they acted wickedly. Hereupon the *Bœotians*, ſuſpecting that the propheteſs ſpoke in favour of the *Pelaſgians*, ſeized her, and threw her into the fire. Thoſe who miniſtred in the temple, immediately apprehended the *Bœotians*; but not thinking it lawful to put them to death in ſo ſacred a place, before they were tried, and juridically condemned, adviſed them to refer the matter to the two ſurviving propheteſſes. On the other hand the *Bœotians* alledging, that no laws in the world allowed women to ſit upon life and death, it was agreed, that two men ſhould judge them jointly with the two propheteſſes. When the judges came to pronounce ſentence, the *Bœotians* were found guilty by the women, and cleared by the men; whereupon they were diſmiſſed without any puniſhment, as was uſual when the number of voices was equal on both ſides; but on that occaſion it was eſtabliſhed, that men only ſhould give anſwers to the *Bœotians*. The prophets of this temple were commonly called *Tomuri*, and the propheteſſes *Tomuræ*, from *Tomurus* a mountain in *Theſprotia*, at the foot of which ſtood the temple. In proceſs of time this word came to be a general name for any prophet; for thus *Heſychius* expounds it, and in this ſenſe *Lycophron* applies it to *Prylis* the ſon of *Mercury* (93).

Near the temple was a ſacred grove of oaks and beeches, which was ſuppoſed to be inhabited by the *Dryades*, *Fauni* and *Satyri*, who, we are told, were often ſeen dancing under the ſhades of the trees. Before ſowing was invented, when men lived upon acorns, thoſe of this wood were in great requeſt, as appears from the following verſes of *Virgil*:

> Liber & *alma* Ceres, *veſtro ſi munere tellus*
> Chaoniam *pingui glandem mutavit ariſta* (94).

And again in the ſame book;

> *Prima* Ceres *ferro mortales vertere terram*
> *Inſtituit; cum jam glandes atque arbuta ſacra*
> *Deficerent ſylvæ, & victum* Dodona *negaret* (95).

Theſe oaks or beeches were ſaid to be endued with a human voice, and prophetical ſpirit; for which reaſon they are called *ſpeaking and propheſying oaks*. *Argo*, the ſhip of the *Argonants*, which was built with the timber of this wood, is feigned to have been endued with the ſame power of ſpeech, whence *Lycophron* calls it λάλητον κίσσαν, *a chattering magpye* (96). What gave occaſion to this fiction was, as ſome writers tell us, that the prophets, when they gave anſwers, placed themſelves in one of theſe trees, ſo that the oracle was thought to be uttered by the oak, which was only pronounced out of its hollow ſtock, or from amongſt its hollow branches. Some are of opinion, that the oracles were delivered from the branches of the tree, becauſe the prophetical pigeons are reported by *Herodotus* to have perched upon a tree (97); and the ſcholiaſt upon *Sophocles* tells us, that above the oracle there were two pigeons (98). Others are inclined to believe, that the oracles were uttered from the hollow ſtock, becauſe the propheteſs could beſt be concealed there (99). The brazen kettles of this place were no leſs famous than the *ſpeaking oaks*. Some writers affirm, and others deny, that they were made uſe of in delivering the oracles; however that be, *Demon* in *Suidas* ſays, that they were ſo artificially placed about the temple, that, by ſtriking one of them, the ſound was communicated to all the reſt. Theſe kettles were conſecrated by the *Corcyræans* to *Jupiter Dodonæus*, as *Strabo* informs us (100). About what time, or on what account this oracle ceaſed, is uncertain; but the above-mentioned writer, who flouriſhed under *Auguſtus*, tells us, that, in his time, the gods had deſerted that and moſt other oracles (101).

(86) *Trachin. ver.* 176. (87) *Servius in Virg. Eclog. 9. ver.* 83. (88) *Strabo, l.* vii. (89) *Hom. Iliad. π'. ver.* 235. (90) *Strabo, ibid.* (91) *Homer. ibid.* (92) *Strabo, l.* ix. (93) *Lycoph. Caſſand. ver.* 223. (94) *Virgil. Georg. l. v. ver.* 27. (95) *Idem ibid. ver.* 146. (96) *Lycoph. Caſſand. ver.* 1319. (97) *Herodot. ibid.* (98) *Trachin. ver.* 174. (99) *Heſiod. Eoa.* (100) *Strabo, l.* vii. (101) *Idem ibid.*

the *Epirotic* nations; but *Pliny* [d] and *Livy* [e] reckon the *Athamanes*, *Tymphæi*, and *Perrhæbi* among the *Ætolians*. In *Chaonia* were the *Ceraunian* or *Acroceraunian* mountains, now *monti della Chimera*, parting the *Ionian* and *Adriatic* ſeas, and ſo called from their being frequently ſtruck with lightening. In *Theſprotia* were the *Acheruſian* lake, and the river *Acheron* much ſpoke of by the poets. It had its ſprings, according to *Pliny* [f] in the abovementioned lake, and emptied itſelf into the *Ambracian* gulf; but according to *Ptolemy*, *Strabo*, and *Thucydides* [g], it roſe in the country of the *Moloſſi*, and paſſing through the *Acheruſian* lake, diſcharged itſelf into the *Theſprotian* bay. The rivers *Aphas* and *Arachthus* are mentioned by *Livy* [h] as riſing in the ſame country. The celebrated mount *Pindus* parted *Epirus* and *Theſſaly*, and was therefore by ſome geographers placed in *Theſſaly*, by others in *Epirus*. The inland parts of *Epirus* were very barren, and full of foreſts, but the coaſt pretty fruitful. The horſes of this country were in great requeſt among the ancients, as were alſo the maſtiffs of *Moloſſis*, from thence called by the *Latins Moloſſi* [i]. The *Epirots* were deemed a very warlike people, and generally behaved, as we ſhall ſee in the hiſtory of their kings, with great gallantry; but continued in their former ſavage condition long after their neighbours were civilized; whence the iſlanders uſed to threaten their offenders, as we read in *Athenæus* [k], with tranſportation to the continent, namely to *Epirus*.

Mountains, rivers, &c.

Manners of the inhabitants.

Inhabitants.

This country was firſt peopled by *Dodanim* the ſon of *Javin*, and grandſon of *Japhet*, or at leaſt by ſome of his poſterity, as *Joſephus* informs us [l]. *Euſebius* ſays, that *Dodanim* firſt ſettled in the iſland of *Rhodes*, and that ſome of his deſcendants being ſtreightened there for want of room, paſſed over to the continent, and fixed their abode in *Epirus*, where they built a city, calling it *Dodona* from their progenitor *Dodanim* [m]. If the opinion of *Euſebius* be true, the *Dodonæans* were originally *Greeks*, and not *Barbarians*, as moſt of the ancients ſtyle them. However in proceſs of time ſeveral barbarous nations ſettled among them; and hence they are ſaid by *Strabo* [n] to have ſpoke promiſcuouſly the languages of the *Greeks* and *Barbarians*. The various nations we find mentioned by the moſt ancient writers, as inhabiting *Epirus* before they became one people, and were blended under the common name of *Epirots*, are, the *Selli*, *Chaones*, *Moloſſi*, *Dolopes*, *Paravæi*, *Oreſti*, *Dryopes*, *Hellopes*, *Ænianes*, and *Pelaſgi*; but as to the origin of theſe different tribes, there is a great diſagreement among authors, whoſe various opinions it would be too tedious to relate. We ſhall only obſerve, that the *Selli* were by profane authors thought to have been the firſt inhabitants of *Epirus*, and to have miniſtered in the temple of *Dodona*. *Homer* ſpeaks of them as prieſts, *living round the abode of the* Pelaſgian Jove *king of* Dodona, that is, round the temple of *Jupiter Dodonæus*, and inſinuates, that they lay on the ground, and never waſhed their feet [o]; whence *Strabo* concludes, that they were not originally *Greeks*, but ſprung from ſome ſavage and unpoliſhed nation [p].

Form of government.

The form of government, which prevailed in *Epirus*, was without all doubt monarchical, the whole country being divided into many ſmall kingdoms quite independent of each other. *Strabo* indeed tells us, that firſt the *Chaones*, and after them the *Moloſſi*, were maſters of all *Epirus*; but this, if true, muſt have been in the moſt early ages; for we find ſeveral kings mentioned by *Homer* and other ancient writers, as reigning at the time of the *Trojan* war, viz. *Aidoneus*, *Orcus*, *Phidon*, *Echetus*, and *Harpalicus*. The other *Epirotic* nations continued for a long time to be governed by princes of their own blood; but the *Moloſſi* fell very early under the power of *Pyrrhus*, a foreign prince, whoſe deſcendents were from him ſtyled *Pyrrhidæ*, and from his family *Æacidæ*, they being the progeny of *Æacus* [q]. Some of theſe petty kingdoms in proceſs of time exchanged the monarchical for a republican form of government; for *Thucydides* [r] tells us, that in his time the *Theſprotæ* and *Chaones* were governed, not by kings, but by annual magiſtrates. But when, and on what occaſion this change happened, is what we find no-where recorded. At the beginning of the *Peloponneſian* war the *Paravæi* and *Oreſti* were ſtill ruled by kings of their own nation; the former by *Antiochus*, and the latter by *Oroedus*. But the kingdom of the *Moloſſi* ſoon eclipſed all the others, the *Moloſſian* princes having ſubjected the whole country, and united the many ſmall kingdoms, of which it conſiſted, into one, known to the ancients by the name of *Epirus*. And this alone affords

[d] Plin. l. iv. c. 11. [e] Liv. l. xxxviii. ſub init. [f] Plin. ibid. [g] Thucyd. l. ii. [h] Liv. l. viii. c. 24. [i] Vide Virg. Georg. l. iii. v. 405. & Servium ibid. [k] Athen. l. ii. c. 7. [l] Joseph. Antiq. l. iii. c. 7. [m] Euseb. in Chron. [n] Strab. l. vii. [o] Homer. Iliad. π'. v. 235. [p] Strab. ibid. [q] Strab. ibid. [r] Thucyd. l. ii.

us

a us matter for a hiſtory, there being nothing upon record relating to the others, but the names of ſome of their kings, and a few fabulous accounts of their actions; for which we refer our readers to *Hyginus* [s] and *Cyrillus* [t], it being beneath the dignity of hiſtory to take notice of them.

W E ſhall begin the hiſtory of the kings of *Epirus* with *Pyrrhus*, the firſt of the *Æacidæ*, who reigned in that country, the times which preceded his reign, being overcaſt with an impenetrable miſt, and the kings, who are ſuppoſed to have ruled over the *Moloſſi* before his arrival, more ſpoke of by the poets than the hiſtorians. *Pyrrhus* was the ſon of *Achilles*, by *Deidamia* the daughter of *Lycomedes*, king of the iſland of *Scyros*. Upon the death of his father, who was killed at the ſiege of Pyrrhus.

b *Troy*, he was prevailed upon by *Diomedes* and *Ulyſſes* to leave his grand father's court, where he had been brought up, and take upon him the command of the troops, which his father had led againſt *Troy*. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf at the ſiege of that city, if the poets are to be credited, by his brave and gallant behaviour; and after it was taken killed old king *Priam* with his own hand, threw *Aſtyanax*, the ſon of *Hector* and *Andromache*, headlong from a high tower, ſacrificed *Polyxena*, the daughter of king *Priam*, on the tomb of his father, and carried *Andromache* with him into *Epirus*, where he ſettled, by the advice of the famous ſoothſayer *Helenus* one of *Priam*'s ſons, with the *Myrmidones*, who had ſerved, during the *Trojan* war, both under his father and himſelf. He maintained himſelf in this new ſettlement with the aſſiſtance of the

c *Pelopidæ*, to whom he was nearly related, againſt the natives, who finding they could not drive him out, ſubmitted at length, and acknowledged him for their king. But his reign was not long; for he had ſcarce ſettled the affairs of his new kingdom, when he was murdered by *Oreſtes* in the very temple of *Delphos* for marrying *Hermione*, the daughter of *Menelaus*, who had been betrothed to the ſaid *Oreſtes*. Some writers tell us, that under pretence of conſulting the oracle of *Delphos* about his iſſue by *Hermione*, he attempted to plunder the temple, and was in that attempt killed by the prieſts [u]. His death gave riſe to the proverb *Neoptolemic revenge*, uſed by the ancients, when one ſuffered the ſame evils which he had brought upon others; for *Pyrrhus*, ſurnamed *Neoptolemus*, had barbarouſly murdered king *Priam* at the

d altar of *Jupiter Hercæus*, and was himſelf murdered at the altar of *Apollo Delphicus*. The ſurname of *Neoptolemus*, or the *young warrior*, was given him when he firſt went to the ſiege of *Troy*, he being then very young. His body by command of the oracle was buried in the temple where he had been murdered; but no honours were there paid to him till the irruption of the *Gauls*, which happened many ages after, when he is ſaid to have appeared among other dead heroes, and to have with his ghaſtly looks ſtruck great terror into thoſe ſacrilegious *Barbarians*. From that time he was honoured with yearly ſacrifices, and ſolemn ſports, exhibited at his tomb [w]. The *Pyrrhica*, a kind of tournement or dance in armour, was ſo called from him, he having firſt uſed it round the tomb of his father *Achilles* [x]. *Pyrrhus* had two wives, *Lanaſſa* the

e daughter of *Cleodæus*, one of the deſcendents of *Hercules*, and *Hermione* the daughter of *Menelaus* and *Helena*. By the latter he had no children; but the former brought him three ſons, *Pyrrhus*, *Alevas*, and *Ethneſtus*, and five daughters. By *Andromache*, whom ſome count among his lawful wives, others among his concubines, he had likewiſe three ſons, *Moloſſus*, *Pielus*, and *Amphialus*. *Pyrrhus*, his eldeſt ſon by *Lanaſſa*, died in his infancy. *Alevas* was brought up by *Peleus* his great-grandfather, king of *Phthia* in *Theſſaly*, and by him appointed his heir and ſucceſſor in that kingdom [y]. *Ethneſtus* lived in *Theſſaly* with his brother, and gave his name to the tribe of the *Ethneſtæ* mentioned by *Stephanus* [z]. *Moloſſus* lived after the death of Moloſſus.

his father under the tuition of *Helenus*, the ſon of king *Priam*, on whom *Pyrrhus* had

f beſtowed *Andromache* in marriage, and with her part of his kingdom, having always ſhewn a great kindneſs, and particular friendſhip for that prophet [a]. *Helenus* brought him up with all poſſible care, and at his death left him that part of the kingdom which had been given him by *Pyrrhus*. As *Moloſſus* died without children, he bequeathed the whole kingdom to his brother *Pielus*; for he had ſucceeded his father Pielus.

Pyrrhus as well as *Helenus*. Some authors write, that *Moloſſus* was ſucceeded by his ſon, and that from him were deſcended the *Æacidæ* or *Pyrrhidæ* of *Epirus*; but we

[s] HYGIN. fab. 193. 252. [t] CYRILL. l. i. contra Julian. [u] Vide Scholiaſt. PINDAR. VIRGIL. l. iii. v. 333. & ſeq. PAUSAN. in Bœot. EUSEB. in Chron. [w] Vide STR. in 2. ÆNEID. & CONSTANT. MANASS. [x] PRISCIAN. l. xiv. PLIN. l. vii. c. 56. & ERASMI Chiliad. [y] SUIDAS voce Alevadæ. [z] STEPHAN. voce ἐθνέσται. [a] PAUSAN. in Attic. Scholiaſt. PINDAR.

have

have followed *Pauſanias*, who tells us in expreſs terms, that *Moloſſus* died without children, was ſucceeded by his brother *Pielus*, and that from him the kings of *Epirus* were by the moſt ancient writers ſometimes ſtyled *Pielidæ* [b]. *Amphialus*, the third ſon of *Pyrrhus* by *Andromache*, ſurnamed *Pergamus*, paſſed over into *Aſia* with his mother, and having there killed in ſingle combat *Arius* king of *Teuthrania*, reigned in his ſtead, fixing the place of his reſidence at *Pergamus*, whence he was ſtyled *Amphialus Pergamus* [c]. *Pauſanias* will have the city of *Pergamus* to have been ſo called from him, but is herein contradicted by moſt of the ancients, who tell us, that this city was built long before his time by the *Myſians*. Among the deſcendents of *Amphialus* we find one *Praces* mentioned by *Pauſanias* [d], who is ſaid to have founded a temple in honour of *Achilles* in *Laconica*, whither the young men reſorted to offer ſacrifices to that hero before they entered the liſts in the public combats. The five daughters, which *Pyrrhus* had by *Lanaſſa*, as we have obſerved above, were married, according to *Juſtin* [e], to the neighbouring princes.

The deſcendents of *Alevas* reigned in *Theſſaly*, and are ſaid by *Herodotus* [f] to have invited thither *Xerxes* king of *Perſia*, and betrayed the country to him. When *Alexander* the *Pherean* attempted to make himſelf maſter of all *Theſſaly*, they had recourſe to *Alexander* king of *Macedon*, who aſſiſted them with a powerful army, as we have related in the hiſtory of *Macedon* [g]. They were at laſt ſtript of all their dominions, and the cities they poſſeſſed declared free by *Philip* the brother of *Alexander*, king of *Macedon*, as we read in *Ulpianus* [h], *Diodorus Siculus* [i], and *Polyænus* [k]. As to the immediate deſcendents of *Pielus*, we are quite in the dark both as to their exploits and ſucceſſion, there being ſcarce any mention made of them by the ancients till the time of the *Perſian* war, when *Admetus* reigned in *Epirus*, and was maſter of the greateſt part of that country. *Antonius Liberalis* indeed names the following intermediate princes, viz. *Drius*, *Munichus*, *Aphidas*, *Genous*, and *Alcon*; but upon what authority we know not.

Admetus. *Admetus* reigned, as we have hinted above, in *Epirus*, when *Xerxes* invaded *Greece*, and refuſed to join either party. Upon the defeat of the *Perſians*, he courted the friendſhip of the *Athenians*, offering to enter into an alliance with the republic; but his propoſals were, at the inſtigation of *Themiſtocles*, rejected with ſcorn, becauſe he had not lent them any aſſiſtance againſt their common enemy. Notwithſtanding the ill offices done him on this occaſion by *Themiſtocles*, he afterwards received him, when baniſhed from his own country, with great marks of friendſhip and eſteem, refuſed to deliver him up to the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians*, though threatened with war, and plentifully ſupplied him with money and other neceſſaries on his leaving *Epirus* to paſs over into *Aſia* [l].

Tharymbas. He was ſucceeded by *Tharymbas*, the only child he had by his wife *Phthia*; but as this prince was very young at his father's death, he was by a decree of the people put under the tuition of *Sabylinthus*, a man of great diſtinction in his country, and of an unblemiſhed character. *Sabylinthus* attended him to *Athens*, where he applied himſelf with great earneſtneſs to the ſtudy of polite literature; for he was reckoned one of the moſt learned princes of his age, and is ſaid to have been the firſt who introduced and encouraged learning among the *Epirots* his ſubjects. He likewiſe made many wiſe and wholeſome laws, and is on that account reckoned by *Plutarch* amongſt the ancient lawgivers. He is mentioned by *Plutarch*, *Thucydides*, *Pauſanias*, and *Juſtin*, under the following names, *Tharrytas*, *Tharyps*, *Tharypus*, *Arymbas*, and *Tharymbas*. The *Chaones*, who had been formerly ſubject to the *Moloſſian* kings, were in the reign of this prince, as we read in *Thucydides* [m], ſubject to no king, but governed by their own laws and magiſtrates; the *Moloſſians* and the *Antitanians* alone acknowledged *Tharymbas* for their king, the ſeveral other nations of *Epirus* having either their peculiar kings, or being free from all ſubjection, as is evident from the abovementioned writer [n].

Alcetas. *Alcetas* is the next king of *Epirus* we find mentioned in hiſtory: he was driven from the throne by his own ſubjects; on which occaſion he fled to *Dionyſius* tyrant of *Syracuſe*, by whom he was aſſiſted with a body of *Illyrians*, who replaced him on the throne after having overthrown his rebellious ſubjects in a pitched battle. His dominions were ſoon after invaded by *Jaſon* of *Pherea*; but having by means of *Timotheus* pre-

[b] Pausan. in Bœotic. [c] Hygin. fab. 97. [d] Pausan. ibid. [e] Justin. l. xvii. [f] Herodot. l. vii. [g] Vide p. 286. [h] Ulpian. in Olynthiac. [i] Diodor. Sicul. l. xvi. [k] Polyæn. l. iv. [l] Thucyd. l. iv. Diodor. Sicul. l. xvi. Aristid. in orat. pro quatuor. viris Scholiaſt. Pindar. [m] Thucyd. l. ii. [n] Thucyd. ibid.

vailed

a vailed upon the *Athenians* to enter into an alliance with him, *Jaſon* thinking it adviſeable not to provoke ſo powerful a republic, withdrew his forces from *Epirus*, and ſuffered *Alcetas* to ſpend the remainder of his reign in peace [o].

Alcetas was ſucceeded by his ſon *Neoptolemus*, who finding that his brother *Arybas* began to raiſe diſturbances, and dreading the conſequences of a civil war, took him of his own accord for his partner in the kingdom. Upon the death of *Neoptolemus*, for we are intirely in the dark as to the particulars of his reign, *Arybas* remained ſole maſter of the kingdom, which, contrary to the expectation of his ſubjects, he governed with great prudence, equity, and moderation. He was an encourager of learning, and ſhewed great favour to ſuch as excelled in any branch of polite literature. To him *Xenocrates*, the *Chalcedonian* philoſopher, dedicated, as *Laertius* informs us [p], four books, which he wrote on the art of reigning. He brought up with great care his brother's children, viz. *Alexander*, *Neoptolemus*, *Arybas*, *Troas*, *Olympias*, and *Cadmia*, and married his niece *Olympias* to *Philip* king of *Macedon*, who had by her *Alexander the Great*. At his death, which happened after a reign of ten years, his nephew *Alexander*, whom *Gellius* calls *Moloſſus*, was raiſed to the ſole poſſeſſion of the throne by the favour of *Philip* his brother-in-law, who gave him in marriage *Cleopatra* his daughter by *Olympias*; ſo that *Alexander* was both brother and ſon-in-law to *Philip*. This marriage was ſolemnized with the utmoſt pomp and magnificence at *Ægæ*, but proved fatal to *Philip*, who on this occaſion was murdered by *Pauſanias*, as we have related at length in the hiſtory of *Macedon* [q], tho' *Alexander* in his letter to *Darius* ſays, that his father was murdered by aſſaſſins hired by him for that purpoſe, as we read in *Curtius* [r], and *Arrian* [s].

Neoptolemus. Arybas. Alexander.

Not long after the acceſſion of *Alexander* to the crown of *Epirus*, *Archedymas* king of *Lacedæmon* being killed in fighting for the *Tarentini* againſt the *Lucani* and *Brutii*, the former invited *Alexander* into *Italy* to their aſſiſtance. The king of *Epirus*, promiſing himſelf nothing leſs than the ſubduing of the weſt with as much rapidity as *Alexander the Great* his nephew and brother-in-law had begun to conquer the eaſt, readily cloſed with the propoſal, and having made a deſcent at *Pæſtum*, a maritime city near the mouth of the river *Sibarus*, reduced ſeveral cities of the *Lucani* and *Brutii*, and became formidable to all the eaſtern parts of *Italy*. The *Romans* being at that time employed in ſuppreſſing the revolt of the *Latins*, and not caring to engage in a war with two ſo powerful enemies at once, entered into an alliance with the *Epirot*, as did alſo the *Metapontini* and *Pediculi*, after he had gained a ſignal victory over the united forces of the *Brutii* and *Lucani*. The ſucceſs which attended his arms in the two firſt campaigns, made him believe that he ſhould reap as great an harveſt of glory in *Sicily*, *Italy*, and *Africa*, as his nephew was reaping in *Perſia* and the reſt of *Aſia*; but the unhappy prince loſt his life, where he hoped to have inlarged his conqueſts. This memorable event is thus related, and no doubt blended with many fables, by the *Greek* and *Latin* hiſtorians [t]. Before *Alexander* left *Epirus*, ſay they, he conſulted the celebrated oracle of *Dodona* about the ſucceſs that was to attend him during the remaining part of his life. The god returned him this anſwer; *viz.* that the waters of *Acheron* would prove fatal to him; and at the ſame time admoniſhed him to avoid the city of *Pandoſia*, leſt he ſhould there finiſh his days. *Acheron* was a river of *Epirus*, and *Pandoſia* a city of the ſame country: *Alexander* therefore, not knowing that in the country of the *Brutii* there was a river and a city bearing the ſame names, willingly complied with the invitation of the *Tarentini*, and left his own country, fearing it might prove fatal to him, to make war in that of the *Brutii*. As he was fully perſuaded that his life could be in no danger there, he expoſed his perſon to the greateſt dangers, took ſeveral cities, namely *Heraclea*, *Coſentia*, *Sipontum*, *Terina*, &c. and ſent above three hundred hoſtages to *Epirus*, all choſen out of the beſt families of the places he had conquered. Having overcome the *Brutii* and *Lucani* in a ſecond battle, to reduce their country the ſooner, he divided his army into three bodies, poſting them on three hills divided by deep vallies, and ſending out from thence numerous parties to ravage the neighbouring countries. One of theſe vallies was waſhed by the *Acheron*, on the banks of which ſtood the ſmall city of *Pandoſia*. While *Alexander* continued in this camp, the vallies were by ſudden rains laid under water, which broke off the communication between the three

[o] Idem, l. iii. Pausan. in Bœotic. Diodor. Sicul. l. xvi. [p] Laertius, in vit. Philoſoph. [q] Vide p. 314. [r] Q. Curtius, l. iv. c. 1. [s] Arrian. l. ii. p. 41. [t] Diodor. Sicul. l. xvii. Strabo, l. vii. Pausan. in Bœot. Liv. l. viii. c. 24. Oros. l. vi. Paul. Diac. Hiſt. Miſcell.

bodies of the king's forces. The enemy laid hold of this favourable opportunity a
to attack firſt the two poſts, where the king was not, and which by reaſon of the
inundation he could not any ways aſſiſt. Theſe two bodies being without much ado
defeated, and put to flight, the *Brutii* and *Lucani* without loſs of time ſurrounded
with all their forces the hill, on which the king himſelf was encamped. His guard
conſiſted of two hundred *Lucani*, who being driven from their country had fled to him
for refuge. Theſe wrote to the generals of their nation, promiſing to deliver up to
them the king of *Epirus* dead or alive, provided they would receive them into favour,
and ſuffer them to return to their native country. The propoſal was accepted, and
the traitors only waited for a favourable opportunity to put their treachery in execu-
tion. As *Alexander* was a prince of great courage and reſolution, in ſpite of all oppo- b
ſition, he forced his way through the enemy's army, killed one of their generals
with his own hand, and having with a ſmall attendance made his eſcape, and gained
a neighbouring wood, he took his rout from thence to the river, the name of which
he knew not, with a deſign to break down the bridge after he had croſſed it. But
finding the bridge carried away by the violence of the inundation, he threw himſelf
into the river on horſeback, when one of the *Epirots*, who attended him, ſeeing him
in danger of being drowned, cried out, *Curſed* Acheron, *thou art juſtly called by a
fatal name*; for the *Greek* word *Acheron* ſignifies a *torrent of grief*. At theſe words
Alexander, remembering the anſwer of the oracle, and fearing his fate approached,
began to heſitate, being in ſuſpenſe whether he ſhould go quite croſs the river or c
no. While he was thus wavering, one of his attendants cried out to him, *Haſten,
betrayed prince, haſten to the oppoſite bank*; *the* Lucani, *your guard, ſeek to deſtroy you.*
At theſe words the king turning about, and ſeeing the *Lucani* ready to fall upon him,
drew his ſword, and made what haſte he could to reach the bank, which he had already
gained, when one of the traitors, diſcharging a dart at him, killed him on the ſpot.
His body fell into the river, which carried it to the enemy's camp, where it was uſed
with all the indignity which rage and revenge could ſuggeſt. After they had bar-
barouſly defaced it, they cut it in two, ſending one part to *Coſentia*, and ſetting up
the other as a mark for the ſoldiers to diſcharge their arrows and darts at. At length
a woman, whoſe husband and children had been taken by *Alexander*'s troops, intreat- d
ing the ſoldiers with tears in her eyes, to give her the ſcattered remains of the unhappy
prince, ſince ſhe could eaſily purchaſe with them the redemption of her husband and
children, that part of the body, which the ſoldiers poſſeſſed, was delivered to her,
and conveyed by her means firſt to *Metapontum*, and from thence removed to
Epirus, where they were conſigned to *Cleopatra* and *Olympias*, the former the wife,
the latter the ſiſter of the deceaſed king. All the ancients ſpeak of this prince as no
ways inferior either in courage or conduct to his nephew *Alexander the Great*; but he
had the misfortune to engage on his firſt ſetting out with nations inured to the toils
of war, and no leſs brave than his own *Epirots*: whence he uſed to ſay, that the
country, which he propoſed to conquer, was inhabited by men, whereas the provin- e
ces his nephew *Alexander* went to ſubdue, were peopled by women only [s]: Thus he
ſtyled the effeminate nations of *Aſia*, which the *Macedonian* had ſubdued. *Oroſius* [t]
tells us, that he was killed by the *Samnites*, while he was making the neceſſary pre-
parations for a war with *Rome*, and adds, that he was in ſuch favour with *Philip* his
brother-in-law, as made the world believe that the inclination which that prince had
for him, was more agreeable to the wickedneſs of thoſe times, than to the laws of
nature. *Theodectes* wrote a panegyric on this king, as *Suidas* informs us; he is alſo
mentioned by *Demoſthenes* [u], and cried up as an able and experienced commander by
all the ancients who mention him.

Æacides. *Alexander* was ſucceeded in the kingdom by *Æacides* the ſon of *Arybbas* or *Arybas*, f
and grandſon of *Alcetas*. This prince, eſpouſing the cauſe of *Olympias* againſt *Caſ-
ſander*, raiſed a powerful army with a deſign to relieve her while beſieged in the city of
Pydna. But having on this occaſion forced many of his ſubjects into the ſervice much
againſt their will, they began to mutiny in the camp, eſpecially after they found all
the paſſes leading to *Pydna* ſeized on by *Atarchias*, *Caſſender*'s general. Hereupon
Æacides, being reſolved at all events to attempt the relief of *Olympias*, disbanded all
thoſe who ſeemed unwilling to follow him in this expedition, and taking with him
ſuch only as ſhewed themſelves ready to run the ſame risk with himſelf, he advanced

[s] Aul. Gell. l. xvii. c. 21. [t] Oros. l. vi. [u] Demosthen. in orat. de Haloneſo.

toward

a toward *Pydna*; but he had ſcarce left *Epirus*, when thoſe he had ſent back revolted from him, and drawing their fellow-citizens into the ſame revolt, declared by a common decree of the ſtate, that *Æacides* had forfeited the crown, baniſhed him the kingdom, and entered into an alliance with *Caſſander*. This, as *Diodorus Siculus* obſerves, was the firſt rebellion that had happened in *Epirus* from the time that *Neoptolemus*, the ſon of *Achilles*, had reigned there, the kingdom having ever before deſcended by right of ſucceſſion from father to ſon [w]. *Caſſander* immediately diſpatched *Lyciſcus* into *Epirus* to take upon him in his name the government of that kingdom, injoining him to uſe the natives with all poſſible moderation. However the *Epirots* were ſoon reconciled to their king, and recalling him from baniſhment, replaced him
b on the throne of his anceſtors, which he did not long enjoy, being killed the ſame year in a battle fought with *Philip* the brother of *Caſſander* [x].

Upon his death the crown was conferred upon *Alcetas* his brother, who had been baniſhed by his father *Arybas* on account of his violent temper. As he was an inveterate enemy to *Caſſander*, *Lyciſcus*, *Caſſander*'s general in *Acarnania*, marched with an army into *Epirus*, hoping, as the affairs of that kingdom were not yet well ſettled, to depoſe him. *Alcetas*, hearing of the enemy's march, diſpatched two of his ſons, *Alexander* and *Teucer* into all the provinces and cities of his dominions, to raiſe what forces they could; and in the mean time marched out himſelf with the few troops he had to make head againſt *Lyciſcus*, whom he found encamped at *Caſſopia*. As *Lyciſ-*
c *cus*'s army was far more numerous than the king's, they fell upon him before he had time to fortify his camp, and obliged him after he had been abandoned by moſt of his troops, to ſhut himſelf up in the city of *Eurymenas*, where he was cloſely beſieged. But in the mean time his ſon *Alexander* arriving with powerful ſuccours, a ſharp engagement enſued, in which great numbers of *Lyciſcus*'s men were cut off, and amongſt the others *Micythus*, a commander of great reputation, *Lyſander* the *Athenian*, governor of *Leucadia*, and many other perſons of diſtinction. A few days after this victory *Dinias* brought new ſupplies for *Lyciſcus*, whereupon a ſecond battle being fought, *Alexander* and *Teucer* with their father *Alcetas* were forced to ſave themſelves by flight, and abandon the city of *Eurymenas* to the enemy,
d who plundered it, and razed it to the ground. *Caſſander* upon the news of the defeat of his forces, not having received any intelligence of the victory they gained afterwards, haſtened into *Epirus* to ſuccour his general; but being informed on his arrival of the ſucceſs that had attended him in the ſecond engagement, inſtead of purſuing the war, he thought it adviſeable to enter into a treaty with the *Epirots*; and having concluded a peace upon honourable terms, he withdrew his troops, and reſtored tranquillity to the kingdom of *Epirus*. *Alcetas* being thus diſengaged from ſo troubleſome a war, began to exerciſe, as he was a prince of a moſt tyrannical temper, all ſorts of cruelties over his ſubjects; which ſo provoked them, that having made a general inſurrection, they murdered both him and his two ſons, *Heſioneas*
e and *Niſus*, who were then very young. *Alexander* and *Teucer* had the good fortune to make their eſcape, and never afterwards appeared in *Epirus* [y]. Alcetas II.

Alcetas was ſucceeded by *Pyrrhus*, a prince of great fame in hiſtory. He was the ſon of *Æacides*, of whom we have ſpoke above, by *Philip* the daughter of *Menon* the *Theſſalian*, one of the *Heraclidæ*; ſo that *Pyrrhus* was by the father deſcended from *Achilles*, and from *Hercules* by the mother [z]. When the *Epirots* revolted from his father, and drove him from the throne, it was with much difficulty that *Pyrrhus*, then an infant at the breaſt, eſcaped falling into the hands of the rebels. He was after various adventures conveyed by *Androcles* and *Angelus*, two *Epirot* lords, to the court of *Glaucias* king of *Illyricum*, who, as ſome authors conjecture, had married
f his aunt *Beroa*, the daughter of *Arybbas*, and grand-daughter of king *Alcetas* [a]. *Glaucias* heſitated a great while, as *Plutarch* informs us [b], before he would admit the young prince into his palace, the fear he was in of provoking *Caſſander*, an implacable enemy to *Æacides*, keeping him in ſuſpenſe. Hereupon thoſe who had reſcued the infant prince from the fury of the rebels, had recourſe to intreaties, and imploring the king's protection, laid the child at his feet, who taking hold of his royal robes, raiſed himſelf up, and with his arms graſped the king's knees. Hereupon *Glaucias* tenderly embracing him, and proteſting that he would defend him at the hazard of his life and dominions, delivered him to his queen to be educated with his own Pyrrhus. *Narrowly eſcapes falling into the hands of the rebellious* Epirots.

[w] Diodor. Sicul. l. xix. [x] Idem ibid. [y] Idem ibid. [z] Plut. in Pyrrh. [a] Vide Reiner. Reineccium, Hiſt. Jul. tom. 2. in regno Epiri. [b] Plut. in Pyrrho.

children,

children [c]. Other writers tell us, that the infant, actuated by ſome extraordinary impulſe, fixed his eyes on the altars of the domeſtic gods, as if he claimed the protection of thoſe deities, who were lovers of hoſpitality; and that *Glaucias*, ſtruck at this ſight, concluded that the gods took the young prince under their protection, and thought it his duty to bring up young *Pyrrhus* with all poſſible care [d]. In the mean time *Caſſander*, hearing that the unfortunate prince had found a retreat in the court of *Glaucias*, ſolicited the king to deliver him up into his hands; but neither his repeated inſtances, nor the two hundred talents he offered *Glaucias*, could induce him to commit ſo baſe an action; he was ſtruck with horror at the propoſal, rejected it with indignation; and having given the baniſhed and perſecuted prince an education ſuitable to his rank, as ſoon as he attained the twelfth year of his age, he ſent him back into *Epirus* at the head of a powerful army, and placed him on the throne of his anceſtors [e]. *Juſtin* tells us, that the *Moloſſians*, his ſubjects, changing their hatred into compaſſion, recalled him of their own accord, and aſſigned him guardians to govern the kingdom in his name till he was of age [f]. He enjoyed the kingdom in great peace and tranquillity till he was ſeventeen, when thinking himſelf ſufficiently ſettled on the throne, he left *Epirus* for a while in order to be preſent in *Illyricum* at the nuptials of one of the ſons of *Glaucias*, with whom he had been educated. But he was no ſooner gone than the *Moloſſians*, taking advantage of his abſence, revolted anew, drove all his friends out of the kingdom, ſeized on his treaſures, and conferred the crown on *Neoptolemus* his great uncle. *Pyrrhus* being by this unexpected revolt diveſted of all his dominions, and deſtitute of ſufficient ſuccours, to recover them, retired to *Demetrius*, the ſon of *Antigonus*, commonly known by the ſurname of *Poliorcetes*, who had married his ſiſter *Deidamia*. From that great commander he learnt the art of war, ſerving under him with the companions and fellow-ſoldiers of *Alexander the Great*. In the famous battle of *Ipſus* he diſtinguiſhed himſelf, young as he was, in a very eminent manner, having fought with incredible bravery, and repulſed the enemy on that ſide, where he was poſted [g]. *Demetrius* nevertheleſs loſt the battle; but *Pyrrhus* very ſeaſonably covered *Greece*, and ſaved for his brother-in-law the *Greek* cities, which that prince had confided to his care. Nor was this the only proof he gave of his affection for *Demetrius*; for a peace being at length concluded between him and *Ptolemy* by the interpoſition of *Seleucus*, *Pyrrhus* conſented to be one of the hoſtages, who were ſent into *Egypt* to ſecure the execution of the treaty.

Placed on the throne by Glaucias *king of* Illyricum.

The Epirots *place* Neoptolemus *on the throne.*

DURING his abode at the court of *Egypt* he was generally admired for the ſweetneſs of his temper, the regularity of his conduct, and his great dexterity and addreſs in all ſorts of manly exerciſes. His chief aim was to make his court to *Berenice*, who had the greateſt aſcendant over *Ptolemy*, and ſurpaſſed all the other women of the court in beauty as well as prudence. And herein he was very ſucceſsful, for he ſo gained her by his noble and obliging behaviour, that ſhe prevailed upon her husband to give him her daughter *Antigone* in preference to ſeveral young princes who demanded her. *Antigone* was the daughter of the favourite queen by *Philip* her firſt husband, a *Macedonian* lord of no great fame. After *Pyrrhus* had married her, *Berenice*, deſirous to ſee her daughter become a queen, induced *Ptolemy* to ſupply her ſon-in-law with ſufficient forces to recover his kingdom. With theſe he ſailed into *Epirus*, and having defeated in a battle *Neoptolemus*, whom the *Moloſſians* had placed on the throne, he recovered his paternal dominions. *Neoptolemus* had recourſe to the neighbouring princes; but *Pyrrhus*, to avoid the evil conſequences of a civil war, condeſcended to give him up part of his dominions. *Neoptolemus* at firſt ſeemed to be well ſatisfied with part of the kingdom; but having ſoon after at the inſtigation of the enemies of *Pyrrhus* attempted to poiſon him, he was by his orders put to death [h]. *Pyrrhus* having by his death got poſſeſſion of the whole kingdom of *Epirus*, continued no longer idle in his dominions; but marching into the neighbouring countries performed thoſe great feats we have deſcribed in the hiſtory of *Macedon* [i], and therefore ſhall not repeat in this place.

Recovers his kingdom with the aſſiſtance of Ptolemy *king of* Egypt.

THIS warlike prince being obliged by *Lyſimachus* to abandon the kingdom of *Macedon*, which he had taken from his brother-in-law *Demetrius*, as we have related elſewhere [k], might have paſſed his days in tranquillity among his ſubjects, enjoying

[c] Idem ibid. [d] PAUSAN. in Attic. [e] PLUT. ibid. [f] JUSTIN. l. xvii. c. 3. [g] PLUT. ibid. ARRIAN. l. vii. APPIAN. in Syriac. [h] PLUT. ibid. & PAUSAN. in Attic. [i] Vide p. 464, 465, & ſeq. [k] Vide p. 468.

the

4

a the ſweets of peace, and governing his people agreeable to the rules of juſtice. But his reſtleſs temper and unbounded ambition made him ſeize with joy on the firſt opportunity that offered of plunging himſelf into new troubles.

THE inhabitants of *Tarentum* were then at war with the *Romans*, and not finding themſelves in a condition to oppoſe ſo formidable an enemy with their own ſtrength, they caſt their eyes upon *Pyrrhus*, and diſpatched embaſſadors to him, not only from themſelves, but from all the *Greek* cities in *Italy*, injoining them to acquaint him, that they wanted only a leader of experience and reputation; that *Tarentum* was not the only city, whoſe forces would join him; that the *Meſſapians*, *Lucanians*, *Samnites*, *Brutians*, and many other rich and populous nations, weary either of bearing the *Roman* yoke, or of being in continual dread of it, were ready to aſſiſt him in ex- *Invited by the Tarentines into Italy.*

b terminating the haughty and imperious republic; that he might depend on being ſupplied at his arrival with three hundred thouſand foot, and twenty thouſand horſe, *&c.* The joy with which *Pyrrhus* received a propoſal ſo agreeable to his diſpoſition, may be eaſily imagined. His head was filled with the exploits of *Alexander the Great*, and his frequently converſing with the generals, who had ſerved under that conqueror, had ſtrongly inclined him to attempt in the weſt what *Alexander* had with ſo much glory performed in the eaſt. He therefore willingly cloſed with the propoſal of the *Tarentine* embaſſadors, promiſing to paſs over into *Italy* with all poſſible expedition, and employ the whole ſtrength of his kingdom in reſcuing them from the oppreſſion they groaned under. However before he began to make the neceſſary prepara-

c tions, he is ſaid to have conſulted the oracle of *Delphos*, about the ſucceſs of his intended expedition; on which occaſion the anſwer of the god was uttered in ſuch terms as might equally ſignify, either that he ſhould conquer the *Romans*, or the *Romans* him; but the deſire he had of imbarquing in this expedition, made him interpret the ambiguous anſwer in his own favour [1].

A *Theſſalian*, named *Cyneas*, was at this time *Pyrrhus*'s prime miniſter, and chief favourite. He was a man of moſt extraordinary parts, being an experienced officer, an able politician, and the moſt eloquent orator of his age: the art of oratory he had learned under *Demoſthenes*, that of war under the companions of *Alexander the Great*, and politics by long experience, having been always employed by *Pyrrhus* in the moſt

d difficult negotiations. The art of perſuaſion, of which he was maſter, and the ſecret he had of inſinuating himſelf into the affections of thoſe he dealt with, enabled him to conquer all difficulties in the buſineſs he tranſacted for his maſter; inſomuch that *Pyrrhus* himſelf uſed to ſay, that he had gained more cities by the eloquence and perſuaſive diſcourſes of *Cyneas*, than he could poſſibly have conquered by force of arms. He was by profeſſion a philoſopher of the ſect of *Epicurus*, which was not then come into diſrepute through the ill uſe that corrupt men afterwards made of the principles they profeſſed. At court he maintained the character of a man of virtue, and a lover of truth, who was not capable of deceiving by mean flatteries, and yet had ſubmiſſion enough to execute, without murmuring, the orders that were given con-

e trary to his advice. *Pyrrhus*, who repoſed an intire confidence in this great man, could not help communicating to him the vaſt projects he was forming: having therefore called him into his cabinet, after he had diſmiſſed the *Tarentine* embaſſadors, The *Tarentines*, ſaid he, invite me over into *Italy*, which opens to me a large field of glory. To ſubdue the *Romans* is to conquer the weſt: and how eaſy is it to ſubdue them! *Hetruria* finds them employment on one hand, and all the nations on this ſide the *Tyber*, quite to the ſea-ſhore, are ready to take up arms under my command againſt that ambitious and haughty republic. Tell me impartially what you think of this expedition. *Cyneas*, without diſapproving his deſign upon *Italy*, asked him whither he deſigned to turns his arms, if the gods ſhould be ſo gracious as to *Diſcloſes his deſign to* Cyneas.

f crown his attempts upon that country with the wiſhed-for ſucceſs. To this queſtion *Pyrrhus* without heſitation anſwered, that from *Italy* he deſigned to paſs over into *Sicily*, where he ſhould find all things in confuſion on account of the death of king *Agathocles*, who had kept the *Sicilians* in awe. And how many fruitful provinces, ſaid he, ſhall I find there, either ready to receive me after the conqueſt of *Italy*, or not in a condition to oppoſe my victorious troops! And when *Sicily* ſhall have ſubmitted to you, where do you intend to make war next? replied *Cyneas*. The thing ſpeaks itſelf, anſwered *Pyrrhus*; from *Sicily* I will ſail over into *Africa*. The *Carthaginians*

[1] PLUT. ibid. & CIC. de Divin. l. ii.

are not invincible. *Agathocles* ſurprized them with a few ſhips, and was very near making himſelf king of *Carthage*. And when I ſhall have taken that city, who will be able to make head againſt me? *Macedon*, which I formerly conquered, and every province of *Greece*, ſhall be part of my future conqueſts. And after all theſe victories, ſaid *Cyneas*, how ſhall we employ ourſelves, and diſpoſe of our time? I will then, ſubjoined *Pyrrhus*, take ſome reſt after all my fatigues, and enjoy the pleaſures of life with you. At theſe words the wiſe philoſopher interrupting him, And what prevents you, ſaid he, from enjoying that happineſs now, which you propoſe to ſeek through ſo many toils and labours with the hazard of never being able to find it? Why ſhould you purchaſe, at ſo dear a rate, the gratifications which you may now enjoy without the leaſt trouble? Theſe words made ſome impreſſion upon the king; but his ambition getting the better of his underſtanding, he perſiſted in his deſign; and covering his ambitious views with the appearance of virtue, *It is* hereditary in my family, ſaid he, to aſſiſt the miſerable: we ought not to make war for ourſelves alone, but to relieve the oppreſſed. Being thus unalterably fixed in his deſign of ſubjecting all *Italy*, the better to conceal it, he cauſed a very artful clauſe to be inſerted in his treaty with the *Tarentines*, viz. that when he had once relieved *Tarentum*, he ſhould not be detained in *Italy*, but allowed to return to *Epirus*. He likewiſe required that ſome of the embaſſadors ſhould continue in his dominions, under pretence of aſſiſting him in making the neceſſary preparations for war; but in reality, that they might be as ſo many hoſtages to ſecure the fidelity of the *Tarentines* [m].

Reſolves on a war with the Romans.

Having taken theſe prudent precautions, he immediately diſpatched *Cyneas* with part of his fleet, and a detachment of three thouſand foot to *Tarentum*, where that artful miniſter ſoon changed the face of affairs, the chief men of the city being, notwithſtanding the embaſſy they had ſent to *Pyrrhus*, inclined to come to an agreement with the *Romans*; nay they had even choſen for their chief magiſtrate one *Agis*, who was a ſincere friend to the *Romans*, and acted in concert with *L. Æmilius Barbula* the *Roman* general, hoping by that means to reconcile his countrymen to *Rome*, and make them lay aſide their deſign of receiving the king of *Epirus*. But *Cyneas* by his eloquence and inſinuating behaviour prevailed upon the *Tarentines* to depoſe *Agis*, and place one of the emba ſſadors, who had been ſent into *Epirus*, in his room. After this he perſuaded them to deliver up their citadel to one *Milo* an *Epirote*, who was arrived a few days before with freſh ſuccours, and the agreeable news that *Pyrrhus* would ſoon be there in perſon at the head of a numerous army. The *Tarentines*, impatient to ſee the king of *Epirus* among them, upon this advice diſpatched their gallies and a great number of tranſports with all ſorts of proviſions, and a large ſum of money to *Epirus*, in order to convey *Pyrrhus* with his troops and elephants ſafe to *Tarentum*. The convoy no ſooner arrived than the king imbarqued, *Cyneas* and *Milo* having paved the way for him ſo well, that his authority was already as well eſtabliſhed in *Tarentum*, as in *Epirus*. Before the arrival of the *Tarentine* fleet he had ſettled the government of his dominions during his abſence. He left *Ptolemy*, his ſon by *Antigone* the daughter of *Berenice*, who was then fifteen years old, regent of *Epirus* under the tuition of *Ptolemy Ceraunus* king of *Macedon*. He took his two younger ſons, *Alexander* and *Helenus* (L) with him into *Italy* to amuſe and entertain him in this long expedition. Before his departure, he had likewiſe borrowed ſhips, men and money, of the kings his friends; ſo that his army conſiſted of twenty-two thouſand foot, three thouſand horſe, five hundred ſlingers, and fifty elephants,

Pyrrhus *imbarques for* Italy. *Year of the flood* 2719. *Before Chriſt* 280.

[m] Plut. ibid. Dion in excerpt. Zonar. l. viii.

(L) After the death of *Antigone*, the daughter of *Berenice*, *Pyrrhus* married ſeveral wives. The firſt was the daughter of *Antoleon*, king of the *Paonians*. The ſecond, by name *Bircenna*, was the daughter of *Bardullis*, king of the *Illyrians*. The third was *Lanaſſa*, the daughter of *Agathocles*, king of *Syracuſe*. The latter brought him the iſland of *Corcyra*, which her father had ſeized, for her portion. By her he had *Alexander*; and *Helenus*, the youngeſt of all his children, by *Bercenna*. *Plutarch* tells us, that all the children of *Pyrrhus* derived a warlike genius from their father, which was greatly improved by their education, and adds, that one of them having asked him, to which of his children he deſigned to leave the kingdom of *Epirus*? the king anſwered, To him who has the ſharpeſt ſword. *Lanaſſa*, who was once his favourite wife, grew at laſt jealous of him, thinking he preferred his other wives to her, and retiring to *Corcyra*, there married *Demetrius* (102).

(102) *Plut. in Pyrrho.*

according

a according to *Juſtin* [n], which *Plutarch* reduces to twenty [o]. Among theſe troops were about ſeven thouſand of thoſe brave *Macedonians*, who had conquered *Aſia* under *Alexander the Great*. His fleet was compoſed of the ſhips of *Epirus*, the gallies of *Tarentum*, and thoſe which *Antigonus Gonatas* had ſent him. With theſe he immediately ſet ſail about the end of the winter, the eager deſire he had of getting to *Italy*, not ſuffering him to wait for a more favourable ſeaſon. But his impatience had like to have coſt him dear; for he had ſcarce got out into the open ſea, when a violent ſtorm from the north drove him out of his courſe, and diſperſed his fleet. The ſhip, on board of which the king was, being large and high-built, gained by the care of the pilot and mariners the coaſt of *Italy* the firſt after a voyage of infinite

His fleet diſperſed by a ſtorm.

b fatigue and danger. The few ſhips that followed the king, ſtruck againſt the rocks on the *Meſſapian* ſhore, and were daſhed to pieces. While *Pyrrhus* was preparing to come aſhore, the inhabitants having flocked from all quarters to ſee him, a freſh accident was very near deſtroying the deliverer of *Italy*, as they ſtyled him, and diſappointing the expectation of the *Tarentines*. For a land wind riſing all on a ſudden with great violence, drove *Pyrrhus* out to ſea again. This new danger was greater than any he had met with in his paſſage, the mariners expecting that his ſhip being furiouſly beat by huge waves, would founder at each ſhock it ſuſtained. In this extremity the intrepid *Pyrrhus* did not heſitate a moment, but as the ſhore was not far off, threw himſelf into the ſea, and was immediately followed by his guards,

And himſelf in danger of being loſt.

c and thoſe friends he had on board, without doubt, to take care of his perſon, and ſave him at the danger of their own lives; but as the night was extremely dark, and the ſea ran very high, he ſtruggled with the waves till day-break, when the wind abating, he reached the land with the aſſiſtance of the *Meſſapians*, who ſtood on the ſhore. The long fatigue he had ſuſtained during great part of the night, weakened him to ſuch a degree, that he could not ſtand without being ſupported by his guards. But what gave him the greateſt uneaſineſs was the apprehenſion he was under of his army being loſt; for he had with him only two thouſand men, a few horſes, and two elephants, animals which had never before been ſeen in *Italy*. With theſe he croſſed *Meſſapia*, and marched directly to *Tarentum* [p].

d *Cyneas* no ſooner heard what had happened to *Pyrrhus*, but he advanced to meet him at the head of a ſtrong detachment, and conducted him ſafe to *Tarentum*, where he was received with loud acclamations, and all poſſible demonſtrations of joy. The *Tarentines*, who were intirely devoted to their pleaſures, expected that he ſhould take all the fatigues of the war on himſelf, and expoſe his *Epirots* only to danger. And indeed *Pyrrhus* for ſome days diſſembled his deſign, and ſuffered the *Tarentines* to indulge without reſtraint their uſual diverſions. But his ſhips, which had been diſperſed all over the *Ionian* ſea, arriving one after another, and with them the troops which he had put on board of them in *Epirus*, he began to reform the diſorders that prevailed in the city. The theatre was the place to which the idle *Tarentines* reſorted

Arrives at Tarentum.

e daily in great numbers, and where the incendiaries ſtirred up the people to ſedition with their harangues; he therefore cauſed it to be ſhut up, as he did likewiſe the public gardens, porticos, and places of exerciſe, where the inhabitants uſed to entertain themſelves with news, and ſpeak with great freedom of their governors, cenſuring their conduct, and ſettling the government according to their different humours, which occaſioned great diviſions, and rent the city into various factions. As they were a very voluptuous and indolent people, they ſpent whole days and nights in feaſts, maſquerades, plays, *&c.* and theſe *Pyrrhus* abſolutely prohibited as no leſs dangerous than the aſſemblies of prating politicians. They were utter ſtrangers to military exerciſes, and the art of handling arms; but *Pyrrhus* having cauſed an exact

Reforms the manners of the Tarentines.

f regiſter to be made of all the young men who were fit for war, picked out the ſtrongeſt among them, and incorporated them among his own troops, ſaying, that he would take it upon him to give them courage. He exerciſed them daily for ſeveral hours, and on that occaſion behaved himſelf with an inexorable ſeverity, inflicting exemplary puniſhments on ſuch as did not attend, or failed in their duty. By theſe wiſe meaſures he prevented ſeditions among the citizens, and inured their youth to military diſcipline; and becauſe many, who had not been accuſtomed to ſuch ſeverity and rigour, withdrew from their native country, *Pyrrhus* by a public procla-

[n] Justin. l. xvii. c. 2. [o] Plut. ibid. [p] Plut. & Justin. ibid.

mation

mation declared all thoſe guilty of death, who ſhould attempt to abandon their country, or abſent themſelves from the common muſters [q]. a

The *Tarentines* being now ſenſible that *Pyrrhus* was determined to be their maſter, began loudly to complain of his conduct; but he being informed of whatever paſſed among them by his ſpies, who inſinuated themſelves into all companies, privately diſpatched the moſt factious, and ſent thoſe, whom he ſuſpected, under various pretences to his ſon's court in *Epirus*. Among the latter was *Ariſtarchus*, a famous orator, whoſe eloquence gave *Pyrrhus* no ſmall jealouſy; for orators had in thoſe days a great influence over the multitude, eſpecially in the *Greek* cities, where popular government obtained. As *Ariſtarchus* had, we may ſay, an abſolute authority in the city, *Pyrrhus* made it his chief buſineſs to leſſen his reputation among his fellow-citizens, pretending a ſtrict friendſhip for the orator, and giving out, that in many things, which were diſpleaſing to the *Tarentines*, he had acted according to his advice. But *Ariſtarchus* in his private diſcourſes undeceived them, letting them know that he entertained the ſame thoughts of *Pyrrhus* as the multitude. The king therefore, thinking it neceſſary to remove ſo dangerous an enemy, ſent him to his ſon on an embaſſy, which, he ſaid, was of the utmoſt importance. *Ariſtarchus* ſaw through the artifice, but pretending to be altogether unacquainted with it, accepted the deputation, and chuſing a veſſel, the commander of which was intirely at his devotion, ſet ſail, as *Pyrrhus* imagined, for *Epirus*. But he had no ſooner loſt ſight of the land, than he ordered the pilot to return to *Italy*, and put in at ſome port, from whence he might go ſafely by land to *Rome*. The pilot obeyed, and *Ariſtarchus* on his arrival in that metropolis acquainted the ſenate with the ſtate of *Tarentum*, and the deſigns of *Pyrrhus*. Hereupon *Fabricius* was immediately diſpatched to viſit the *Roman* colonies, and the allies of the republic, to fortify ſome places, and exhort the cities to continue ſteady in their alliance with *Rome*. And truly theſe precautions were neceſſary, the allies of the republic being in many places inclined to deſert her, and ready to join a king famous for his exploits, who promiſed them a happy deliverance from all manner of ſubjection [r]. b c

In the mean time *P. Valerius Lævinus* the *Roman* conſul, entering the country of the *Lucanians*, who were in alliance with the *Tarentines*, committed great ravages there, and having taken and fortified one of their caſtles, waited in that neighbourhood for *Pyrrhus*. The king, though he had not yet received any ſuccours from the *Samnites*, *Meſſapians*, and other allies of the *Tarentines*, thought it highly diſhonourable to continue ſhut up in a city, while the *Romans* were ravaging the country of his friends. He therefore took the field with the troops he had brought him from *Epirus*, ſome recruits of *Tarentum*, and a ſmall number of *Italians*. But before he began hoſtilities, he wrote the following letter to *Lævinus*: *Pyrrhus* to *Lævinus* health. *I am informed that you command an army, which is to make war upon the* Tarentines. *Diſband it without delay, and lay your pretenſions before me. After I have heard both parties, I will give judgment, and know how to make my ſentence be obeyed.* *Lævinus* anſwered the king with all the haughtineſs of a *Roman*: *Know*, Pyrrhus, *that we neither admit you as a judge, nor fear you as an enemy. Does it become you to take upon you to judge us, who have yourſelf injured us by landing in* Italy *without the conſent of our republic? We will have no arbitrator but* Mars, *the author of our race, and protector of our arms.* The king upon the receipt of this letter immediately marched towards thoſe parts where *Lævinus* was waiting for him. The *Romans* were encamped on the hither ſide of the river *Siris*, and *Pyrrhus* appearing on the oppoſite bank made it his firſt buſineſs to reconnoitre the enemy's camp in perſon, and ſee what appearance they made. With this view he croſſed the river attended by *Megacles* one of his officers, and chief favourites; and having obſerved the conſul's intrenchments, the manner in which he had poſted his advanced guards, and the good order of his camp, he was greatly ſurprized; and addreſſing *Megacles*, Theſe people, ſaid he, are not ſuch barbarians as we take them to be; let us try them before we condemn them (M). On his return he changed his reſolution of attacking them, and ſhutting himſelf d e

Writes a haughty letter to the conſul Lævinus. *The conſul's anſwer.*

[q] Plut. ibid. Frontin. Stratag. [r] Plut. ibid. Dion in excerpt. Ursin. Polyb. l. i. c. 7.

(M) *Aurelius Victor* and *Florus* make *Pyrrhus* talk in a very different manner on this occaſion, and altogether foreign to the purpoſe. The firſt tells us, that at the ſight of the *Roman* army he cried out, that his fate was like that of *Hercules*, ſince he likewiſe had a *hydra* to encounter; and *Florus*, that when he ſaw the *Roman* troops, he complained of his being born under the ſame conſtellation with *Hercules*,

a himſelf up in his intrenchments, waited for the arrival of the confederate troops. In the mean time he poſted ſtrong guards along the river to prevent the enemy from paſſing it, and continually ſent out ſcouts to diſcover the deſigns, and watch the motions of the conſul. Some of theſe being taken by the advanced guards of the *Romans*, the conſul himſelf led them through his camp, and having ſhewed them his army, ſent them back to the king, telling them, that he had many other troops to ſhew them in due time [*].

Attacked by the Romans.

Lævinus being determined to draw the enemy to a battle before *Pyrrhus* received the reinforcements he expected, having harangued his troops, marched to the banks of the *Siris*, and there drawing up his infantry in battalia, ordered the cavalry to file
b off, and march a great way about in order to find a paſſage at ſome place not defended by the enemy. Accordingly they paſſed the river without being obſerved, and falling upon the guards, which *Pyrrhus* had poſted on the banks over-againſt the conſular army, gave the infantry an opportunity of croſſing the river on bridges, which *Lævinus* had prepared for that purpoſe. But before they got over, *Pyrrhus* haſtening from his camp, which was at ſome diſtance from the river, hoped to cut the *Roman* army in pieces, while they were diſordered with the difficulties of paſſing the river, and climbing up the ſteep banks. But the cavalry covering the infantry, and ſtanding between them and the *Epirots*, gave them time to form themſelves on the banks of the river. On the other hand, *Pyrrhus* drew up his men as faſt as they
c came from the camp, and performed ſuch feats of valour, that the *Romans* thought him worthy of the great reputation he had acquired.

Pyrrhus is in great danger in the beginning of the battle.

As the cavalry alone had hitherto engaged, *Pyrrhus*, who confided moſt in his infantry, haſtened back to the camp in order to bring them to the charge: but took two precautions before he began the attack; the firſt was to ride through the ranks, and ſhew himſelf to the whole army; for his horſe having been killed under him in the firſt onſet, a report had been ſpread that he was killed; the ſecond was to change his habit and helmet with *Megacles*; for having been known in the engagement of the horſe by the richneſs of his attire and armour, many of the *Romans* had aimed at him in particular, ſo that he was with the utmoſt difficulty taken up and ſaved after his
d horſe was killed under him. Thus diſguiſed, he led his phalanx againſt the *Roman* legions, and attacked them with incredible fury. *Lævinus* ſuſtained the ſhock with great reſolution, ſo that the victory was for many hours warmly diſputed. The *Romans* gave ſeveral times way to the *Epirots*, and the *Epirots* to the *Romans*; but both parties rallied again, and were brought back to the charge by their commanders. *Megacles* in the attire and helmet of *Pyrrhus* was in all places, and well ſupported the character he had aſſumed. But his diſguiſe at laſt proved fatal to him: For a *Roman* knight, by name *Dexter*, taking him for the king, followed him where-ever he went, and having found an opportunity of diſcharging a blow at him, ſtruck him dead on the ſpot, ſtript him of his helmet and armour, and carried them in
e triumph to the conſul, who by ſhewing to the *Epirots* the ſpoils of their king, ſo terrified them, that they began to give ground. But *Pyrrhus* appearing bare-headed in the firſt files of his phalanx, and riding through all the lines, undeceived his men, and inſpired them with new courage. The advantage ſeemed to be pretty equal on both ſides, when *Lævinus* ordered his cavalry to advance; which *Pyrrhus* obſerving, drew up twenty elephants in the front of his army with towers on their backs full of bowmen. The very ſight of thoſe dreadful animals chilled the bravery of the *Romans*, who had never before ſeen them. However they ſtill advanced, till their horſes, not being able to bear the ſmell of them, and frightened at the ſtrange noiſe they made, took head, and either threw their riders, or carried them off full ſtretch in ſpite
f of their utmoſt efforts. In the mean time the archers, diſcharging ſhowers of darts from the towers, wounded ſeveral of the *Romans* in that confuſion, while others were

But at laſt defeats the Romans.

[*] Plut. ibid. Justin. l. xviii. c. 2. Pausan. in Bœotic.

Hercules, ſince ſo many enemies, like the heads of the *hydra* of *Lerna*, ſtarted up out of their own blood. *Cyneas*, according to *Plutarch*, and not *Pyrrhus*, made this compariſon, after he had obſerved how quickly the *Roman* army was recruited, and the legions filled up, notwithſtanding the great loſs they had ſuſtained in the firſt battle. On this occaſion the reflection of *Cyneas* was a very ſenſible one, and the compariſon obvious and natural; but it would have been highly abſurd in the circumſtances in which the abovementioned authors ſuppoſe *Pyrrhus* to have made it, that is, before he had engaged the *Romans*, or gained any victory over them; for how could he then compare them to the *hydra*, whoſe heads grew up as faſt as *Hercules* cut them off?

trod to death by the elephants. Notwithſtanding the diſorder of the cavalry, the legionaries ſtill kept their ranks, and could not be broke, till *Pyrrhus* attacked them in perſon at the head of the *Theſſalian* horſe. The onſet was ſo furious, that they were forced to yield, and retire in diſorder. The king of *Epirus* reſtrained the ardour of his troops, and would not ſuffer them to purſue the enemy, an elephant which had been wounded by a *Roman* ſoldier, named *Minuccius*, having cauſed a great diſorder in his army. This accident favoured the retreat of the *Romans*, and gave them time to repaſs the river, and take refuge in *Apulia* [t]. *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus* makes the loſs of the *Romans* in this firſt battle amount to fifteen thouſand men; but *Hieronymus*, quoted by the ſame hiſtorian, reduces it to ſeven thouſand: according to the former *Pyrrhus* loſt thirteen thouſand, and four thouſand only according to the latter. The *Epirot* remained maſter of the field, and had the pleaſure to ſee the *Romans* fly before him; but the victory coſt him dear, a great number of his beſt officers and ſoldiers having been ſlain in the battle; whence he was heard to ſay after the action, that he was both conqueror and conquered, and that if he gained ſuch another victory, he ſhould be obliged to return to *Epirus* alone. He was ſo far from being elated with the advantage he had got, that when he hung up the ſpoils he had taken from the enemy, in the temple of *Jupiter* at *Tarentum*, he cauſed this memorable inſcription to be ingraved upon them: *Great* Jupiter, *I have conquered an invincible nation, and am conquered by the ſame* (N) [u]. His firſt care after the action was to bury the dead, with which the plain was covered; and herein he made no diſtinction between the *Romans* and his own *Epirots*. In viewing the bodies of the former, he obſerved, that none of them had received any diſhonourable wounds, that they had all fallen in the poſts aſſigned them, ſtill held their ſwords in their hands, and ſhewed even after their death a certain martial air and fierceneſs in their faces; and on this occaſion it was, that he uttered thoſe famous words: *O that* Pyrrhus *had* Romans *for his ſoldiers, or the* Romans Pyrrhus *for their leader! Together we ſhould ſubdue the whole world* [w].

His victory coſts him dear.

THE king of *Epirus* underſtood the art of war too well not to reap what advantage he could from his victory. He broke into the countries in alliance with the *Romans* like a torrent, plundered the lands of the republic, and made incurſions even into the neighbourhood of *Rome*. Many cities opened their gates to him, and in a ſhort time he made himſelf maſter of the greateſt part of *Campania*. While he was in that fruitful province, ſubſiſting his troops there at the expence of the *Romans*, he was joined by the *Samnites*, *Lucanians*, and *Meſſapians*, whom he had ſo long expected. After having reproached them for their delay, he gave them a good ſhare of the ſpoils he had taken from the enemy; and having by this means gained their affections, he marched without loſs of time to lay ſiege to *Capua*; but *Lævinus*, having already received a reinforcement of two legions, threw ſome troops into the city, which obliged *Pyrrhus* to drop his deſign, and leaving *Capua* to march ſtrait to *Naples*. *Lævinus* followed him, haraſſing his troops on their march, and at length by keeping his army in that neighbourhood, forced him to give over all thoughts of making himſelf maſter of that important city. The king then all on a ſudden took his rout towards *Rome* by the *Latin* way, ſurprized *Fregellæ*, and marching through the country of the *Hernici*, ſat down before *Præneſte*. There from the top of a hill he had the pleaſure of ſeeing *Rome*, and is ſaid to have advanced ſo near the walls, that he drove a cloud of duſt into the city. But he was ſoon forced to retire by the other conſul *T. Coruncanius*, who having reduced *Hetruria*, was juſt then returned with his victorious army to *Rome*. The king of *Epirus* therefore having no hopes of bringing the *Hetrurians* into his intereſt, and ſeeing two conſular armies ready to fall upon him, raiſed the ſiege of *Præneſte*, and haſtened back into *Campania*, where, to his great ſurpriſe, he found *Lævinus* with a more numerous army than that which he had defeated on the banks of the *Siris*. The conſul went to meet him with a deſign to try the fate of another battle, which *Pyrrhus* being unwilling to decline, drew up his army, and to ſtrike terror into the *Roman* legions, ordered his men to beat their

Makes himſelf maſter of the greateſt part of Campania.

Takes Fregellæ.

Raiſes the ſiege of Præneſte, *and returns to* Campania.

[t] DION, HALICARNASS. l. iii. PLUT. ibid. EUTROP. l. ii. OROS. l. iv. c. 2. [u] PLUT. ibid. OROS. l. iv. c. 1. [w] FLOR. l. viii.

(N) The words of this inſcription, as they have been tranſmitted to us in verſe, are,

Qui invicti ante fuere viri, pater optime Olympi,
Hos & ego in pugna vici, victuſque ſum ab iiſdem.

bucklers

a bucklers with their lances, and the leaders of the elephants to force them to make their hideous noiſe. But the noiſe was returned with ſuch an univerſal ſhout by the *Romans*, that *Pyrrhus* thinking ſo much alacrity on the part of the vanquiſhed too ſure a prognoſtic of victory, altered his mind, and pretending that the auguries were not favourable, retired to *Tarentum*, and put an end to the campaign [x].

WHILE *Pyrrhus* continued quiet at *Tarentum*, he had time to reflect on the valour and conduct of the *Romans*; which made him conclude, that the war, in which he was engaged, muſt end in his ruin and diſgrace, if not terminated by an honourable peace. He was therefore overjoyed when he heard that the ſenate had determined to ſend an honourable embaſſy to him, not doubting but their errand was to propoſe b terms of peace. He pleaſed himſelf with the imagination of ſeeing thoſe haughty republicans at his feet in a ſuppliant manner, and ſaying to them with the air of a conqueror, *I grant you peace.* In full expectation of this, he ſent *Lycon* the *Moloſſian* to wait for them with a guard on the frontiers of *Tarentum*; and as they approached the city went out in perſon to meet them, received them with all poſſible marks of honour, and appointed them ſtately lodgings, commanding them to be plentifully ſupplied at the public expence with all neceſſaries. The embaſſadors were three men of diſtinguiſhed merit, viz. *Cornelius Dolabella*, who was famous for the ſignal victory he had gained over the *Senones*, the virtuous *Fabricius*, and *Æmilius Papus*, who had been his collegue in the conſulate two years before. When they were admitted to an c audience, the only thing they demanded was a ſurrender of the priſoners, either by way of exchange, or at ſuch a ranſom as ſhould be agreed on; for *Pyrrhus* in the late battle had made eighteen hundred priſoners, moſt of them *Roman* knights, and men of diſtinction in the republic. They had fought with great bravery, till their horſes, frightened with the roaring of the king's elephants, had either thrown them, or obliged them to diſmount; by which unforeſeen accident they had fallen into the enemy's hands. The ſenate therefore pitying the condition of thoſe brave men, had determined, contrary to their cuſtom, to redeem them. *Pyrrhus* was greatly ſurprized and diſappointed when he found that they had no other propoſals to make; but concealing his thoughts, he only anſwered, that he would conſider of it, and d let them know his reſolution [y].

The Romans *ſend an embaſſy to him to deſire an exchange of priſoners.*

ACCORDINGLY he aſſembled his council; but his chief favourites were divided in their opinions. *Milo*, who commanded in the citadel of *Tarentum*, was for coming to no compoſition with the *Romans*; but *Cyneas*, who knew his maſter's inclination, propoſed not only ſending back the priſoners without ranſom, but diſpatching an embaſſy to *Rome* to treat with the ſenate of a laſting peace. His advice was approved, and he himſelf appointed to go on that embaſſy. After theſe reſolutions the king acquainted the embaſſadors that he intended to releaſe the priſoners without ranſom, ſince he had already riches enough, and deſired nothing of their republic but her friendſhip. Afterwards he had ſeveral private conferences with *Fabricius*, whoſe virtue he e tried with mighty offers of riches and grandeur; but finding him proof againſt all temptations, he reſolved to try whether his intrepidity and courage were equal to his virtue. With this view he cauſed an elephant to be placed behind a curtain in the hall where he received the *Roman* embaſſador. As *Fabricius* had never ſeen one of thoſe beaſts, the king taking a turn or two in the hall with him brought him within the elephant's reach, and then cauſed the curtain to be drawn all on a ſudden, and that monſtrous animal to make his uſual noiſe, and even lay his trunk on *Fabricius*'s head. But the intrepid *Roman* without betraying the leaſt fear or concern, Does the great king, ſaid he, with ſurpriſing calmneſs, who could not ſtagger me with his offers, think to frighten me with the braying of a beaſt? *Pyrrhus*, aſtof niſhed at his immoveable conſtancy invited him to dine with him; and on this occaſion it was, that the converſation turning upon the *Epicuræan* philoſophy, *Fabricius* made that celebrated exclamation; *O that* Pyrrhus, *both for* Rome's *ſake and his own, had placed his happineſs in the boaſted indolence of* Epicurus! [z].

Cyneas *ſent to* Rome *to treat of a peace.*

Pyrrhus's *conference with* Fabricius.

EVERY thing *Pyrrhus* heard or ſaw of the *Romans* increaſed his earneſtneſs for peace. He ſent for the three embaſſadors, releaſed two hundred of the priſoners without ranſom, and ſuffered the reſt, on their parole, to return to *Rome* to celebrate the *Saturnalia*, or feaſts of *Saturn*, in their own families. Having by this obliging behaviour gained the good-will of the *Roman* embaſſadors, he ſent the

[x] PLUT. & FLOR. ibid. ZONAR. l. viii. c. 4. [y] DION. HAL. legat. [z] DION. HALICAR. ibid.

famous

I

famous *Cyneas* to *Rome* almoſt at the ſame time that they left *Tarentum*. The inſtructions he gave this faithful miniſter were to bring the *Romans* to grant theſe three articles: 1. That the *Tarentines* ſhould be included in the treaty made with the king of *Epirus*: 2. That all the *Greek* cities in *Italy* ſhould be ſuffered to enjoy their laws and liberties: 3. That the republic ſhould reſtore to the *Samnites*, *Lucanians*, and *Brutians*, all the places ſhe had taken from them. Upon theſe conditions *Pyrrhus* declared himſelf ready to forbear all further hoſtilities, and conclude a laſting peace. a

Cyneas's negotiations at Rome.

With theſe inſtructions *Cyneas* ſet out for *Rome*, where partly by his eloquence, partly by rich preſents to the ſenators, and their wives, he ſoon gained a good number of voices. When he was admitted into the ſenate, he made an harangue worthy of a diſciple of the great *Demoſthenes*; after which he read the conditions *Pyrrhus* propoſed, and with a great deal of eloquence endeavoured to ſhew the reaſonableneſs and moderation of his maſter's demands, asking leave for *Pyrrhus* to come in perſon to *Rome* to conclude and ſign the treaty. The ſenators were generally inclined to agree to *Pyrrhus*'s terms; but nevertheleſs, as ſeveral ſenators were abſent, the determination of the affair was poſtponed to the next day, when *Appius Claudius*, the greateſt orator, and moſt learned civilian in *Rome*, old and blind as he was, cauſed himſelf to be carried to the ſenate, where he had not appeared for many years; and there, what with his eloquence, what with his authority, ſo prepoſſeſſed the minds of the ſenators againſt the king of *Epirus*, and the conditions he offered, that when he had done ſpeaking, the conſcript fathers unanimouſly paſſed a decree, the ſubſtance of which was, c that the war with *Pyrrhus* ſhould be continued; that his embaſſador ſhould be ſent back that very day; that the king of *Epirus* ſhould not be permitted to come to *Rome*; and that they ſhould acquaint his embaſſador, that *Rome* would enter into no treaty of peace with his maſter till he had left *Italy* [a].

The Romans *refuſe to enter into a treaty with* Pyrrhus *till he has left* Italy.

Cyneas, ſurprized at the anſwer given him, left *Rome* the ſame day, and returned to *Tarentum*, to acquaint the king with the final reſolution of the ſenate. *Pyrrhus* on hearing it admired the conſtancy and intrepidity of a conquered people, who ſpoke the language of conquerors; and having asked *Cyneas* his opinion of the ſenate, into which he had been introduced, that miniſter told him, that the ſenate ſeemed to him an aſſembly of kings, whoſe appearance filled the ſpectators with awe and reverence. d This anſwer greatly increaſed the eſteem *Pyrrhus* had for the *Romans*; he would have willingly concluded a peace with them upon any honourable terms; but as the conditions they offered were not by any means conſiſtent with the reputation of his arms, he began, without loſs of time, to make all due preparations for the next campaign. On the other hand, the *Romans* having raiſed to the conſulate *P. Sulpicius Saverrio*, and *P. Decius Mus*, diſpatched them both into *Apulia*, where they found *Pyrrhus* incamped near a little town called *Aſculum*. There the conſuls, joining their armies, fortified themſelves at the foot of the *Apennines*, having between them and the enemy a large deep ſtream, which divided the plain. Both armies continued a great while on the oppoſite banks before either ventured to paſs it to attack e the other. The *Epirots* being informed that the father and grandfather of the conſul *Decius* had, by devoting themſelves to the *Dii Manes*, gained victories when every thing threatened the total defeat of their troops, believed that the *Decii* tranſmitted from father to ſon ſome unaccountable art of necromancy, whereby they ſecured the victory to their party whenever they loſt their lives in the battle. This vain apprehenſion filled the *Epirots* with terror; and *Pyrrhus* to deſtroy ſo dangerous a prepoſſeſſion, ſent a meſſenger to *Decius*, acquainting him, that if he attempted to devote himſelf, he ſhould find the *Epirots* upon their guard, and reſolved not to put him to death, but to take him alive, and that the moſt cruel puniſhments ſhould be inflicted upon him as an impoſtor after the battle. To this meſſage the conſuls returned the following anſwer; *Pyrrhus* is not ſo formidable an enemy as to reduce us to expedients, which we make uſe of only in the greateſt and inevitable dangers. To ſhew how little we fear him, we offer him his choice, either to paſs the river unmoleſted, or to ſuffer us to do ſo; we ſhall then try in the open field, and upon equal terms, which of us ſhall have need of employing extraordinary methods to gain the victory. The king could not in point of honour decline the challenge, and therefore choſe to continue where he was, and let the *Romans* croſs the ſtream; which they did accordingly, and drew up in the plain. On the other hand, *Pyrrhus* placed his men likewiſe in

His meſſage to Decius *the* Roman *conſul.*

f

[a] Plut. ibid. Ennius apud Cic. in Cat. Maj.

order

a order of battle in the ſame plain; and all the ancients do him the juſtice to ſay, that no commander ever underſtood better the art of drawing up an army, and directing its motions. In the right wing he placed his *Epirots*, and the *Samnites*, in his left the *Lucanians*, *Brutians*, and *Salentines*, and his phalanx in the centre. The centre of the *Roman* army conſiſted of four legions, which were to engage the enemy's phalanx; on their wings were poſted the light-armed auxiliaries, and the *Roman* horſe. The conſuls, in order to guard their troops againſt the fury of the elephants, had prepared chariots, armed with long points of iron in the ſhape of forks, and filled with ſoldiers carrying firebrands, which they were directed to throw at the elephants, and by that means frighten them, and ſet their wooden towers on fire. Theſe chariots b were poſted over-againſt the king's elephants, and ordered not to ſtir till they entered upon action. To this precaution the *Roman* generals added another, which was, to order a body of *Apulian* troops to attack *Pyrrhus*'s camp in the heat of the engagement; in order to force it, or at leaſt draw off part of the enemy's forces to defend it. At length the attack began, both parties being pretty equal in number; for each of them conſiſted of about forty thouſand men. The phalanx ſuſtained for a long time the furious onſet of the legions with incredible bravery; but at length being forced to give way, *Pyrrhus* commanded his elephants to advance, but not on the ſide where the *Romans* had poſted their chariots; they marched round, and falling upon the *Roman* horſe, ſoon put them into confuſion. Then the phalanx, returning with freſh c courage to the charge, made the *Roman* legions in their turn give ground. On this occaſion *Decius* was killed, ſo that one conſul only was left to command the two *Roman* armies. But while all things ſeemed to favour *Pyrrhus*, the body of *Apulians*, which we have mentioned above, falling unexpectedly on the camp of the *Epirots*, obliged the king to diſpatch a ſtrong detachment to defend his intrenchments. Upon the departure of theſe troops, ſome of the *Epirots* imagining that the camp was taken, began to loſe courage, and retire; thoſe who were next to them followed their example, and in a ſhort time the whole army gave way. *Pyrrhus* having attempted ſeveral times in vain to rally his forces, returned to the charge with a ſmall number of his friends, and the moſt courageous of his officers. With theſe he ſuſtained the d fury of the victorious legions, and covered the retreat of his own men. But being after a moſt gallant behaviour dangerouſly wounded, he retired at laſt with his ſmall band in good order, leaving the *Romans* maſters of the field. As the ſun was near ſetting, and the *Romans* extremely fatigued, and a great number of them wounded, the conſul *Sulpicius*, not thinking it adviſeable to purſue the enemy, ſounded a retreat, repaſſed the ſtream, and brought his troops back to the camp (O). *Sulpicius* appeared in the field of battle the next day with a deſign to bring the *Epirots* to a ſecond engagement; but finding they had withdrawn in the night to *Tarentum*, he likewiſe retired, and put his troops into winter quarters in *Apulia* [b].

Both armies prepare for a general engagement.

The battle of Aſculum.

The Epirots *give way.*

Pyrrhus *is dangerouſly wounded.*

BOTH armies continued quiet in their quarters during winter; but early in the ſpring e took the field anew. The *Romans* were commanded this year by two men of great fame, whom they had raiſed to the conſulate the ſecond time; theſe were the celebrated *C. Fabricius*, and *Q. Æmilius Papus*, who no ſooner arrived in *Apulia*, than

[b] PLUT. DION. HAL. FLOR. JUSTIN. ibid.

(O) Hiſtorians give us very different accounts of the battle of *Aſculum*. *Plutarch*, who will have it to have been a double action, relates it thus: *Pyrrhus*, ſays he, was pent up in a place, where the cavalry could not be of any uſe; and could not bring up his elephants, the ground being very marſhy. In this diſadvantageous poſt many of his men were killed, and more wounded; ſo that night alone, which put an end to the battle, ſaved him from an intire defeat. The next day the king, to retrieve his reputation, took poſſeſſion of a more even ground, where he placed his elephants. Early in the morning, having ſeized thoſe narrow paſſes, which had proved fatal to his army the day before, he drew up his men in the plain, poſting a great number of archers and pikemen among his elephants. In this order he advanced towards the enemy, and charged the *Roman* troops with incredible fury. The legions fought a long time with great bravery; but at length, not being able to withſtand the elephants, betook themſelves to flight (103). On the other hand, *Eutropius* tells us, that the *Romans* gained a complete victory, that *Pyrrhus* loſt his elephants in the action, and was obliged, though wounded, to fly to *Tarentum* to avoid falling into the enemy's hands (104). But his account is contradicted by other hiſtorians. *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*, as quoted by *Plutarch*, ſays, that there was but one battle fought near the city of *Aſculum*; that the ſucceſs of this great action was doubtful; that *Pyrrhus* was wounded in the arm with a ſpear, and that his baggage was plundered by the *Samnites*. The ſame author makes *Pyrrhus* on this occaſion give that famous anſwer to one, who congratulated him on his victory, *Such another would undo me* (105).

(103) *Plut. ibid.* (104) *Eutrop. l.* ii. (105) *Dion. Hal. l.* iii.

they marched their troops into the territory of *Tarentum*. *Pyrrhus*, who had received a conſiderable reinforcements from *Epirus*, met them near the frontiers, and encamped at a ſmall diſtance from the *Roman* army. While the conſuls were waiting here for a favourable opportunity to give battle, a meſſenger from *Nicias*, the king's phyſician, delivered a letter to *Fabricius*, wherein the traitor offered to take off his maſter by poiſon, provided the conſul would promiſe him a reward proportionable to the greatneſs of the ſervice. The virtuous *Roman* being filled with horror at the bare propoſal of ſuch a crime, immediately communicated the affair to his collegue, who readily joined with him in writing a letter to *Pyrrhus*, wherein they warned him without diſcovering the criminal, to take care of himſelf, and be upon his guard againſt the treacherous deſigns of thoſe about him. The letter was couched in the following terms: *C. Fabricius*, and *Q. Æmilius* conſuls, to king *Pyrrhus*, health. You are unhappy both in the choice of your friends and enemies. This letter will ſatisfy you, that the former are the worſt of men, and the latter perſons of honour and probity. You are betrayed, *Pyrrhus*, and the man who ought to be moſt faithful to you, offers to poiſon you. We give you this information, not to curry favour with you, but fearing leſt we ſhould be ſuſpected of conſenting to an aſſaſſination, which we deteſt and abhor. We do not deſire to end the war by ſecret and wicked attempts, but openly, and with our ſwords [c]. *Pyrrhus* out of a deep ſenſe of gratitude for ſo great a benefit, releaſed immediately without ranſom all the priſoners he had taken. But the *Romans*, diſdaining to accept either a favour from an enemy, or a recompenſe for not committing the blackeſt treachery, declared that they would not receive their priſoners but by way of exchange; and accordingly ſent to *Pyrrhus* an equal number of *Samnite* and *Tarentine* priſoners [d].

The king's phyſician offers to poiſon his maſter.

The conſul's letter to the king on this occaſion.

Cyneas *ſent a ſecond time to* Rome.

As the king of *Epirus* grew every day more weary of a war, which he feared would end in his diſgrace, he ſent *Cyneas* a ſecond time to *Rome* to try whether he could, with his artful harangues, prevail upon the conſcript fathers to hearken to an accommodation upon ſuch terms as were conſiſtent with his honour. But the embaſſador found the ſenators ſteady in their former reſolution, and determined not to enter into any treaty with his maſter till he had left *Italy*, and withdrawn from thence all his forces. This gave the king great uneaſineſs; for he had already loſt moſt of his veteran troops, and beſt officers, and was ſenſible that he ſhould loſe the reſt if he ventured another engagement. While he was revolving theſe melancholy thoughts in his mind, embaſſadors arrived at his camp from the *Syracuſians*, *Agrigentines*, and *Leontines*, imploring the aſſiſtance of his arms to drive out the *Carthaginians*, and put an end to the troubles which threatened their reſpective ſtates with utter deſtruction.

Pyrrhus *ſets ſail for* Sicily.

Pyrrhus, who wanted only ſome honourable pretence to leave *Italy*, laid hold of this, and appointing *Milo* governor of *Tarentum* with a ſtrong gariſon to keep the inhabitants in awe during his abſence, ſet ſail for *Sicily* with thirty thouſand foot, and two thouſand five hundred horſe, on board a fleet of two hundred ſhips. We have elſewhere related at length the great ſucceſs that attended him at firſt in *Sicily* [e]; but the face of his affairs ſoon changed there likewiſe. The *Sicilians*, diſguſted at the reſolution he had taken of paſſing over into *Africa*, and much more at the enormous exactions and extortions of his miniſters and courtiers, had ſubmitted partly to the *Carthaginians*, and partly to the *Mamertines*. When *Carthage* heard of this change, new troops were raiſed all over *Africa*, and a numerous army ſent into *Sicily* to recover the cities which *Pyrrhus* had taken. As the *Sicilians* daily deſerted from him in crowds, he was no ways in a condition with his *Epirots* alone to withſtand ſo powerful an enemy; and therefore when deputies came to him from the *Tarentines*, *Samnites*, *Brutians*, and *Lucanians*, repreſenting to him the loſſes they had ſuſtained ſince his departure, and remonſtrating, that without his aſſiſtance they muſt fall a ſacrifice to the *Romans*, he laid hold of that opportunity to abandon the iſland, and return to *Italy*. His fleet was attacked by that of *Carthage*, and his army after their landing by the *Mamertines*, as we have related in the hiſtory of *Syracuſe* [f]. But *Pyrrhus* having by his heroic bravery eſcaped all danger, marched along the ſea-ſhore in order to reach *Tarentum* that way. As he paſſed through the country of the *Locrians*, who had not long before maſſacred the troops he had left there, he not only exerciſed all ſorts of cruelty on the inhabitants, but plundered the temple of *Proſerpine* to ſupply the wants of his army. The immenſe riches which he found there, were by his

Returns to Italy.

[c] Plut. ibid. & auth. de vir. illuſt. Gellius noct. Attic. Senec. epiſt. 120. Eutrop. l. ii. [d] Plut. ibid. & Eutrop. l. ii. [e] Vide p. 89, 90. [f] p. 90.

orders

a orders ſent to *Tarentum* by ſea; but the ſhips that carried them, being daſhed againſt the rocks by a tempeſt, and the mariners all loſt, this proud prince being convinced, ſays *Livy* g, that the gods were not imaginary beings, cauſed all the treaſure, which the ſea had thrown upon the ſhore, to be carefully gathered up, and replaced in the temple; nay, to appeaſe the wrath of the angry goddeſs, he put all thoſe to death who had adviſed him to plunder her temple. However ſuperſtition made the ancients aſcribe to this act of impiety all the misfortunes which afterwards befel that unhappy prince.

Pyrrhus at length arrived at *Tarentum*; but of the army he had carried into *Sicily*, he brought back into *Italy* only three thouſand horſe, and not quite twenty thouſand *Arrives at* Tarentum.

b foot, a ſmall body indeed to cope with two conſular armies. He therefore reinforced them with the beſt troops he could raiſe in the countries of the *Samnites*, *Lucanians*, and *Brutians*; and hearing that the two new conſuls, *Curius Dentatus* and *Cornelius Lentulus* had divided their forces, the one invading *Lucania*, and the other *Samnium*; he likewiſe divided his army into two bodies, marching with the choice of his *Epirots* againſt *Dentatus* in hopes of ſurprizing him in his camp near *Beneventum*. But the conſul, having notice of his approach, went out of his intrenchments with a ſtrong detachment of legionaries to meet him, repulſed his van-guard, put many of the *Epirots* to the ſword, and took ſome of their elephants. *Curius*, encouraged with this firſt ſucceſs, marched his army into the *Taurafian* fields, and drew it *Attacks* Curtius Dentatus *near* Beneventum.

c up in a plain, which was wide enough for his troops, but too narrow for the *Epirot* phalanx, the phalangites being ſo crowded, that they could not handle their arms without difficulty. But the king's eagerneſs to try his ſtrength and ſkill with ſo renowned a commander, made him engage at ſo great a diſadvantage. Upon the firſt ſignal the action began, and one of the king's wings giving way, the victory ſeemed to incline to the *Romans*. But that wing where the king fought in perſon, repulſed the enemy, and drove them back quite to their intrenchments. This advantage was in great part owing to the elephants, which *Curius* perceiving, commanded a corps-de-reſerve, which he had poſted near the camp, to advance, and fall upon the elephants. Theſe carrying burning torches in one hand, and their ſwords in the other, threw the

d former at the elephants, and with the latter defended themſelves againſt their guides, by which means they were both forced to give way. The elephants being put to flight, broke into the phalanx, cloſe as it was, and there cauſed a general diſorder, which was increaſed by a remarkable accident: For it is ſaid, that a young elephant being wounded, and thereupon making a dreadful noiſe, the mother quitting her rank, and haſtening to the aſſiſtance of her young one, put thoſe, who ſtill kept their ranks, into the utmoſt confuſion. But however that be, it is certain, that the *Romans* obtained at laſt a complete victory h. *Oroſius* i and *Eutropius* k tell us, that *Pyrrhus*'s army conſiſted of fourſcore thouſand foot, and ſix thouſand horſe, including his *Epirots* and allies, whereas the conſular army was ſcarce twenty thouſand men *But is utterly defeated.*

e ſtrong. Thoſe who exaggerate the king's loſs ſay, that the number of the ſlain on his ſide amounted to thirty thouſand men; but others reduce it to twenty thouſand. All writers agree, that *Curius* took twelve hundred priſoners, and eight elephants. This victory, which was the moſt deciſive *Rome* had ever gained, brought all *Italy* under ſubjection, and paved the way for thoſe vaſt conqueſts, which afterwards made the *Romans* maſters of the whole known world.

Pyrrhus being no ways in a condition, after the great loſs he had ſuſtained, to keep the field, retired to *Tarentum*, being attended only by a ſmall body of horſe, leaving the *Romans* in poſſeſſion of his camp, which they ſo much admired, that they made it ever after a model to form theirs by. And now the king of *Epirus* *He retires to* Tarentum.

f reſolved to leave *Italy* as ſoon as poſſible, but concealed his deſign, and endeavoured to keep up the drooping ſpirits of his allies by giving them hopes of ſpeedy ſuccours from *Greece*. Accordingly he diſpatched embaſſadors into *Ætolia*, *Illyricum*, and *Macedon*, demanding ſupplies of men and money. But the anſwers from thoſe courts not proving favourable, he forged ſuch as might pleaſe thoſe whom he was willing to deceive, and by this means ſupported the courage of his friends, and kept his enemy in play. When he could conceal his departure no longer, he pretended to be on a ſudden in a great paſſion at the dilatorineſs of his friends in ſending him ſuccours, and acquainted the *Tarentines* that he muſt go and bring them over himſelf.

g Liv. l. xxix. c. 18. h Plut. in Pyrrh. Pausan. l. i. p. 22. Justin. l. xxiii. c. 3. Liv. l. xxix. c. 18. Dion. Hal. in excerpt. p. 542. i Oros. l. iv. k Eutrop. l. ii.

ſelf. However he left behind him a ſtrong gariſon in the citadel of *Tarentum* under the command of the ſame *Milo*, who had kept it for him during his ſtay in *Sicily*. In order to keep this governor in his duty, he is ſaid to have made him a very ſtrange preſent, *viz.* a chair covered with the skin of *Nicias*, the treacherous phyſician, who had offered *Fabricius* to poiſon his maſter [l]. After all theſe diſguiſes and precautions *Pyrrhus* at laſt ſet ſail for *Epirus*, and arrived ſafe at *Acroceraunium* with eight thouſand foot, and five hundred horſe, after having ſpent, to no purpoſe, ſix years in *Italy* and *Sicily* [m].

And from thence into his own dominions.

a

ON his return he found his treaſures exhauſted, and his people diſcouraged. To retrieve therefore his reputation, and make his troops ſome amends for the hardſhips they had ſuffered in *Italy*, he reſolved to invade *Macedon*, where *Antigonus Gonatas*, who had refuſed to ſend him any ſuccours, then reigned; and being reinforced with ſome companies of *Gauls*, he ravaged the country, took many cities, overthrew *Antigonus* in a pitched battle; and notwithſtanding that prince had a great many *Gauls* in his pay, *Pyrrhus* drove him from place to place, and at length made himſelf maſter of the whole kingdom of *Macedon*. After the victory which he gained over *Antigonus*, he hung up the ſpoils of the *Gauls* in the temple of *Pallas* of *Itonia*, a ſmall city between *Phera* and *Lariſſa*, with the following inſcription; Pyrrhus, *king of the* Moloſſians, *conſecrates to the* Itonian Minerva *theſe bucklers of the fierce* Gauls, *after having defeated the whole army of* Antigonus. *The deſcendents of* Æacus *are ſtill the ſame, brave and valiant* [n]. *Pyrrhus* having taken *Ægæ*, the royal ſeat of the late kings of *Macedon*, treated the inhabitants with great ſeverity, and on his leaving the place, gariſoned it with part of his *Gauls*, who being told that rich treaſures were concealed in the tombs of the kings who were buried there, opened them, and after having carried away the wealth they found in them, threw the bones of the princes, whoſe remains were depoſited there, about the ſtreets, and ſacrilegiouſly trampled them under foot. *Pyrrhus* diſſembled this infamous action, being unwilling to alienate the minds of thoſe barbarians by inflicting on them the puniſhment they well deſerved; and this ſhameful connivance raiſed a general diſaffection among the *Macedonians*, who had abandoned *Antigonus* to ſide with him.

Makes himſelf maſter of all Macedon.

b

c

Antigonus after his defeat had retired to *Theſſalonica* with the remains of his ſhattered army, intending to wait there for a favourable opportunity of recovering his kingdom. But *Ptolemy* the ſon of *Pyrrhus*, a prince who almoſt equalled his father in bravery, though at that time but twenty-two years of age, purſued the unhappy *Antigonus* to his retreat, put to the ſword the few troops he had with him, made himſelf maſter of *Theſſalonica*, and reduced the king of *Macedon* to ſuch ſtraits, that he had no place to retire to in his misfortunes but the foreſts [o].

d

IT was natural for *Pyrrhus* after theſe conqueſts, which had both inriched and increaſed his army, to return to the aſſiſtance of the *Tarentines*, and his allies in *Italy*. But his inconſtancy, or rather the fear he was in of the *Romans*, made him take another courſe. New enemies, and new hopes, drew him into *Peloponneſus*, whither he took with him his two ſons, *Ptolemy* and *Helenus*, inſtead of leaving at leaſt one of them in *Macedon* to keep that country in awe, and watch the motions of *Antigonus*. He had been invited thither by *Cleonymus* king of *Sparta*, who being driven from his capital by *Areus*, his ambitious nephew, and by the intrigues of his wife *Chelidonis*, had recourſe to *Pyrrhus*, whoſe victories had made him famous all over *Greece*. The king, who was ever paſſing from one enterprize to another, readily complied with the requeſt of *Cleonymus*, and taking with him five and twenty thouſand foot, two thouſand horſe, and twelve elephants, entered *Peloponneſus*, not ſo much with a deſign to re-eſtabliſh *Cleonymus*, as to make himſelf maſter of all *Greece*. But the obſtinate reſiſtance he met with at *Lacedæmon*, not only from the men, but alſo from the women, who on that occaſion behaved like true heroines, obliged him to drop this enterprize, as we have related at length in the hiſtory of the *Lacedæmonians* [p]. He had ſcarce reſolved with himſelf to retire from before *Lacedæmon*, when a new project made him haſten his departure in order to try his fortune in another quarter.

His expedition into Peloponneſus.

e

f

Ariſtippus and *Ariſtias*, two of the principal citizens of *Argos*, having excited a great ſedition in that city, the former, to make good his party againſt his rival, had drawn *Antigonus* into his intereſt, which was enough for the latter to call *Pyrrhus* to his aſſiſt-

His expedition againſt the city of Argos.

[l] ZONAR. l. viii. c. 7. [m] PLUT. ibid. JUSTIN. l. xxv. c. 3. PAUSAN. in Attic. p. 11. [n] PLUT. ibid. & PAUSAN. in Attic. p. 11, 12. [o] JUSTIN. l. xxv. c. 3. PLUT. ibid. DIODOR. SICUL. l. xxii. in excerpt. Valeſii, p. 266. [p] Vide Vol. II. p. 622, 623.

ance.

a ance. The king was overjoyed at the arrival of an expreſs from *Ariſtias*, inviting him to engage in a new war; and deſpiſing *Antigonus*, who had already recovered great part of *Macedon*, he drew off from *Lacedæmon*, and haſtened to *Argos*. But *Areus*, having timely notice of his departure, concealed his troops in the moſt difficult paſſes, and having ſuffered the advanced guard of the *Epirot* army, commanded by *Pyrrhus*, to march by, fell unexpectedly on the rear, and cut off a great number of the *Gauls* and *Moloſſians*, who compoſed it. Hereupon *Pyrrhus* detached his ſon *Ptolemy* to their relief; but the young prince, ſuffering himſelf to be hurried on by his too great courage, was killed in the engagement by one *Oraſus* a *Cretan*. The king being informed of his ſon's death, which affected him in a very ſenſible manner,

His ſon Ptolemy *killed.*

b ſuddenly faced about, and falling upon the *Lacedæmonian* cavalry, who, under the command of *Evalcus*, an officer of great reputation, had imprudently advanced into the plain, made a great havock of thoſe troops. He was always dreadful in battles, but on this occaſion, when grief and the deſire of revenge inflamed his natural ardor, he even ſurpaſſed himſelf. He ſingled out *Evalcus* in the throng, and breaking through the troops that ſurrounded him, killed him on the ſpot at the firſt blow. The death of ſo brave a man diſheartened the *Lacedæmonians*, who now began to give ground. On the other hand the *Epirots*, being animated by the example of their king, purſued the advantage with ſuch ardor, that the enemy was put into the utmoſt confuſion, and at length obliged to ſave themſelves by a diſorderly flight, after

Pyrrhus *revenges his death.*

c having loſt the greateſt part of their cavalry. After this victory, when the dead body of his ſon was brought to him, he expreſſed the deepeſt concern; but at the ſame time ſeemed to blame him on account of his too great boldneſs, ſaying, *I am not at all ſurprized that my ſon has loſt his life; I did not expect he would have lived ſo long.* *Pyrrhus* having thus revenged the death of *Ptolemy* with ſtreams of *Lacedæmonian* blood, purſued his march to *Argos*, and arriving before that city, encamped in an advantageous ſituation at a ſmall diſtance from *Antigonus*, who had got there before him. The very next morning he ſent a herald to *Antigonus*, challenging him to a ſingle combat; but that prince returned him the following anſwer; *If* Pyrrhus *is tired of his life, he may find ways enough to put an end to it.* The inhabitants of *Argos*

d ſeeing two foreign kings ready to engage at their gates, and not doubting but the conqueror would ſeize on their city, and from a free people reduce them to a ſtate of ſlavery, ſent embaſſadors to both princes, intreating them to withdraw their forces, and ſuffer the citizens to compoſe their differences by themſelves. *Antigonus* readily conſented to this propoſal, and to convince them that he had no deſign upon their city, delivereed up his ſon to them as an hoſtage. *Pyrrhus* likewiſe promiſed to retire; but as he offered no ſecurity for the performance of his promiſe, the *Argians* began to ſuſpect him of inſincerity. And indeed not without reaſon, the factious *Ariſtias* having agreed to open one of the gates to him that very night, and put him in poſſeſſion of the city. The traitor kept his word, opening the gate in the dead of the

Attempts to make himſelf maſter of Argos.

e night, and conveying a body of *Pyrrhus*'s *Gauls* into the market-place, which was in the centre of the city, without being diſcovered by any of *Ariſtippus*'s party. But *Pyrrhus* not thinking that body ſufficient to make head againſt the citizens, ordered his elephants to advance with a deſign to draw them up likewiſe in the market-place. But it unfortunately happened, that the gate, which was delivered up to *Pyrrhus*, was not high enough for the elephants to paſs with their towers on their backs; ſo that it was neceſſary to take them off, and replace them, after they had entered the city. As this could not be effected in the dark without ſome noiſe, the *Argians* hearing it, ran to arms, and finding the enemy poſted in the centre of the city, fled to the fortreſs, and from thence ſent meſſengers to *Antigonus*, preſſing him

Enters Argos.

f to advance without loſs of time to their aſſiſtance. He immediately marched up to the walls, and ordered his ſon *Alcioneus* to enter the city at the head of his beſt troops. In this critical juncture *Areus* king of *Lacedæmon* arrived likewiſe at *Argos* with a thouſand *Lacedæmonians*, and the ſame number of *Cretans*; and joining the *Macedonians*, charged the *Gauls* with the utmoſt fury, and threw them into diſorder. *Pyrrhus* haſtened to their relief with a body of *Moloſſians*; but the darkneſs and confuſion were ſo great, that he could neither be heard nor obeyed. The fight laſted all night, and at break of day the ſtreets appeared covered with dead bodies, and ſtreaming with blood, the *Macedonians*, *Argians*, *Cretans*, *Epirots*, *Gauls*, and *Lacedæmonians*, having fought all pell-mell in the dark, without diſtinguiſhing their friends from their foes. *Pyrrhus* was not a little ſurprized to ſee the city filled with the enemy's troops;

Attempts to retire.

troops; and imagining all was loſt, thought of nothing but a timely retreat. As he a
was under ſome apprehenſion with reſpect to the gates of the city, which were too narrow, he ſent orders to his ſon *Helenus*, whom he had left without with the main body of the army, to make a large breach in the wall, and be ready to cover his retreat, in caſe he ſhould be overpowered by the enemy. But the perſon he ſent to his ſon miſunderſtanding his orders, delivered a quite contrary meſſage; in conſequence of which *Helenus*, inſtead of making a breach in the wall, drew out the flower of his troops, and attempted to get in at the gate in order to aſſiſt his father. But the paſſage being ſtopt up by an elephant of an enormous ſize, and the *Argians* crowding about the gate to prevent *Helenus* from entering it, a ſharp engagement enſued, in which great numbers were killed on both ſides. At length *Helenus*, fearing leſt b
his father might be in danger, forced his paſſage through the thickeſt of the enemy's
But is ſurrounded on all ſides. ranks, and made way for the reſt of his forces to follow him. But he had ſcarce got in, when he met his father, ſurrounded by the enemy on all ſides, and fighting his way through them in order to retire by the ſame gate out of the city, which he could no longer hold, moſt of his men being either killed or wounded. The troops which *Helenus* led, were ſo thronged under the gate, that they wounded one another with their arms, and ſo obſtructed the paſſage, that it was impoſſible for *Pyrrhus* to get through them. He often cried aloud to them to retire, and clear the way; but his voice not being heard in that noiſe and confuſion, they ſtill continued to advance preſſing upon one another, and putting the few troops that were with the king in c
great diſorder. Hereupon *Pyrrhus* pulling off his diadem, to prevent his being known, faced about, and charged the enemy with the utmoſt fury. While he was thus fighting in the croud, and making a great ſlaughter of the enemy, a common ſoldier of *Argos* attacked and wounded him with his javelin. Hereupon the king, inflamed at the ſight of his blood, flew at the aggreſſor with a rage not to be expreſſed, and was ready to make him pay dear for his boldneſs; but the mother of the *Argian*, who with other women beheld the combat from the top of a houſe, being alarmed at the imminent danger of her ſon, threw down a tile, the firſt thing ſhe laid hold of, upon *Pyrrhus*, which falling upon his head, gave him ſuch a blow, that he ſtaggered awhile, and fell ſenſeleſs to the ground; which one *Zopyrus* a *Macedonian* d
obſerving, and knowing who he was, dragged him into a porch, and there with a trembling hand cut off his head, and carried it to *Alcioneus*, who rid full ſpeed with
And killed. Year after the flood 2728. Before Chriſt 271. it to his father *Antigonus*, and threw it down at his feet. But that prince reflecting on the inſtability of human affairs, and viciſſitude of fortune, ſeverely rebuked his ſon for thus inſulting over the remains of ſo great a man; and taking up the head covered it with his own garment, and cauſed it to be honourably interred [q].

His character. Such was the end of *Pyrrhus*, a prince to whom the title of a great captain is juſtly due, ſince he was ſo highly eſteemed by the *Romans* themſelves, and by a perſon the moſt worthy to be credited with relation to the merit of a warrior, and the beſt qualified to form a right judgment in that particular. For *Livy* tells us [r], that *Hannibal*, e
when asked by *Scipio*, who in his opinion were the greateſt generals in the world, named *Alexander* in the firſt place, *Pyrrhus* in the ſecond, and himſelf in the third (P).

All

[q] Plut. ibid. Val. Max. l. v. c. 1. Pausan. in Attic. p. 12. Justin. l. xxv. c. 4. [r] Liv. l. xxxv. c. 14.

(P) *Plutarch* in his life of *Pyrrhus* relates this matter in a different way; his words are, Hannibal *ſaid, that of all the great commanders in the world,* Pyrrhus *was the firſt both for experience and capacity; the ſecond place he gave to* Scipio; *and reſerved the third for himſelf, as we have obſerved in the life of* Scipio. We do not diſpute what *Plutarch* may have ſaid in the laſt-mentioned work, which has not reached our times; but only obſerve, that in the life of *Flaminius* he relates the opinion of *Hannibal* otherwiſe than he does in the life of *Pyrrhus*. *This general,* (ſays he, in the life of *Flaminius*) *and* Scipio Africanus *had an interview at* Epheſus, *and the converſation turning upon this queſtion, Who were the greateſt generals?* Hannibal *named* Alexander *in the firſt place,* Pyrrhus *in the ſecond, and himſelf in the third. Scipio* is here excluded, whereas he is the ſecond in the life of *Pyrrhus*, where no mention is made of *Alexander*. *Livy* likewiſe gives us an account of this conference, and exactly agrees with *Plutarch* in the life of *Flaminius* (106). For according to him *Hannibal* gave the firſt place to *Alexander*, the ſecond to *Pyrrhus*, and the third to himſelf; whereupon *Scipio* ſeeing himſelf excluded, ſaid with a ſmile, *And what place would you claim, if you had overcome me? Had I overcome you,* replied *Hannibal, I ſhould look upon myſelf as ſuperior both to* Alexander *and to* Pyrrhus; which was implicitly owning, that *Scipio* had not his equal, and therefore was not to be brought into competition with other generals. The fathers *Catrou* and *Rouillé* diſagreeing in this place, with the ancients, tell us, that *Hannibal* named *Alexander* in

(106) *Liv. l.* xxxv.

a All the ancients tell us, that no general underſtood the art of war better than the king of *Epirus*, who learnt them by principles and rules, as well as by uſe and experience, and is ſaid to have wrote ſeveral volumes on encampments, and the different ways of drawing up an army. Theſe books are mentioned by *Tully* [s]; and *Donatus* tells us, that *Pyrrhus* invented a ſort of game, like that of cheſs, to repreſent the different ways of making attacks, and drawing up armies in battalia [t]. *Livy* gives us the ſame account of *Pyrrhus*, or rather makes *Hannibal* ſay as much of him; he was, ſays that great general, the firſt, who perfectly underſtood how to encamp, chuſe his ground, and poſt his men to advantage [u]. He is generally repreſented by the ancient hiſtorians as a prince of an uncommon underſtanding, and of great ſagacity and penetration. It is therefore ſurprizing, that *Tully* ſhould take him to be included
b in the famous verſes of *Ennius*, wherein that poet ſays, that the whole race of the *Æacidæ* were naturally ſtupid, and remarkable for nothing but their martial courage [w] (Q). *Pyrrhus* had, beſides his military talents, many other commendable qualities, *viz.* a great deal of good nature, much compaſſion for the unhappy, and no leſs gratitude for thoſe who had obliged him. When *Æropus*, one of his chief favourites, who had done him conſiderable ſervice, died, he wept, and was heard to ſay, *It is not his death that moſt afflicts me; he has paid the debt he owes to nature. My concern is, that I ſo long delayed making him a ſuitable return for his ſervices, and by that means am deprived of the pleaſure of ſhewing my gratitude* [x]. *Cicero* commends him even on account of his probity: two great generals, ſays that writer, diſputed the empire
c of *Italy* with the *Romans*, *Pyrrhus* and *Hannibal*; the probity of the former is ſtill remembered, and ſpoke of with reſpect in *Rome*; but the cruelty of the latter has rendered his name and memory odious to this city [y]. His only faults were ambition and inconſtancy; the former did not ſo much proceed from an avaritious deſire of inriching himſelf, and poſſeſſing vaſt dominions, as from a love of glory; he had propoſed *Alexander the Great* to himſelf for a model, and in all his enterprizes had no other view, but to equal and even ſurpaſs that conqueror. His inconſtancy indeed was very remarkable, as is plain from what we have already ſaid of him. He had ſcarce tried one enemy, when he was for engaging another; ſcarce undertaken one enterprize, when he was for entering upon another; ſo that his whole life was a
d continued ſeries of new projects ſucceeding one another. When he had once conquered a country, he neglected all proper meaſures for the preſerving of it, how dear ſoever the conqueſt might have coſt him. Hence *Antigonus* uſed to compare him, as *Plutarch* informs us [z], to a lucky gameſter, who did not know how to make a good uſe of his fortune, but laviſhly ſpent whatever he got by gaming. Some authors find fault with him, and indeed not without a great deal of reaſon, forexpoſing his perſon in all his battles without the leaſt precaution, like a common ſoldier. A good commander, ſay they, ought to pique himſelf upon the wiſdom and prudence of his conduct, and not upon any action, which only diſplays ſtrength and intrepidity. A commander who brags of his courage, and raſhly expoſes himſelf to danger, con-
e founds his own merit and function with thoſe of a private ſoldier. It is not the duty of a general to fight in the foremoſt ranks, but to be vigilant for the common ſafety of the army. Such were the ſentiments of the ancients; but moſt of the generals and kings, who flouriſhed in the age we are now writing of, made no diſtinction between the duty of an officer and a ſoldier, being led aſtray by the fortunate temerity of *Alexander*, whom they pretended to imitate.

All the Epirots *in* Argos *ſurrender at diſcretion.*

But to return to the *Epirots* in *Argos*; they no ſooner heard of the death of their king, but they threw down their arms, and ſurrendered at diſcretion. But *Antigonus* treated them with great humanity, and generouſly ſent them back to *Epirus*, together with *Helenus*, the king's ſon, who was alſo taken priſoner, delivering to him

[s] Cic. l. ix. epiſt. 25. [t] Donat. in comment. Eunuch. Terent. [u] Liv. ibid. [w] Cic. de divin. l. ii. [x] Plut. in Pyrrh. [y] Cic. de Amicit. [z] Plut. ibid.

in the firſt place, *Pyrrhus* in the ſecond, *Scipio* in the third, and himſelf in the laſt (107). It is an unpardonable fault in a writer to paſs his own conjectures upon the readers for matter of fact.

(Q) The verſes are,

Semper fuit ſtolidum genus Æacidarum,
Bellipotentes magis quam ſapientipotentes.

(107) *Vide hiſt. Roman. ad ann. urb.* 474.

the

the body of his unfortunate father incloſed in a golden urn [a]. When news of *Pyrrhus*'s death was brought to *Tarentum*, the inhabitants ſent embaſſadors to *Carthage*, imploring the aſſiſtance of that republic both againſt the *Romans* and *Milo*, who ſtill held the citadel with a ſtrong gariſon of *Epirots*. The *Carthaginians*, deſirous to get footing on the coaſt of *Italy*, ſent immediately a powerful fleet to the aſſiſtance of the *Tarentines*, pretending that they had no other view but to drive the *Epirots* out of the citadel. While the *Carthaginians* beſieged the city by ſea, the *Romans* under the conduct of *Papyrius Curſo* attacked it by land; ſo that *Milo*, being incloſed on all ſides without any hopes of relief, ſent a deputation to the *Roman* camp, offering to ſurrender the citadel to *Papyrius* on condition that he would ſuffer him and his men to retire to *Epirus* with all their baggage and effects. The conſul, to fruſtrate the deſigns of the *Carthaginians*, willingly granted him all he asked. Whereupon the citadel was by *Milo* delivered up to the *Romans*, as was alſo the city ſoon after by the inhabitants, who gave up their arms, their ſhips, and themſelves, into the conſul's hands, and thus put an end to their war with *Rome* [b].

Tarentum *delivered up to the* Romans. *Year of the flood* 2727. *Year before Chriſt* 272.

Pyrrhus was ſucceeded in the kingdom of *Epirus* by his ſon *Alexander*, who ſoon after his acceſſion to the throne invaded *Macedon*, and there committed great depredations, while *Antigonus Gonatas* lay with his army before *Athens*. Hereupon the king of *Macedon* haſtened with all his forces to the defence of his own dominions. But the *Macedonians* deſerting him, when he leaſt expected it, and joining the enemy, he was by *Alexander* ſtript of his kingdom, and obliged to ſeek for ſhelter in *Greece*. Upon his retreat his ſon *Demetrius*, who was then very young, having drawn together a body of troops, engaged *Alexander*, defeated him in a pitched battle, and drove him not only out of *Macedon*, but alſo out of *Epirus*, his hereditary kingdom. *Alexander* being thus in his turn expelled his dominions, fled to the *Acarnanians*, and having raiſed among them freſh forces, returned into *Epirus*, where he was joined by ſuch numbers of his own ſubjects, that *Demetrius* thought it adviſeable to quit that kingdom, and withdraw into *Macedon* [c]. He afterwards engaged in a war with the *Illyrians*, and having gained over them a complete victory, paſſed the remainder of his reign in peace and tranquillity, without moleſting his neighbours, or being moleſted by them [d]. He is celebrated by *Ælian* as a great commander, and ſaid to have wrote a book on the method of drawing up an army [e]. *Athenæus* [f] tells us, that in this king's reign a certain kind of beans bloſſomed in a lake of *Epirus*, and for two years together brought their fruit to perfection; which ſeeming very ſtrange to *Alexander*, he placed a guard upon them with orders to let no one gather them, or even approach the lake. He no ſooner took this precaution, but the ſtalks of the beans withered, and the lake ſuddenly grew dry (R). *Alexander* left by his ſiſter *Olympias*, whom he had married, a ſon and a daughter. His daughter, by name *Phthia*, married *Demetrius* II. king of *Macedon*. His ſon, named *Ptolemy*, ſucceeded him in the kingdom under the tuition of his mother *Olympias*, he being very young at his father's death. He was a prince of great expectation, but died when he was ſcarce out of his minority, as he was leading his army againſt the *Ætolians*, who had ſeized that part of *Acarnania* which belonged to the crown of *Epirus* [g]. He left one ſon, by name *Pyrrhus*, who, after a ſhort reign under the guardianſhip of his grandmother *Olympias*, was treacherouſly murdered by the *Ambracians*, leaving behind him one daughter, called by *Juſtin*, *Laudamia*, by *Pauſanias*, *Athenæus*, and *Polyænus*,

Alexander II.

Ptolemy.

Pyrrhus III.

[a] Plut. ibid. Val. Max. l. v. c. 1. [b] Zonar. ex Dion. Oros. l. iv. c. 3. Frontin. Stratag. l. iii. [c] Justin. l. xxvi. c. 3. Pausan. in Attic. [d] Frontin. Stratag. Val. Max. l. v. c. 1. [e] Ælian. var. hiſt. l. ii. [f] Athen. l. iii. [g] Justin. l. xxviii. c. 3. Pausan. ibid.

(R) The fathers *Catrou* and *Rouillé*, in their hiſtory of *Rome* (108), tell us, that he was perhaps murdered by the *Locrenſes* with the *Epirot* gariſon, which *Pyrrhus* left at *Locris*, when he ſet out on his expedition into *Sicily*. *For we don't ſee him appear*, ſay they, *with his brothers in the laſt adventures of the king their father*. He does not appear, 'tis true, in the laſt adventures of his father; but had the good fathers remembered what they muſt have read in *Plutarch*'s life of *Pyrrhus*, they would have inferred from thence, that he had been ſent back into *Epirus*; for he was there when his father was killed, as is manifeſt from the abovementioned writer, who tells us, that *Antigonus* delivered to *Helenus* the body of his father incloſed in a golden urn, deſiring him to carry it into *Epirus* to his brother *Alexander*. The ſame prince is mentioned, as ſucceeding his father in the kingdom of *Epirus*, by *Juſtin*, *Pauſanias*, *Frontinus*, *Valerius Maximus*, and *Athenæus*, who give us a particular account of his wars with *Antigonus Gonatas*, with his ſon *Demetrius*, and alſo with the *Illyrians*.

(108) *Ad ann. urb.* 477.

Deidamia.

a *Deidamia.* This princeſs ſucceeded her father; but the *Epirots* diſdaining to live under the government of a woman, ſuborned *Neſtor*, one of her guards, to murder her; but the aſſaſſin's heart failing in the attempt, the unhappy *Deidamia* fled for refuge to the temple of *Diana*, where ſhe was barbarouſly aſſaſſinated by one *Milo*, who being ſentenced to death for the murder of his own mother *Philotera*, redeemed himſelf from the puniſhment due to his wickedneſs by murdering his ſovereign [g]. But he did not long enjoy the fruit of his crime; for being ſeized with madneſs, he laid violent hands on himſelf twelve days after the death of *Deidamia*. As for the *Epirots*, they were ſeverely puniſhed by heaven, firſt with a dreadful famine, and afterwards with domeſtic troubles, foreign wars, and many other calamities, which reduced b their country to the laſt extremity. This is the account we read in *Polyænus* [h]: but *Pauſanias* tells us, that *Deidamia*, after a ſhort and peaceable reign, died quietly in her bed, leaving the *Epirots*, as ſhe had no iſſue, free to chuſe what ſort of government they liked beſt [i]. But however that be, it is certain, (for in this the ancients are unanimous) that in this princeſs ended the family of the *Pyrrhidæ*, or the deſcendants of *Pyrrhus Neoptolemus*, and that upon her death the *Epirots* formed themſelves into a republic, which was governed by annual magiſtrates, or prætors, choſen in the general aſſembly of the whole nation. Of this republic we have already given a diſtinct account in our hiſtory of *Greece* from the time it was firſt formed, till it was reduced by the *Romans* to a province [k]. We ſhall only obſerve here, that the *Ma-* c *cedonians* on one ſide, and the *Illyrians* on the other, taking advantage of the inteſtine diviſions, which, generally ſpeaking, attend a popular government, ſeized on ſeveral provinces belonging to the *Epirots*, and annexed them to their reſpective crowns; and hence it is, that though the kingdom of *Epirus* made a conſiderable figure, the republic ſcarce made any. *Ariſtotle*, as *Stephanus* informs us, wrote a particular book on *the polity of the Epirots*, whence we may infer, that they were governed by excellent laws; but as that work has not reached our times, we can give no account of them. *Plutarch* tells us, that the *Epirots* enjoyed a kind of liberty, and indeed the beſt ſort of liberty, under their kings; for, according to him, a general aſſembly of the people was yearly convened at *Paſſaron*, a city in the province of *Moloſſis*, where d the king bound himſelf by a ſolemn oath to govern agreeable to the laws, and the people to obey and ſupport him as long as he did ſo. Their form of government was, it ſeems, of the ſame nature with ours, and therefore far preferable to any other. But it is now time to diſmiſs this ſubject, and paſs to the hiſtory of other kingdoms. Deidamia.

[g] Justin. ibid. Polyæn. l. iii. Ovid. in Ibin. [h] Polyæn. ibid. [i] Pausan. in Meſſeniac. [k] Vide Vol. II. p. 746, 747.

CHAP. IX.

The Hiſtory of Bithynia.

THIS country, anciently known by the names of *Myſia*, *Mygdonia*, *Bebrycia*, *Mariandynia*, and *Bithynia*, was bounded on the weſt by *Boſporus Thracius*, and part of the *Propontis*; on the ſouth by the river *Rhyndacus*, and mount *Olympus*; on the north by the *Euxine* ſea; and on the eaſt by the river *Parthenius* [l]. *Ptolemy* extends the confines of *Bithynia* on this ſide to *Citorum* on the coaſt, and to *Juliopolis* in the inland country, comprehending under the name of *Bithynia* ſome provinces belonging, according to other geographers, to *Galatia* and *Paphlagonia*. *Names, ſituation, &c.*

[l] Plin. l. v. c. 32.

Cities.

The chief cities of *Bithynia* on the coaſt were, *Myrlea* on the *Propontis*, not far from the mouth of the *Rhyndacus*. This city was ſo called from *Myrlus* of *Coloſhon* its founder, as *Stephanus* informs us, or, as others will have it, from *Myrlea*, a celebrated *Amazon*, who either founded or imbelliſhed it. It was demoliſhed by *Philip* of *Macedon* the father of *Perſes*, and rebuilt by *Pruſias* king of *Bithynia*, who from his wife called it *Apamea* [m]. It was afterwards honoured with the title of a *Roman* colony, many *Romans*, who had ſerved in *Aſia*, having ſettled there, as *Strabo* and *Pliny* [n] inform us: but the latter was certainly miſtaken, when he placed this among the inland cities. *Daſcylos* at a ſmall diſtance from the *Rhyndacus*. *Cius* built by the *Mileſians* on a river of the ſame name, deſtroyed by *Philip* the father of *Perſes*, and rebuilt by *Pruſias*, whoſe name it bore ever after [o]. *Nicomedia*, the metropolis of *Bithynia*, ſo called from *Nicomedes*, the ſon of *Zipoetes*, its founder [p]. *Strabo* ſeems to doubt by which of the *Bithynian* kings it was founded [q]. All the ancients ſpeak of it as a place of great note. *Pliny* calls it a famous and beautiful city [r]; *Ammianus Marcellinus*, the mother of all the cities of *Bithynia* [s]; *Pauſanias* the greateſt and firſt city of *Bithynia* [t]; *Libanius* compares it to *Rome*, *Byzantium*, *Alexandria*, and *Antioch*, at that time the four greateſt cities of the world; and ſays, that though it was perhaps inferior to them in bigneſs, it equalled them all in beauty. This author lived in the time of the emperor *Julian* the *Apoſtate*. *Pauſanias*, *Marcellinus* [u], and *Trebellius Pollio* [w] tell us, that this city was formerly called *Aſtacus*. *Stephanus* will have its ancient name to have been *Olbia*. But *Nicomedia*, *Aſtacus*, and *Olbia*, are ſpoke of by *Ptolemy* as three neighbouring, but diſtinct cities. *Strabo* writes, that *Nicomedes* deſtroyed *Aſtacus*, and transferred its inhabitants to *Nicomedia* [x]. In this city the *Roman* emperors reſided, when the affairs of the empire called them into the eaſt. *Conſtantine the Great* choſe *Nicomedia*, as we read in *Nicephorus* [y], for the place of his abode after he retired from *Rome*, and there remained till the buildings he had begun at *Byzantium* were finiſhed. This city, once ſo famous, is now but a ſmall village known to the *Turks* by the name of *Schemith*. *Pronectus*, a colony of the *Phœnicians*, as *Stephanus* informs us; *Drepanum* or *Drepane* ſpoke of by *Livy*, *Florus*, and moſt of the *Latin* hiſtorians. All theſe cities ſtood on the *Propontis*, now the ſea of *Marmora*. On the *Boſporus*, which parts *Europe* from *Aſia*, and joins the *Propontis* with the *Euxine* ſea, ſtood the famous city of *Chalcedon* or *Calcedon*, anciently known by the names of *Proceraſtis* and *Colbuſa*. *Pliny* [z], *Strabo* [a], and *Tacitus* [b], call it *the city of the blind*, alluding, without all doubt, to the anſwer which the *Pythian Apollo* gave to the founders of *Byzantium*, who conſulting the oracle about a place where to build a city, were directed to chuſe that ſpot which lay oppoſite *to the habitation of the blind*; that is, as was then underſtood, to *Chalcedon*, the *Chalcedonians* well deſerving that epithet for having built their city in a barren and ſandy ſoil without ſeeing that advantageous and pleaſant ſpot on the oppoſite ſhore, which the *Byzantines* afterwards choſe. *Conſtantine the Great*, if *Cedrenus* is to be credited, had been guilty of the like overſight, had he not been warned by an aſtoniſhing prodigy. For that author tells us, that *Chalcedon* being deſtroyed by the *Perſians*, *Conſtantine* undertook the rebuilding of it with a deſign to ſettle there; but that ſeveral eagles appearing unexpectedly, carried away in their talons the lines of the workmen, and let them drop at *Byzantium*. This miracle, which was ſeveral times repeated, made *Conſtantine* alter his mind, and prefer *Byzantium* to *Chalcedon* [c]. But what credit *Cedrenus* deſerves, we leave our readers to judge. *Chalcedon* in the chriſtian times became famous on account of the council, which was held there againſt *Eutyches*. The emperor *Valens* cauſed the walls of this city to be levelled with the ground for ſiding with *Procopius*, and the materials to be conveyed to *Conſtantinople*, where they were employed in building the famous *Valentinian* aqueduct. The *Pelamides*, or tunny-fiſh, of *Chalcedon*, were in great requeſt among the ancients, as *Gellius* and *Varro* inform us [d], and are to this day thought by ſome to have a better flavour than any taken elſewhere. It is therefore ſurprizing, that *Pliny* and *Strabo* [e] ſhould tell us, that this kind of fiſh never came near *Chalcedon*, but kept cloſe to the oppoſite ſhore of *Byzantium* for fear of the white rocks concealed under water on the coaſt of *Aſia*. *Chalcedon*

a b c d e f

[m] Strabo, l. xii. p. 388. [n] Strab. & Plin. ibid. [o] Plin. ibid. Pomp. Mela, l. i. c. 19. [p] Tzezes chil. 3. hiſtor. 115. v. 950. [q] Strab. l. xiii. p. 383. [r] Plin. l. v. c. ultim. [s] Ammian. Marcellin. l. xvii. c. 13. [t] Pausan. Eliac. 1. c. 12. [u] Pausan. & Ammian. Marcellin. ibid. [w] Trebell. Poll. in Gallienis, c. 4. [x] Strab. ibid. [y] Nicephor. l. vii. ſub fin. [z] Plin. ibid. [a] Strab. l. vii. p. 221. [b] Tacit. Annal. l. xii. c. 63. [c] Cedren. l. iii. [d] Aul. Gell. noct. Attic. Varro de re ruſtic. l. ii. [e] Plin. & Strab. ibid.

is

a is at preſent a poor beggerly place, known to the *Greeks* by its ancient name, and to the *Turks* by that of *Cadiaci*, or the *Judges town* [f].

On the *Euxine* ſea ſtood the city of *Heraclea*, once a republic of no ſmall note. It is commonly called *Pontica*, or *Heraclea* on the *Pontus*, to diſtinguiſh it from ſeveral other cities of the ſame name. *Pauſanias* [g] and the ſcholiaſt of *Apollonius* [h] tell us, that it was founded and peopled by a colony of the *Megarenſes* and *Tanagræi* of *Bœotia*. With them *Juſtin* agrees, and acquaints us on what occaſion the *Bœotians* undertook the building of this city. The *Bœotians*, ſays he, being reduced to great ſtraits by a plague, had recourſe to the oracle of *Delphos*, which injoined them to ſend a colony into the country bordering on the *Pontus*, and there build a city in honour of *Hercules*. But Heraclea.

b the *Bœotians* chuſing rather to die in their own country, than expoſe themſelves to the dangers of ſo troubleſome a voyage, refuſed to comply with the injunctions of the oracle. Whereupon the *Phocenſes* invading their country, and committing everywhere dreadful ravages, as they were not, by reaſon of the plague which ſtill raged among them, in a condition to defend themſelves, they ſent anew to conſult the oracle, which returned the following anſwer; *viz.* that what would put an end to the plague, would likewiſe put an end to the war. By this anſwer the *Bœotians* underſtood that the only means to redeem themſelves from the calamities they groaned under was to follow the direction of the oracle; and accordingly ſent a colony into the country bordering on the *Pontus*, which ſettled on the coaſt, and built the city of *Heraclea* [i]. *The ancient hiſtory of this city.*

c This city in proceſs of time acquired ſuch wealth and power, eſpecially by ſea, that it was not inferior to any of the *Greek* ſtates in *Aſia*. *Xenophon* tells us, that in his time the *Heracleans* had a numerous fleet, and that they ſupplied him with a ſquadron to convoy his men after their retreat into *Greece*. There are ſcarce any wars mentioned by the ancients as carried on by ſea in thoſe parts, in which the *Heracleans* were not concerned, their friendſhip being courted by all the princes of *Aſia* in regard of their maritime power. To them chiefly *Ptolemy Ceraunus* was indebted for the ſignal victory he had gained at ſea over *Antigonus Gonatas*; for they ſent him a numerous ſquadron of ſhips well manned and equipped, among which ſome were of an extraordinary ſize, eſpecially one, called the *Leontifera*, having on each ſide

d eight hundred rowers, beſides twelve hundred fighting men on board under the command of two experienced officers [k]. In the war which *Antiochus* waged firſt with *Antigonus* the ſon of *Demetrius*, and afterwards with the *Byzantines*, the *Heracleans* aſſiſted the former againſt *Antiochus* with thirteen gallies, and the latter with forty [l]. They maintained for the ſpace of eleven years a ſquadron of gallies in the ſervice of the *Romans*, which were of great uſe to them in their wars with the *Aſiatic* princes, and likewiſe againſt the *Maruccini*, a people of *Africa*. Many other inſtances are to be met with in hiſtory, which ſhew that *Heraclea* was once one of the moſt powerful ſtates, at leaſt by ſea, in *Aſia*. The *Heracleans* ſeem to have maintained a good underſtanding with the kings of *Perſia*; and on that account refuſed, as *Juſtin* informs us [m], to pay their quota, when the *Athenians* impoſed a tribute on the *Greek*

e cities of *Aſia Minor* for the equipping and ſupporting of a fleet to be employed in the defence of the common liberty. Upon their refuſal *Lamachus* was ſent againſt them; but while he was ravaging their country with the troops he had landed, a violent ſtorm ſhattered his whole fleet, ſo that he ſaw himſelf abandoned to the mercy of thoſe he had provoked, not being in a condition to return to *Athens* either by ſea or land. But the *Heracleans*, inſtead of treating him like an enemy, as he had reaſon to expect, uſed both him and his troops with the greateſt humanity and kindneſs, ſupplying them not only with proviſions, but alſo with ſhips to convey them ſafe into *Greece*. They did not complain, ſays *Juſtin* [n], of the depredations committed in their

f territory, but looked upon them as highly advantageous to their ſtate, ſince they offered them an opportunity of gaining by civilities the friendſhip of ſo powerful a republic.

As to their form of government, it was, as we read in *Ariſtotle* [o], originally democratical; but democracy ſoon gave way to ariſtocracy; for the ſame writer tells us [p], that many of the nobles being ſent out to lead colonies into diſtant countries, the people, in whom the ſupreme power was lodged, began to oppreſs thoſe who ſtill remained; whereupon they ran to arms in their own defence, and having got the *Form of government.*

[f] Tournefort. voyage au Levant, Vol. II. [g] Pausan. l. v. [h] Scholiaſt. Apollon. p. 190.
[i] Justin. l. xvi. [k] Memnon. excerpt. c. 14, 15. [l] Idem, c. 17. [m] Justin. l. xvi. c. 3.
[n] Idem ibid. [o] Aristot. l. v. Politic. c. 5. [p] Idem ibid.

better

better of their adverſaries, took the whole power into their own hands. Soon after a
new diſturbances ariſing among the nobles by reaſon that the moſt wealthy en-
groſſed the whole management of affairs to themſelves, it was agreed, that the
ſupreme power ſhould be lodged in the ſenate, and that the ſenate ſhould conſiſt of ſix
hundred members all choſen out of the nobility. This new regulation incenſed the
common people to ſuch a degree, that with one conſent they roſe againſt the nobles,
and reduced them to ſuch ſtraits, that they were obliged to implore the aſſiſtance
firſt of *Timotheus* the *Athenian*, and afterwards of *Epaminondas* the *Theban*. But nei-
ther of theſe generals caring to interfere with their domeſtic quarrels, they were
Tyrants of Heraclea. forced to recal *Clearchus*, a ſenator, whom they themſelves had baniſhed. But as his
baniſhment had neither improved his morals, nor inſpired him with better principles, b
he made the troubles, in which he found the city involved, ſubſervient to his wicked
deſign of ſubjecting it, and uſurping the ſovereign power. With this view he openly
Clearchus. declared for the people, and having by their means humbled the nobles, he cauſed
himſelf to be inveſted with the whole power, which had been divided among them.
Being thus become abſolute, he exerciſed all ſorts of cruelty upon ſuch as gave him
any umbrage: moſt of the ſenators were either barbarouſly aſſaſſinated, or ſtript of
their eſtates, and baniſhed their native country [p]. *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, that he
His cruelty. propoſed to himſelf *Dionyſius*, tyrant of *Syracuſe*, for his model in the art of govern-
ment [q]. The baniſhed ſenators having ſtirred up the neighbouring cities againſt him,
he compelled their wives and daughters to marry his ſlaves, and with the aſſiſtance of
theſe having vanquiſhed the troops they led againſt him, and taken many of them
priſoners, he put them all to death after he had made them ſuffer the moſt exquiſite c
torments, which his cruel temper, and an eager deſire of revenge could invent.
Theopompus of *Scio* tells us, that he frequently obliged, without any provocation,
ſuch of the citizens as came to wait on him, and even thoſe he met in the ſtreets, to
drink a cup of the poiſonous juice of hemlock, and that, during his reign, no citizen
of any diſtinction dared venture out of his houſe till he had armed himſelf with rue,
which is a powerful antidote, according to that writer, againſt the juice of hemlock,
when taken before any other food [r]. *Clearchus*, after he had exerciſed a moſt cruel
tyranny over his fellow-citizens for the ſpace of twelve years, was at laſt put to death
Is murdered. by *Chion* and *Leonides*, two young citizens, and diſciples of *Plato* [s]. *Nymphis* of
Heraclea, as quoted by *Athenæus* [t], tells us, that *Clearchus*, though he affected to be a d
god, and cauſed divine honours to be paid him, yet towards the end of his life was
ſo apprehenſive of conſpiracies, that he not only kept at home, but gave audience
ſhut up in a ſtrong cheſt, anſwering thoſe who applied to him, through holes made
for that purpoſe. But as he was murdered by the conſpirators, according to *Plu-
tarch* [u] and *Diodorus Siculus* [w], while he was adminiſtering juſtice in public, we can
hardly give credit to *Nymphis*.

Satyrus. THE conſpirators delivered their country from the tyrant; but the tyranny ſtill
ſubſiſted. For *Clearchus* having left two ſons, *Timotheus* and *Dionyſius*, their uncle
Satyrus ſeized on the ſovereign power, as their guardian and protector, and equalled
his brother *Clearchus* in the tyranny of his government. For he not only put to death e
the conſpirators, their children, and all thoſe who were any ways related to them, but
likewiſe ſuch of the citizens as he imagined capable of following their example.
However he brought up his nephews with great care, and reſigned the power to *Ti-
motheus* as ſoon as he was of age, having held it himſelf ſeven years [x].

Timotheus. *Timotheus* governed with great equity and moderation; whence he had the ſurnames
of *Euergetes* and *Soter*, that is, the *beneficent*, the *ſaviour* of his country. He ruled
Dionyſius. fifteen years, and was ſucceeded by his brother *Dionyſius*, who taking advantage of the
retreat of the *Perſians* after the battle fought on the banks of the *Granicus*, reduced
ſome of the neighbouring provinces, and conſiderably increaſed the power of the
Heracleans [y]. After the death of *Alexander* he married *Amaſtris*, the widow of f
Craterus, and daughter of *Oxiathres*, the brother of *Darius*. Upon this marriage he
aſſumed the title of king, and maintained it with great dignity, being a prince of a
mild temper, and always ready to ſacrifice his own eaſe and private intereſt to the
welfare of his ſubjects. *Ælian* [z] and *Athenæus* [a] tell us, that he grew immoderately

[p] JUSTIN. ibid. PLUT. de fortun. Alexand. & ANTIGON. de Mirabil. Narration. p. 144. [q] DIODOR. SICUL. l. xv. [r] ATHEN. l. iii. c. 5. [s] DIODOR. SICUL. ibid. SUIDAS, Κλέαρχος. POLYÆN. Stratag. l. ii. [t] ATHEN. ibid. [u] PLUT. ad princ. indoct. [w] DIODOR. SICUL. l. xvi. [x] JUSTIN. l. xvi. MEMNON. excerpt. c. 17. [y] DIODOR. SICUL. & MEMNON. ibid. [z] ÆLIAN. V. H. l. ix. c. 13. [a] ATHEN. l. xii. c. 26.

corpulent,

a corpulent, and fell into a kind of lethargy, from which his domeſtics could ſcarce recover him by running long needles, made for that purpoſe, into his fleſh. He died in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and twenty-third of his reign, and is highly commended by all the ancients on account of his juſtice, moderation, good-nature, affability, and other princely qualities. *Strabo* no doubt had this prince and his brother *Timotheus* in view, when he wrote, that *Heraclea* had been governed by tyrants, and alſo by kings. He left two ſons by his wife *Amaſtris*, viz. *Clearchus* and *Oxatres*, whom *Diodorus Siculus* calls *Zathras*. Upon his death *Amaſtris* married *Lyſimachus*, one of *Alexander*'s captains, who by that means got poſſeſſion of *Heraclea*, which ſhe governed as guardian to her children; for they were both very young when their
b father died. *Lyſimachus* afterwards divorced *Amaſtris* to marry *Arſinoe* the daughter of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, king of *Egypt*; but nevertheleſs kept poſſeſſion of the city, and brought up the two young princes with great care. They both attended him in his expedition againſt the *Getæ*, after which he ſuffered them to return home, and reſigned the government of *Heraclea* to *Clearchus* the eldeſt, allowing him to take upon him the title of king. With this title he governed *Heraclea*, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, ſeventeen years, and was at laſt put to death by *Lyſimachus* with his brother *Oxatres* for aſſaſſinating their mother *Amaſtris* [b]; for they both conſpired againſt her, and cauſed her to be ſmothered, while ſhe was going by ſea from *Heraclea* to *Amaſtris*, a city which ſhe had built, and called by her own name. Upon their
c death *Lyſimachus* reſtored the *Heracleans* to the full enjoyment of their ancient liberties. But they did not long continue in that happy condition, *Arſinoe*, who had a great aſcendant over her husband *Lyſimachus*, having prevailed upon him to deprive them of the liberty which he had not long before granted them, and appoint one *Heraclitus Cimæus* governor of the place, a man intirely at her devotion. After the famous battle of *Coroupedion*, in which *Lyſimachus* was killed by one *Malacon*, a native of *Heraclea*, the *Heracleans* conſpired to ſhake off the yoke, under which they had groaned for the ſpace of ſeventy-five years, determined either to recover their former liberty, or die in the attempt. With this reſolution the chief citizens went in a body to wait on *Heraclitus*, intreating him to retire of his own accord, and ſuffer them to live according to their
d own laws. They offered him all poſſible ſecurity for his perſon and effects, and beſides a large ſum of money to defray the charges of his journey. At this propoſal *Heraclitus* in a great rage commanded the officers, who attended him, to put immediately to death ſome of the leading men whom he named. But the officers, to his great ſurprize, inſtead of obeying his orders, ſeized him, and carried him to the public priſon. For the *Heracleans* had before-hand gained them over to their party, by making them free of *Heraclea*, and promiſing to pay them the arrears which were due to them from *Heraclitus*. Having thus ſecured the tyrant, they demoliſhed the citadel which *Lyſimachus* had built, raiſed one of their own citizens, by name *Phocrites*, to the chief magiſtracy, and diſpatched an embaſſy to *Seleucus* king of *Syria*,
e to acquaint him with what they had done, and implore his protection [c]. *Seleucus* had been greatly prejudiced againſt the *Heracleans* by one *Aphrodiſius*, who being ſent by him to viſit the cities of *Aſia*, had laid many things to their charge, and repreſented them as diſaffected to his perſon. He was therefore ſo far from promiſing them his protection, that he threatened their embaſſadors, and let drop ſome expreſſions, which gave juſt grounds to ſuſpect that he had ſome deſign upon their city. Hereupon the *Heracleans* entered into an offenſive and defenſive league with *Mithridates* king of *Pontus*; the *Byzantines* and *Chalcedonians* recalled all their exiles, and put themſelves in a poſture of defence. But the death of *Seleucus* ſoon delivered them from their apprehenſions [d]. From this time the *Heracleans* enjoyed their liberties undiſturbed for
f many years. When the *Romans* became formidable in *Aſia*, they made an alliance with them, the articles of which were engraved on tables of braſs, and lodged at *Rome* in the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, and at *Heraclea* in a temple of the ſame god. Notwithſtanding this alliance, the *Heracleans* ſuffered greatly by the wars which they engaged in for the defence of their liberties, againſt the *Bithynians* and *Galatians*. However they held out againſt their utmoſt efforts, and obliged them to withdraw their forces with diſgrace. In the war which the *Romans* waged with *Mithridates the Great*, they reſolved at firſt to obſerve a ſtrict neutrality, and accordingly refuſed to admit that prince's fleet into their harbour. But on the approach of his general *Ar-*

Clearchus II.

Heraclitus Cimæus.

The Heracleans *recover their ancient liberty.*

Enter into an alliance with Rome.

[b] Diodor. Sicul. l. xvi. Trog. in prolog. l. xvi. Memnon. excerpt. c. 19. [c] Justin. l. xvii. c. 3. Memnon. ibid. c. 8. & 10. [d] Memnon. ibid. c. 11, 12.

chelaus they thought fit to change their meaſures, and ſide with him, after having murdered all the *Romans* who reſided among them. Their treachery coſt them dear; for *Cotta*, or rather *Triarius*, having after a two years ſiege taken their city, pillaged and reduced it to aſhes, as we have related in the hiſtory of *Pontus* [e]. *Cotta* on his return to *Rome* was ſeverely reprimanded by the ſenate for ſuffering ſo great and wealthy a city to be deſtroyed. *We gave you orders*, ſaid the ſenate, *to take* Heraclea, *but not to deſtroy it.* All the captives were ſent home without ranſom, and the inhabitants reſtored to the poſſeſſion of their lands, and allowed the uſe of their harbour, and the freedom of commerce. *Britagoras*, one of the chief citizens, ſpared no pains to repeople it; but could not obtain for his fellow-citizens the reſtitution of their liberty, and ancient privileges. *Strabo* tells us, that many of the citizens being killed during the ſiege, and more after the place was taken, a numerous colony was ſent from *Rome* to repeople it. Some of the new-comers ſettled in the city, and ſome in the country; but the former were all to a man maſſacred by *Adioterix*, the ſon of *Demenecelius*, king of the *Galatians*, not without the privity, as was then ſuſpected, of *Marc Antony* the triumvir, who had beſtowed on the *Galatian* that quarter of the city which was inhabited by the *Romans* [f]. But his cruelty did not go long unpuniſhed; for *Octavianus* having taken him priſoner after the famous battle of *Actium*, carried him in chains to *Rome* to grace his triumph, and afterwards cauſed both him and his ſon to be put to death. From this time *Heraclea* continued ſubject to the *Roman* emperors till the downfall of the empire, being with its territory made part of the province of *Pontus*. It did not loſe its ancient ſplendor even after the loſs of its liberty, as appears from ſome ancient inſcriptions, and alſo medals, which have reached us, and were ſtruck under the emperors [g]. Near this city was the famous cave through which *Hercules* is feigned to have deſcended to the infernal regions, and brought up from thence the fabulous *Cerberus*. This cave was ſtill to be ſeen in *Xenophon*'s time; but is now quite cloſed up, though once two furlongs deep [h]. The ancient hiſtory of *Heraclea* was wrote by *Piſander*, *Timagenes*, *Panyaſis*, *Domitius*, *Calliſtus*, *Cynæthon*, *Nymphis*, and *Memnon*; for to theſe *Athenæus*, *Suidas*, *Stephanus*, and the ſcholiaſt of *Apollonius*, refer us for a more full account of what they briefly relate of the *Heracleans*. But the works of theſe authors have been long ſince loſt, nothing now remaining of them but an extract of *Memnon* preſerved by *Photius* in his *Bibliotheque*; and from him we have in great part copied what we have ſaid here of *Heraclea*. This city is at preſent a very inconſiderable place, known to the *Greeks* by the name of *Penderachi*, and to the *Turks* by that of *Eregri*. We cannot, with a modern traveller, take either of theſe names to be a corruption of *Heraclea Pontica*, or *Heraclea* [i].

Heraclea *deſtroyed by* Triarius.

Made afterwards a Roman *colony.*

The inland cities of Bithynia.

The inland cities of *Bithynia*, which it may be proper to take notice of, were, *Pruſa* at the foot of mount *Olympus*, built, according to *Strabo* [k], by *Pruſias* king of *Bithynia*, who waged war with *Cræſus* and *Cyrus*, and not by *Hannibal*, as *Pliny* [l] would make us believe. Nay, this city muſt have been founded long before the times of *Cræſus* and *Cyrus*, if the tradition be true, which the inhabitants have tranſmitted to us, on ſeveral medals, *viz.* that *Ajax* ſtabbed himſelf here with his ſword. 'Tis ſurprizing, that *Livy*, who has ſo well deſcribed the neighbourhood of mount *Olympus*, where the *Gauls* were defeated by *Manlius*, ſhould not mention this place. *Pruſa* was the place where the *Othoman* princes reſided before they extended their conqueſts into *Europe*, and is ſtill one of the moſt beautiful and populous cities of *Aſia*. We muſt not, with ſome geographers, confound the city of *Pruſa* with that of *Pruſias*, of which we have ſpoke above. *Libyſſa*, famous for the death of *Hannibal*, and the tomb of that great commander, which was ſtill extant in *Pliny*'s time [m]. Some writers place *Libyſſa* on the coaſt, but *Strabo*, and with him *Stephanus*, and moſt of the ancients, count it among the inland cities. *Cellarius* conjectures, that it ſtood three or four miles diſtance from the ſea, and was on that account called by ſome a maritime, by others an inland city, or rather caſtle. *Nicæa*, or *Nice*, which ſtood on the lake *Aſcanius*, now the lake of *Iſnich*. This city was built, according to *Strabo*, who calls it the metropolis of *Bithynia* [n], by *Antigonus* the ſon of *Philip* of *Macedon*, and from him called at firſt *Antigonia*. Afterwards it was repaired and embelliſhed by *Lyſimachus*, who gave it the name of his wife *Nicæa*, the daughter of *Antipater*. *Ste-*

[e] Vide p. 747. [f] Strab. l. xii. [g] Vide Tournefort. voyage, &c. Vol. II. [h] Xenoph. Exped. Cyri Minor. l. vi. p. 220. Eustath. ad Dionys. v. 791. [i] Tournefort. ibid. [k] Strab. l. xii. p. 388. [l] Plin. l. v. cap. ultim. [m] Plin. l. v. cap. ult. [n] Strab. l. xii. p. 389.

phanus

phanus tells us, that *Nicæa* was originally a colony of the *Bottiæi*, a people of *Thrace*; and called in the earlieſt times *Anchore*. *Pliny* ſpeaks of two cities in *Bithynia* bearing this name, the one he places twenty-five miles eaſt of *Pruſa*, now *Burſa*; the other forty-four north of *Nicomedia* on the lake *Aſcanius*. But *Strabo*, *Ptolemy*, *Stephanus*, *Mela*, &c. ſpeak of one city only in *Bithynia* bearing that name (S), which they place on the lake *Aſcanius* lying to the north of mount *Olympus*, and at a ſmall diſtance from the river *Gallus*. *Nicæa*, according to *Strabo*, ſtood in a large and fruitful plain, was ſixteen furlongs in compaſs, well peopled, and in the *Roman* times declared the metropolis of the ſecond *Bithynia*, *Nicomedia* being the capital of the firſt. For *Pontus* and *Bithynia* were by *Auguſtus* made one province, but by his ſucceſſors divided into two, called the *firſt* and *ſecond Bithynia*. The firſt general council held here, by the appointment of *Conſtantine the Great*, againſt *Arius*, gave new luſtre to this city; for it was ever after honoured with the title and privileges of a metropolis, as appears from the acts of the council of *Chalcedon*.

Rivers.

THE chief rivers of *Bithynia* were the *Pſillis*, *Colpas*, *Sangarius*, or *Sagaris*, *Hypius*, *Rhebas*, and the *Lycus*, all diſcharging themſelves into the *Euxine* ſea between *Chalcedon* and *Heraclea*. *Livy* was certainly miſtaken when he wrote that the *Sangarius*, the chief river of *Bithynia*, falls into the *Propontis*. It ſprings from mount *Dindymus* in *Phrygia*, at a ſmall diſtance from a town, which *Strabo* calls *Sangia*; waters *Phrygia* and *Bithynia*, and receiving in its courſe the *Thymbrus* and the *Gallus*, falls into the *Euxine* ſea over-againſt the ſmall iſland of *Thynias*. Some geographers place the river *Parthenius* in *Bithynia*; but theſe extend the bounds of this country a great way into *Paphlagonia*. As *Bithynia* lies between the forty-firſt and forty-third degrees of north latitude, and is watered by a great many rivers, it once abounded with all the neceſſaries of life. The ancients compare ſome of the inland provinces to the fruitful and delicious vales of *Tempe* itſelf; but at preſent it lies in great part neglected and unmanured.

Inhabitants.

Bithynia was anciently inhabited by various nations, differing in their manners, cuſtoms, and language, namely the *Bebryces*, the *Mariandyni*, the *Caucones*, the *Dolliones*, the *Cimmerii*, &c. But to inquire into the origin of theſe different nations would be both a tedious and uſeleſs task. *Xenophon* [o] and *Strabo* [p] are of opinion, that the *Bithynians* and the *Mariandyni* were originally *Thracians*, who croſſing the *Boſporus* made themſelves maſters of this country, which from them was anciently called the *Aſiatic Thrace*. Some modern writers derive them from *Aſhkenaz*, one of *Gomer*'s ſons; but the only proof they alledge to ſupport their opinion is, the ſmall likeneſs they diſcover between *Aſhkenaz* and *Aſcanius*, the name of a lake in this country. *Stephanus* ſays, that the *Mariandyni* were ſo called from one *Mariandynus*, a native of *Æolis*, who with ſome of his countrymen ſettled in that part of *Bithynia*, which lies between the rivers *Hypius* and *Parthenius* [q]. *Theopompus*, as quoted by *Strabo* [r], will have this *Mariandynus* to have been a petty king of *Paphlagonia*, and to have ſubdued that part of *Bithynia*, then called *Bebrycia*, which bordered on his dominions. Theſe different nations were anciently governed by kings of their own, *Bithynia* being in the earlieſt times divided into as many kingdoms as nations or tribes. For *Plutarch*, *Polyænus* and *Stephanus* mention *Mandron* and *Byſnus* as reigning over the *Bebryces*; and *Hyginus* ſpeaks of one *Lycus* king of the *Mariandyni*. But all we know

[o] XENOPH. l. vi. de expedit. Cyr. [p] STRAB. l. xii. p. 373. [q] STEPH. ad DIONYS. v. 788. [r] STRAB. ibid.

(S) The reverend fathers *Catrou* and *Rouillé* in their deſcription of *Nice*, tell us (110), that the ancient geographers place it on the lake *Aſcanius*, which, ſay they, is now called the lake of *Iſnich*; and a few lines after queſtion whether there ever was a lake of that name, thinking it very natural to ſuppoſe, that *Pliny*, the only author, ſay they, who mentions it, by the lake *Aſcanius* meant the gulf of *Olbia*, now the gulf of *Nicomedia*. If the ancient geographers place *Nice*, as they ſay, on the lake *Aſcanius*, *Pliny* is not the only author who mentions ſuch a lake; and if it be true, that the lake *Aſcanius* is by the modern geographers called the lake of *Iſnich*, how can we doubt whether there ever was a lake of that name? Beſides, it is ſo far from being natural to ſuppoſe *Pliny* to have meant the gulf of *Olbia* by the lake *Aſcanius*, that his words evidently deſtroy ſuch a ſuppoſition; for in the very paſſage, which the abovementioned writers quote, *Pliny* diſtinguiſhes the lake *Aſcanius* from the gulf, on which he places the ancient city of *Olbia* (111). Laſtly, *Pliny* is not the only author who makes mention of the lake *Aſcanius*. *Strabo* tells us in expreſs terms (112), that *Nicæa, the metropolis of* Bithynia, *ſtood on the lake* Aſcanius; and *Ptolemy* ſpeaks of it as falling into the *Euxine* ſea between *Pruſias* and the promontory *Poſidium*.

(110) *Ad Ann. Urb.* 607. (111) *Plin. l. v. cap. ultim.* (112) *Strab. l.* xiii. *p.* 389.

of

of theſe ſmall kingdoms, and the princes, who ruled over them, is, that in proceſs of a
time they were reduced by the more powerful kings of the *Bithynians*. But as to the
beginning of this kingdom, we are quite in the dark. *Diodorus Siculus* pretends,
that the *Bithynians* were governed by their own princes in the time of *Ninus* king of
Aſſyria, who, according to him, ſubdued their country. *Pherecydes*, as quoted by
the ſcholiaſt of *Apollonius*, mentions *Amycus* and *Phyneus* as reigning in *Bithynia* at the
time of the *Argonautic* expedition; and *Appian* tells us, that nine and forty kings
had reigned in *Bithynia* before the *Romans* were acquainted with *Aſia*. If what theſe
authors write be true, the kingdom of *Bithynia* muſt have been erected before the
Trojan war; which we can hardly believe, ſince *Homer*, who is ſo exact in enume-
rating the nations in the neighbourhood of *Troas*, never once mentions the *Bithynians*. b
From his ſilence ſome have concluded, that *Bithynia* was uninhabited in the time of
the *Trojan* war, and add, that the *Thracians*, who marched with *Rheſus* to the relief
of *Troy* after the death of their king, and the taking of the city, ſettled in that part
of *Aſia*, which was afterwards known by the name of *Bithynia*. This name, ſay
they, the new-comers gave to the provinces, in which they ſettled, from the *Bithyas*,
a river in their own country. *Strabo* [s] ſpeaks of one *Pruſias* reigning in *Bithynia* in
the time of *Cræſus*, the laſt king of *Lydia*, by whom he was conquered. From this
time the *Bithynians* continued ſubject firſt to the *Lydians*, and afterwards to the *Per-
ſians*, till the reign of *Alexander the Great*; for we find them mentioned by *Herodotus*
among the many nations that attended *Xerxes* in his expedition into *Greece*. While c
they were ſubject to the *Perſians*, they were ſtill governed, it ſeems, by their own
Kings of Bithynia, Dœdalſus, Boteras, *and* Bas. princes; for *Memnon*, and *Strabo* tell us, that *Dœdalſus* or *Dydalſus*, *Boteras*, and
Bas ruled in *Bithynia* with ſovereign power in the time of the *Perſian* monarchy.
Some writers place in the reign of *Dœdalſus* the invaſion of the *Byzantines*, *Chalce-
donians*, and *Thracians*, who entering *Bithynia*, committed there, as *Diodorus Siculus*
informs us [t], moſt dreadful ravages; and having taken ſeveral towns, made a great
many captives, whom they inhumanly murdered, when they found themſelves obli-
ged to leave the country. *Boteras* was, according to *Memnon*, the ſon of *Dœdalſus*,
and died in the ſeventy-ſixth year of his age. He was ſucceeded by his ſon *Bas*,
who having overcome *Calantus*, one of *Alexander the Great*'s generals, peaceably d
enjoyed the kingdom of *Bithynia* for the ſpace of fifty years, and died in the ſeventy-
firſt of his age [u].

Zipœtes. *Year of the flood* 2718. *Before Chriſt* 281. *Bas* was ſucceeded by *Zipœtes*, who waged war firſt with the *Heracleans*, and after-
wards with the *Chalcedonians*. Over the former he gained no conſiderable advantage,
but reduced the latter to great ſtraits, beſieged their metropolis, and having drawn
them to a battle, killed eight thouſand of them on the ſpot [w]. He was prevented
from purſuing the victory, which would have ſoon put him in poſſeſſion of *Chal-
cedon*, by *Patrocles*, one of *Antiochus Soter*'s generals, who entering *Bithynia*, put
all to fire and ſword. *Zipœtes* marched againſt him, and having concealed his men
in an ambuſh, fell upon him unexpectedly, and cut him off with his whole army, e
as we have related in the hiſtory of *Syria* [x]. *Zipœtes* was ſo overjoyed at this vic-
tory, that he died ſoon after in the ſeventy-ſixth year of his age, and forty-eighth
of his reign [y]. He left four ſons, of which the eldeſt, called *Nicomedes*, took poſ-
Nicomedes. ſeſſion of the throne, and cauſed, out of jealouſy, two of his brothers to be put to
death. But the youngeſt, called by *Memnon Zipœtes*, by *Livy* [z] *Zibœas*, having ſaved
himſelf by a timely flight, ſeized on the coaſt of *Bithynia*, which was then known
by the names of *Thracia*, *Thyniacia*, and *Thracia Aſiatica*, and there maintained a
long war with his brother; who being informed that *Antiochus Soter*, king of *Syria*,
was making great preparations to attack him at the ſame time, becauſe he had
declared for *Antigonus Gonatas*, called in the *Gauls* to his aſſiſtance; and on this occa- f
ſion it was that this people firſt paſſed over into *Aſia*. The terms agreed on between
them and *Nicomedes* were, 1. That they ſhould ever maintain a ſtrict friendſhip with
Nicomedes and his ſucceſſors in the kingdom of *Bithynia*: 2. That they ſhould not
without his privity and conſent lend aſſiſtance to any other prince or ſtate: 3. That
they ſhould at the ſame time enter into an alliance with the *Tianians*, *Heracleans*,
Chalcedonians, and *Cierians*; for theſe ſtates had aſſiſted *Nicomedes* againſt his brother
Zipœtes [a]. Upon theſe terms the *Gauls* paſſed over into *Aſia* in the third year of the

[s] Strab. ibid. [t] Diodor. Sicul. l. xii. [u] Memnon excerpt. c. 8. & 10. [w] Idem ibid. c. 11. [x] Vide p. 522. [y] Memnon ibid. c. 21. [z] Liv. l. xxxviii. [a] Memnon ibid. c. 21. Liv. l. xxxviii. Strab. l. xii. p. 566.

hundred

a hundred and twenty-fifth olympiad, as we read in *Pauſanias* [b], *Nicomedes* having with their aſſiſtance repulſed *Antiochus*, overcome his brother, and acquired the poſſeſſion of all his father's dominions, beſtowed upon them that part of *Aſia Minor* which was called from them *Gallo-Græcia*, and *Galatia*. As for *Zæpetes*, he died in baniſhment, his army being routed by the *Gauls*, and the cities, which he poſſeſſed on the coaſt, obliged to ſubmit to the conqueror. *Livy* [c] and *Juſtin* [d] tell us, that the *Gauls* having laid waſte the dominions of *Zipætes*, kept the ſpoils for themſelves, but divided the country with *Nicomedes*, calling their portion *Gallo-Græcia*; and herein they agree with *Demetrius Byzantius*, who informs us, that *Gallo-Græcia* was not given by *Nicomedes* to the *Gauls*, but held by them againſt his will after they had driven out
b his brother *Zipætes* [e]. *Demetrius Byzantius* wrote thirteen books on the migration of the *Gauls* out of *Europe* into *Aſia*; but none of them have reached our times. *Nicomedes* having no enemies to contend with after the defeat of his brother, and the advantages gained over the king of *Syria*, applied himſelf to the enlarging and embelliſhing of the city of *Aſtacus*, which he called after his own name *Nicomedia*. This is what we read in *Pauſanias* [f], *Trebellius Pollio* [g], *Ammianus Marcellinus* [h], and *Euſebius* [i]. But *Memnon* ſays, that he built *Nicomedia* over-againſt the city of *Aſtacus*; ſo that *Nicomedia* and *Aſtacus* were, according to this writer [k], two diſtinct cities. *Nicomedes* had two wives, viz. *Ditizele* and *Etazeta*, the former brought him two ſons, *Zela* and *Pruſias*, and one daughter by name *Lyſandra*; by the latter he had one ſon
c named *Tibites*, to whom, at the inſtigation of his mother *Etazeta*, he left the king- Tibites.
dom. But *Zela*, who at the time of his father's death was in *Armenia*, whither he Zela.
had been baniſhed by the intrigues of his ſtep-mother, having hired an army of *Galatians*, returned into *Bithynia*, drove out *Tibites*, and peaceably enjoyed the crown till his death. He was taken in a ſnare, which he had laid for the *Galatians*; for ſuſpecting their fidelity, he invited their leading men to a banquet with a deſign to cut them all off; but they, upon private intelligence of what was preparing againſt them, were before-hand with the treacherous prince, murdering him in the beginning of the banquet [l].

H E was ſucceeded by his ſon *Pruſias*, ſurnamed *Cholos*, or the *lame*, and alſo Pruſias.
d *Cunegos*, or the *hunter*. This prince in the very beginning of his reign entered into an alliance with the *Rhodians* againſt the *Byzantines*, whom he reduced to great ſtraits, as we have related at length in the hiſtory of *Rhodes* [m]. Not long after he engaged in a war with the *Galatians*, whom *Attalus* I. king of *Pergamus*, had invited over into *Aſia*, defeated them in a pitched battle, took ſeveral of their ſtrong-holds, and put all the *Galatians* he could get into his power to the ſword without diſtinction of ſex or age. When the war broke out between *Antiochus the Great* and the *Romans*, he was ſollicited by the former to join him againſt thoſe powerful republicans; but *Scipio* by a letter, and *Livius*, admiral of the *Roman* fleet, by the promiſes he made him in the name of the republic, fixed him in the intereſt of *Rome*, as the reader
e will find in the hiſtory of *Syria* [n]. But notwithſtanding his engagements with the *Romans*, he invaded the territories of *Eumenes* their conſtant friend and ally, being induced thereto by *Hannibal*, who had taken refuge in his dominions. The advantages he gained over *Eumenes* in this war were chiefly owing to *Hannibal*, who not only prevailed upon *Ortyagon*, one of the kings of the *Galatians*, and *Philip* king of *Macedon*, to ſend him powerful ſupplies, but took upon him the command of his forces, and in ſeveral encounters put the king of *Pergamus* to flight by ſome ſtratagem or other [o]. This awaked the jealouſy of the *Romans*, who thereupon ſent *T. Flaminius*, *Scipio Africanus*, and *Scipio Naſica* into *Aſia* to adjuſt the differences between the two kings, and to perſuade *Pruſias* to deliver *Hannibal* up to them [p]. On their arrival
f at the court of *Bithynia*, *Hannibal* retired to *Libyſſa*, a ſtrong caſtle, which he had been allowed by *Pruſias* to repair in ſuch manner as beſt ſuited the ſtate of his affairs. He had dug ſeveral private ways under-ground, which led from his lodgings to ſo many different iſſues, through which he could make his eſcape either by ſea or land upon the firſt alarm; for he had reaſon to ſuſpect that the king's inclinations might change with his intereſt. *Flaminius* after having propoſed a plan of accommodation

[b] PAUSAN. in Phoc. p. 340. [c] LIV. l. xxxviii. [d] JUSTIN. l. xxv. c. 2. [e] LAERT. in vita Demet. Phal. [f] PAUSAN. in Eliac. l. ii. p. 159. [g] TREBELL. POLL. in Gallienis. [h] AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. l. xxiii. [i] EUSEB. in Chron. [k] MEMNON. ibid. c. 21. [l] MEMNON. ibid. ATHEN. l. ii. c. 18. PLIN. l. viii. c. 4. [m] Vide p 144, 145. [n] Vide p. 558. [o] JUSTIN. l. xxxii. c. 4. ÆMIL. PROBUS in Hannib. [p] POLYB. legat. 47. LIV. l. xxxvi.

between *Pruſias* and *Eumenes*, acquainted the former, that *Rome* would never look upon him as a ſincere friend unleſs he delivered up *Hannibal*, that irreconcileable enemy to their republic, who made no other uſe of his liberty and talents, but to draw kings and nations into the ſame dangerous enterprizes which had proved his ruin. *Pruſias* refuſed at firſt to comply with the requeſt of the embaſſadors, pleading in excuſe the laws of hoſpitality, and the age of *Hannibal*, which was too great for him to give any farther umbrage to the *Roman* ſenate. He alſo inſiſted on the reputation of that great general, whom he could not deliver up without drawing upon himſelf the indignation of all ages. But *Flaminius* threatening to treat him as an enemy if he perſiſted in favouring and protecting one who had ſwore an eternal hatred to *Rome*, the king thought it adviſeable to ſacrifice his gueſt to the revenge of the republic, and his own intereſt. But *Hannibal*, without heſitating a moment between death and captivity, diſappointed the deſigns of his enemies in a manner worthy of his great courage [q], as we have related in the hiſtory of *Pergamus*.

Pruſias *delivers up* Hannibal *to the* Romans.

Pruſias having by thus abandoning his gueſt and ally to the revengeful temper of the *Romans*, gained their protection, in order to engage them ſtill more in his favour, aſſiſted them both with men and money in their war with *Perſes*, king of *Macedon*; and upon the reduction of that country was not content, like the other princes of the eaſt, with ſending an embaſſy to *Rome* to congratulate the ſenate on the ſucceſs of their arms; but went thither in perſon, and diſhonoured the royal dignity with his mean and ſervile flatteries. The ſenate no ſooner heard of his arrival in *Italy*, but they ſent *Lucius Cornelius Scipio*, the ſon of *Scipio Aſiaticus*, as far as *Capua* to meet him with orders to defray his charges, and conduct him to the capitol. Before he entered the city, he cauſed his head to be ſhaved, and took the pileus, or cap which ſlaves wore after they had obtained their freedom, and in that odd dreſs advanced towards the forum, ſtopped at the tribunal, where the prætors uſed to adminiſter juſtice, and there declared with a loud voice, that he had croſſed the ſeas, on purpoſe to return thanks to the *Roman* gods, and congratulate the republic on her late victories. His arrival being notified to the ſenate, they ſent deputies to receive and introduce him. Theſe *Pruſias* received with ſuch mean flatteries and ſubmiſſions as were well ſuited to the attire he had aſſumed; *I have taken the habit and appearance of one of your freedmen*, ſaid he, *and am indeed no better than a* Roman *ſlave ſet at liberty by your favour*. The deputies were for introducing him to the ſenate immediately, but he deſired that his audience might be put off for two days, being deſirous to ſee firſt the city and temples, and viſit his friends. The third day he was introduced, and on that occaſion betrayed a baſeneſs of mind unworthy of the rank and title he bore. For when he entered the ſenate, he kiſſed the threſhold, ſaluted the ſenators with the titles of *viſible deities*, *ſaviours*, *deliverers*, and pronounced an harangue ſuitable to that prelude; in the cloſe of which he related what he had done for the republic in the courſe of the war, and deſired the protection of the ſenate both for himſelf and his ſon. After this he preſented to the conſcript fathers a petition, which contained two articles; whereof the firſt was, that he might be allowed to offer up ſacrifices in the capitol, and at *Prænеſte*, by way of thankſgiving to *Jupiter* and *Fortune*, for the ſucceſs which had attended the arms of the republic in the late war; the ſecond article was, that the ſenate would grant him a ſmall territory, which had formerly belonged to *Antiochus the Great*, but was then held by the *Galatians*, who had ſeized it without the conſent of the republic. The ſenate returned *Pruſias* the following anſwer: We give the king of *Bithynia* leave to offer ſacrifices at *Rome* and *Prænеſte*, and order that the expences of the victims, and all other things for the ſacrifices be defrayed by the public in the ſame manner as if our own magiſtrates were to offer up ſacrifices. As to the territory which the king deſires, we ſhall ſend commiſſioners to judge of the affair on the ſpot after both parties ſhall have been heard. After this the ſenate preſented him with ſome ſilver veſſels, and made over to him two hundred and twenty-five ſmall ſhips, which had been taken from *Gentius* king of *Illyricum*. Then *Pruſias* left *Rome*, embarqued at *Brunduſium*, and ſet ſail with a ſquadron of twenty gallies to take poſſeſſion of the fleet, which the republic had given him [r]. Some years after that war broke out between him and *Eumenes* II. which we have deſcribed in the hiſtory of *Pergamus*, where we have alſo related in what manner, and on what provocation he was firſt driven from the throne, and afterwards aſſaſſinated by

Goes to Rome.

His mean behaviour at Rome.

[q] Æmil. Prob. in Hannib. Liv. l. xxxix. c. 4. Plut. in Flam. Appian. in Syriac. p. 97. [r] Polyb. legat. 97. Liv. l. xlv. c. 44.

his

his own ſon *Nicomedes* [s]. *Polybius* tells us, that he was a monſter rather than a man; that he had not one ſingle virtue to make amends for the many vices which rendered him inſupportable to his ſubjects, and contemptible to foreigners. He was a ſtranger to all principles of honour or honeſty, of a moſt cruel and ſavage temper, timorous, cowardly, and ſo addicted to pleaſures of all ſorts, that he ſeemed another *Sardanapalus*. His moſt important buſineſs was to dreſs himſelf, ſays our hiſtorian, to conceal the deformity of his ill-ſhaped and diſfigured body. He was not aſhamed to appear publicly in the attire of a woman, and ſhew his ſubjects a figure no leſs hideous than ridiculous, in a dreſs noways ſuited to it [t]. As he was himſelf unacquainted with the liberal arts, he deſpiſed all kinds of knowledge, diſcountenanced the ſtudy of philoſophy, and polite literature, and carefully avoided the converſation of ſuch perſons as could form his mind, or improve his taſte [u]. *Livy*, in his account of the audience which the ſenate gave him, takes no notice of his ſubmiſſions to the ſenators; perhaps he thought they reflected no leſs diſhonour on the ſenate, who ſuffered them, than on the king, who acted ſo mean a part. But *Polybius*, after having given us, as it were, a ſpecimen of the ſpeech the ſlaviſh king made on that occaſion, breaks it off abruptly, ſaying, that he was aſhamed to repeat the expreſſions he made uſe of before that venerable aſſembly [w]. He had two wives, viz. *Apame*, the daughter of *Dieglis*, one of the kings of *Thrace*, who brought him two ſons, *Nicomedes* and *Pruſias*: The latter was ſurnamed *Monodous*, or the *ſingle-toothed*, becauſe inſtead of diſtinct teeth, he had one continued ſemicircular bone in each jaw. *Pruſias* married to his ſecond wife the daughter of *Philip* king of *Macedon*, and had by her alſo children; for *Juſtin* tells us, that he intended to prefer his iſſue by the daughter of *Philip* to *Nicomedes* his eldeſt ſon by his firſt wife; and that *Nicomedes*, provoked at this unjuſt partiality, took up arms againſt his father, and drove him from the throne; but herein he diſagrees with other writers, whom we have quoted elſewhere in our account of this revolution [x].

His death and character.

Nicomedes II. ſucceeded his father, and proved a no leſs cruel tyrant; for he had ſcarce aſcended the throne, when he ſacrificed all his brothers to his jealouſy and ambition [y]. He aſſumed the name of *Epiphanes*, or the *illuſtrious*, though he performed nothing worthy of this title, or even of notice, during the whole time of his long reign. According to the accounts given us, by *Strabo*, *Juſtin*, and *Memnon*, he began to reign in the 607th year of *Rome*, and was ſtill on the throne in the 649th. All we know of him beſides what we have related in the hiſtory of *Pergamus*, is, that he built a city, calling it by his mother's name, *Apame*, or *Apamea*. *Strabo* tells us [z], that he was killed, but by whom, or in what manner, we find nowhere recorded. Some writers conjecture, that as he had murdered his father, ſo he was treated in the ſame manner by his ſon *Nicomedes*, who on that account was by antiphraſis ſurnamed *Philopator*.

Nicomedes II.

He was ſucceeded by his ſon *Nicomedes* III. who entering into an alliance with *Mithridates the Great*, invaded *Paphlagonia*, and having ſeized on that country, attempted to make himſelf maſter likewiſe of *Cappadocia*, at that time ſubject to *Mithridates*, who thereupon marching into *Bithynia* at the head of a mighty army, drove *Nicomedes* from the throne, and raiſed his brother *Socrates* to it in his room. The dethroned prince had recourſe to the *Romans*, who drove out the uſurper, and reſtored him to his hereditary dominions. For this favour they preſſed him, and at length prevailed upon him, contrary to his own inclination, and the opinion of his friends, to make inroads into the territories of *Mithridates*, with whom *Rome* wanted to pick a quarrel. The king of *Pontus* bore for ſome time the devaſtations committed by *Nicomedes* with great patience, that he might not ſeem to be the aggreſſor; but at laſt he made him pay dear for them; for having intirely routed his army on the banks of the *Amnius*, he drove him a ſecond time from the throne, and obliged him to ſeek for ſhelter in *Paphlagonia*, where he led a private life till the time of *Sylla*, who replaced him on the throne [a]. He died not long after, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Nicomedes* IV. who performed nothing which the many writers, who flouriſhed in his time, have thought worth tranſmitting to poſterity. His too great familiarity with *Julius Cæſar*, while that young *Roman* was making his firſt campaign in *Aſia* under the prætor *Thermus*, gave occaſion to ſeveral lampoons, and ſevere ſatires, ſome of

Nicomedes III.

Nicomedes IV.

[s] Vide p. 781. [t] Polyb. in excerpt. Valeſii. [u] Athen. l. iii. c. 7. Suidas voce Pruſias. [w] Polyb. legat. 97. [x] Vide p. 781. [y] Appian. in Syriac. p. 147. [z] Strab. l. xii. [a] Appian. in Mithridatic.

which

which were ſung by the ſoldiery at *Cæſar*'s triumph over the *Gauls*, according to the liberty allowed them on ſuch occaſions (T) [z]. As he died without iſſue male, he left his kingdom by his laſt will to the *Romans*, who reduced it to the form of a province [a]. *Saluſt*, diſagreeing with the ancients, tells us, that *Nicomedes* left a ſon by name *Muſa*, or *Myſa*, and introduces *Mithridates* as complaining of the *Romans* to *Arſaces* king of *Parthia*, for ſeizing on the kingdom of *Bithynia*, and excluding the ſon of a prince, who had on all occaſions ſhewn himſelf a ſteady friend to their republic [b]. But this *Muſa* was the daughter, and not the ſon, of *Nicomedes*, as we are told in expreſs terms by *Suetonius*, *Velleius Paterculus*, and *Appian* [c]. All we know of her is, that upon the death of her father ſhe claimed the kingdom of *Bithynia* for her ſon as the next male heir to the crown, but without ſucceſs, no motives of juſtice being of ſuch weight with the ambitious *Romans*, as to make them part with a kingdom. *Cæſar* eſpouſed her cauſe, and ſupported her claim in the ſenate with his uſual eloquence. But as he was enumerating the many obligations he owed her father, *Cicero* interrupting him, *You need not*, ſaid he, *O* Cæſar, *enlarge on this topic; we all know how kind* Nicomedes *was to you, and what favours you granted to him* [d]. The name of *Muſa*'s ſon, ſo far as we can conjecture from *Hirtius* and *Appian*, was *Nicomedes*; but as to the name and condition of his father, hiſtory has left us quite in the dark. After the defeat of *Pharnaces*, *Cæſar* appointed *Nicomedes* high-prieſt of *Comana* in *Pontus*, depoſing *Archelaus*, whom *Pompey* had raiſed to that dignity, to make room for the grandſon of his old friend *Nicomedes* IV. in whom ended the ſucceſſion of the *Bithynian* kings, that country continuing ſubject to *Rome* from this time to the diviſion of the empire. Before we diſmiſs this ſubject, we muſt acquaint the reader, that ſome writers mention only three kings of *Bithynia* bearing the name of *Nicomedes*, and will have that *Nicomedes* to have died without iſſue, and bequeathed his kingdom to the *Romans*, who, at their inſtigation, made war upon *Mithridates*. But we have followed *Appian*, who ſeems to have wrote on this ſubject with the greateſt exactneſs.

[z] Vide Sueton. in Cæſar. Dion. l. xliii. Catull. &c. [a] Liv. l. xciii. Velleı. Patercul. l. ii. c. 4. & 39. Appian. l. i. bell. civil. p. 420. & Mithridatic. p. 175. 218. [b] Saluſt. hiſtor. l. iv. [c] Vellei. Patercul. Sueton. Appian. ibid. [d] Sueton. ibid.

(T) The verſes were,

Cæſar Gallias ſubegit, Nicomedes Cæſarem.
Ecce Cæſar nunc triumphat, qui ſubegit Gallias;
Nicomedes non triumphat, qui ſubegit Cæſarem.

CHAP. X.

Of the kingdoms of Colchis, Iberia, Albania, Boſporus, Media, Bactria, Edeſſa, Emeſa, Adiabene, Characene, Elymais, Comagene, *and* Chalcidene.

Colchis.

COLCHIS, now *Mingrelia*, was bounded on the eaſt by *Iberia*, on the weſt by the *Euxine* ſea, on the ſouth by *Armenia*, and part of *Pontus*, and on the north by mount *Caucaſus*, parting it from *Sarmatia Aſiatica*. Cities of note in this country were, *Pityus*, called by *Strabo the Great City* [e], and by *Pliny* [f], a place of great wealth. It ſtood on the frontiers of the *Boſporani*, and was on that account in the *Roman* times

Cities.

[e] Strab. l. xii. p. 378. [f] Plin. l. vi. c. 5.

well

a well fortified and gariſoned, as we read in *Zoſimus* and *Procopius*, who tell us, that it ſerved as a barrier to keep out the *Sarmatians* and other barbarous nations [g]. *Dioſcurias*, or *Dioſcorias*, on the *Euxine* ſea, built either by *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, two of the *Argonauts*, as *Mela* will have it [h], or by *Amphitus* and *Cercius* their charioteers, as we read in *Ammianus Marcellinus* [i], and *Iſidorus* [k]. It was named *Dioſcurias* from *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, whom the *Greeks* called *Dioſcuroi*. This name was, according to *Arrian* [l], and *Ptolemy* [m], in proceſs of time changed into that of *Sebaſtopolis*; but *Pliny* [n] will have *Dioſcurias* and *Sebaſtopolis* to be two different cities. Be that as it will, *Dioſcurias* was anciently a place of great trade, and reſorted to by merchants from moſt parts of the world; for *Pliny* [o] tells us, that three hundred different lan-
b guages were ſpoke there; and that the *Romans*, who traded to *Colchis*, were obliged to maintain conſtantly in *Dioſcurias* a hundred and thirty interpreters. This city is at preſent known by the name of *Savatopoli*. *Aea*, on the *Phaſis*, and about fifteen miles from the *Euxine* ſea, called by *Pliny* [p] and *Apollonius* [q] a *famous city*. Some writers take this to be the ſame with the city of *Æopolis* mentioned by *Ptolemy*. *Phaſis*, ſo called from the river on which it ſtood. Here the *Argonauts* landed, which gave riſe to the *Greek* proverb, *to ſail to* Phaſis, expreſſing a long and dangerous navigation; for ſuch was that of the *Argonauts* eſteemed in thoſe early times. *Cyta*, at the mouth of the river *Cyaneus*, the birth-place of the famous *Medea*, called from thence by the poets *Cytæis* [r]. The cities of *Saracæ*, *Zadris*, *Surium*, *Madia* and *Zaliſſa*, are
c mentioned by *Pliny*, *Strabo* and *Ptolemy*, but contained nothing worthy of notice. *Colchis* was watered by a great many rivers, *viz.* the *Corax*, the *Hippus*, the *Cyaneus*, *Rivers.* the *Chariſtus*, the *Phaſis*, the *Abſarus*, the *Ciſſa*, and the *Ophis*, all emptying themſelves into the *Euxine* ſea. The *Phaſis* does not ſpring from the mountains of *Armenia*, near the ſources of the *Euphrates*, the *Araxes* and the *Tigris*, as *Strabo*, *Ptolemy*, *Pliny*, *Dionyſius*, and after them *Hadrian*, *Reland*, *Calmet* and *Sanſon* have wrongly informed us; but riſes on mount *Caucaſus*, and flows, not from ſouth to north, but from north to ſouth, as appears from the map of *Colchis* or *Mingrelia* in *Thevenot*'s collection, and the account which Sir *John Chardin* gives us of that country. This river forms in its courſe a ſmall iſland, called alſo *Phaſis*, whence the pheaſants, if
d *Iſidorus* is to be credited [s], were firſt brought into *Europe*, and thence called by the *Greeks phaſianoi*. The other rivers of *Colchis* are ſcarce worthy notice.

THE *Colchians* were, according to *Herodotus* [t], originally *Egyptians*, *Seſoſtris* *Inhabitants.* having left part of the army with which he invaded *Scythia*, in *Colchis*, to people that country, and guard the paſſes. The *Colchians*, ſays our hiſtorian, are undoubtedly of *Egyptian* deſcent, as is viſible from the perſonal ſimilitude they bear to the *Egyptians*, being, like them, ſwarthy, and frizle-haired; but more eſpecially from the conformity of their cuſtoms, for they uſe circumciſion, as the *Egyptians* do, and many other ceremonies practiſed by the inhabitants of *Egypt*. There is likewiſe, ſays the ſame hiſtorian, ſuch an affinity between the language of *Colchis* and that which
e is commonly ſpoke in *Egypt*, as leaves us no room to doubt of their coming originally from that country. *Apollonius* [u], *Diodorus Siculus* [w], *Strabo* [x], *Euſtathius* [y], and *Marcellinus* [z] agree with *Herodotus*. *Bochart* [a] takes the *Colchians* and the *Caſluhim* of *Moſes*, from whom the *Philiſtines* were deſcended, to be one and the ſame people, forgetting therein, that the *Philiſtines* did not uſe circumciſion, which *Herodotus* aſſures us the *Colchians* did. In proceſs of time many other nations ſettled in *Colchis*, viz. the *Heniochi*, the *Ampreutæ*, the *Lazi*, the *Ligures*, the *Marſi*, the *Iſtri*, the *Moſchi*, and the *Mauralæ*. From the latter people ſome derive the preſent name of *Mingrelia*. The whole kingdom of *Colchis* was, in ancient times, very pleaſant and fruitful, abounded with all neceſſaries of life, and was enriched with many mines
f of gold; which gave occaſion to the fable of the golden fleece, and the *Argonautic* expedition ſo much ſpoke of by the ancients.

THE *Colchians* were governed by their own kings in the earlieſt ages; for *Pliny* *Government and kings.* tells us, that *Seſoſtris* king of *Egypt* was overcome and put to flight by the king of *Colchis* [b]; which, if true, ſhews, that the *Colchians* not only had kings in thoſe times, but were a very powerful people. We have obſerved above, that *Herodotus*

[g] PROCOP. l. iv. bell. Goth. c. 4. & ZOSIM. l. i. c. 32. [h] MELA, l. i. c. 19. [i] AMMIAN. MARCEL. l. xxii. c. 15. [k] ISIDOR. Orig. l. xv. c. 1. [l] ARRIAN. in Pont. periplo. [m] PTOL. in Colch. l. v. c. 10. [n] PLIN. l. vi. c. 4. [o] Idem ibid. [p] Idem ibid. [q] APOLLON. l. xi. ver. 424 & 1096. [r] PROPERT. l. i. eleg. 1. VAL. FLAC. l. vi. ver. 693, &c. [s] ISIDOR. Origin. l. iii. [t] HERODOT. l. ii. [u] APOLLON. l. iv. [w] DIODOR. SICUL. l. i. [x] STRABO, l. i. & xvi. [y] EUSTATH. in Dionyſ. [z] MARCELLIN. l. iii. [a] BOCHART. Phaleg. l. iv. c. 31. [b] PLIN. l. xxxiii. c. 3.

derives the *Colchians* from the *Egyptians*; but that writer muſt have meant the *Colchians* of his own time, and not the firſt inhabitants, ſince *Colchis*, even according to his own account, was peopled before the arrival of the *Egyptians* in thoſe parts. It is not therefore improbable, that the deſcendents of *Hul*, who are ſaid to have ſettled in *Armenia*, paſſed from thence into the neighbouring country, calling it *Colchis*, from their progenitor *Hul* or *Chol* [c]. But of their kings we know very little. The names of thoſe we find mentioned in hiſtory, are, *Helius*, *Æetes*, *Æetes* II. *Salauces*, *Euſubopes*, *Olthaces*, and *Ariſtarchus*. *Helius* is mentioned by *Diodorus Siculus*, *Pauſanias*, *Strabo* and *Cicero*, as reigning before the *Argonautic* expedition; but what they relate of him is altogether fabulous, and therefore not worthy of notice in hiſtory. He was ſucceeded by his ſon *Æetes*, whom he had, according to ſome, by *Ephyre*, according to others, by *Antiope* or *Perſa*. *Æetes* received *Phryxus* flying with his ſiſter *Helle* from their ſtep-mother *Ino* in a ſhip, on whoſe head was a golden, or rather a gilt ram. In his reign happened the famous expedition of the *Argonauts*, of which we have ſpoke elſewhere [d]. The *Argonauts* were a company of *Greek* adventurers, who hearing of the gold mines of *Colchis*, and the immenſe riches of king *Æetes*, reſolved to ſail thither, in hopes of making their fortunes by one voyage. Accordingly they cauſed a ſhip to be built at *Pegaſa* by one *Argus*, from whom they called it *Argos*; and hence they were ſtyled *Argonauts*. On this ſhip they embarqued, and having one *Typhis* for their pilot, they ſteered their courſe through the *Ægean* ſea, the *Helleſpont*, the *Propontis*, the *Thracian Boſporus*, and after many adventures entering the *Euxine* ſea, landed at *Phaſis*, where king *Æetes*, who then reſided there, received them with great kindneſs. As that prince had great ſtore of gold in his palace, the *Argonauts*, thoſe heroes ſo much cried up by the ancients, conſpired among themſelves, either to ſeize on his treaſures by force, or to ſteal them privately, and ſaving themſelves on board their ſhip, return with the booty into *Greece*; but finding them to be too well guarded to be either taken by force, or privately conveyed away, they corrupted the guards by means of *Medea* the king's daughter, who was in love with *Jaſon*, got into the palace undiſcovered, and carrying off the treaſures, returned into *Greece* with *Medea*, whom *Jaſon* had promiſed to marry. This is, according to *Natalis Comes* [e], the genuine account of the *Argonautic* expedition, which the poets, as it was the moſt remarkable voyage the *Greeks* undertook in thoſe early days, have embelliſhed and diſguiſed with innumerable fictions, but not without ſome ground as to the golden fleece; for *Strabo* tells us [f], that as the rivers iſſuing from the mountains of *Colchis* carried with them great quantity of gold ore, it was a cuſtom among the inhabitants to lay fleeces in the water, and by that means ſtop the ore. *Paſiphae* and the famous *Circe* are ſaid by ſome to be the daughters of *Helius*, by others of *Æetes*. Of them many things are related by the poets, which it is beneath the dignity of hiſtory to take notice of. The reader will find the fables of the poets relating to *Circe*, *Medea* and *Paſiphae* very ingeniouſly explained by *Natalis Comes* in his mythology [g]. Upon the death of *Æetes*, *Colchis*, as *Strabo* informs us [h], was divided into ſeveral petty kingdoms; but on what occaſion, we know not; for we find no further mention of the affairs of *Colchis*, or the princes who reigned there, till the time of *Xenophon*, who tells us, that the ſon of *Æetes*, the ſecond of that name, reigned in *Colchis*, while he was making war in *Aſia* [i]. *Salauces* and *Eſubopes* are mentioned by *Pliny* [k], and ſaid to have diſcovered rich mines of gold in the country of the *Savani*; but that writer leaves us quite in the dark as to the time in which they reigned. *Colchis* was afterwards ſubdued by *Mithridates the Great*; but revolted from him while his forces were employed againſt the *Romans*. The king of *Pontus* had no ſooner concluded a peace with *Sylla*, than he marched againſt the *Colchians*, who offered to ſubmit, upon condition that he would appoint his ſon to reign over them, with the title of king of *Colchis*. This propoſal provoked *Mithridates* to ſuch a degree, that he cauſed the ſon, whom they had demanded, to be arreſted, and loaded with chains of gold, ſacrificing him ſoon after to his jealouſy and ambition. Hereupon the *Colchians* obſtinately refuſed to ſubmit upon any terms; which obliged *Mithridates* to draw together all his troops in order to reduce them by force: but as he paſſed through the country of the *Achæans*, that people attacked him with ſo much vigor, and defended the paſſes with ſuch

Helius.

Æetes.

a b c d e f

[c] Vide BOCHART. Phaleg. l. ii. c. 9. [d] Vol. II. p. 383. [e] NATAL. COM. l. vi. c. 7. [f] STRAB. l. xi. [g] NATAL. COM. ibid. [h] STRABO, ibid. [i] XENOPH. Ἀναβάσ. l. v. [k] PLIN. l. xxxiii. c. 3.

reſolution,

a reſolution, that he was forced to return into *Pontus*, after having loſt great part of his army, what by the enemy's ambuſcades, what by the exceſſive cold of the country [l]. Theſe *Achæans* were originally *Greeks*, and are ſaid to have ſettled on the eaſtern coaſt of the *Euxine* ſea, whither they had been driven by a ſtorm, as they were returning from the ſiege of *Troy*. *Colchis*, while ſubject to *Mithridates*, was governed by prefects ſent thither by him. One of theſe was *Moaphernes*, great-uncle to *Strabo* the geographer, as that writer informs us [m]. *Memnon* tells us, that *Mithridates* complied with the requeſt of the *Colchians*, and appointed his ſon *Mithridates* to reign over them; but ſoon after cauſed him to be put to death. Be that as it will, it is certain, that the *Colchians* ſided with *Mithridates* againſt *Pompey*, and
b were, during that war, governed by a king of their own, *viz.* by *Olthaces*, who was overcome, taken priſoner, and led in triumph by *Pompey* [n]. *Olthaces* was ſucceeded by one *Ariſtarchus*; but all we know of him is, that *Pompey* conferred upon him the kingdom of *Colchis* for his eminent ſervices during the *Mithridatic* war [o]. *Pharnaces* II. king of *Pontus* ſeized on the kingdom of *Colchis*, and recovered great part of *Pontus*, while *Cæſar* was diverting himſelf with *Cleopatra* in *Egypt*; but was ſoon obliged to abandon his conqueſts, and retire into the country of the *Boſporani*, where he was killed by *Aſander*, as we have related in the hiſtory of *Pontus*. From this time we find no mention made of the *Colchians* till the reign of the emperor *Trajan*, to whom they ſubmitted of their own accord [p]. Perhaps they were governed by their own
c kings; for *Strabo* makes the river *Phaſis* the northern boundary of the *Roman* empire. Under the emperors *Colchis* was ſubject to the prætors who governed *Bithynia* and *Pontus*; but never was made part of any province.

Olthaces.

Ariſtarchus.

IBERIA.

IBERIA, now *Georgia*, was bounded on the weſt by *Colchis* and part of *Pontus*; on the north by mount *Caucaſus*; on the eaſt by *Albania*; and on the ſouth by *Armenia*. It contained the following cities, *Nubium*, *Varica*, *Sura*, *Artaniſſa*, *Meſtleta*,
d *Zaliſſa*, *Armactica*, and *Phryxum*, called afterwards *Ideeſſa*. Theſe cities are mentioned by *Strabo* [q], *Pliny* [r], and *Ptolemy*. The only rivers of note in *Iberia* are the *Cyrus*, of which we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak in the deſcription of *Albania*, and the *Aragus*, which ſprings from the mountains ſeparating *Iberia* from *Colchis*, and falls into the *Cyrus*. *Pliny* mentions another river, which he calls *Iberus*, and from which ſome writers derive the name of *Iberia*. Of mount *Caucaſus*, which ſeparates *Iberia* from *Sarmatia Aſiatica*, we have ſpoke elſewhere [s]; and in the hiſtory of *Pontus* and *Armenia* deſcribed the *Paryadrian* and *Meſchian* mountains. This country was anciently inhabited by the following nations or tribes enumerated by *Pliny* [t], viz. the
e *Moſchi*, the *Armenochalybes*, the *Sacaſſani*, the *Macrones*, the *Sylvi*, the *Diduri*, and the *Sodii*. *Iberia* was firſt peopled, according to *Joſephus* [u], by *Tubal* the brother of *Gomer* and *Magog*. His opinion is confirmed by the ſeptuagint; for *Meſheſh* and *Tubal* are by thoſe interpreters rendered *Moſchi* and *Iberians* [w]. Some have taken the *Iberia* which was peopled by *Tubal*, according to *Joſephus*, for *Spain*, called alſo *Iberia*; but this opinion we have confuted elſewhere [x]. *Strabo* [y], and after him *Euſtathius* [z], derive the *Iberians* in *Aſia* from the *Iberians* in *Celtiberia* or *Spain*; others, as *Appian* informs us, derive the latter from the former. As theſe two nations lay at a great diſtance from one another, and greatly differed in their manners, cuſtoms and language, ſome were of opinion, as we read in the ſame *Appian* [a], that they were no-ways related to each other. *Tacitus* ſuppoſes both the *Iberians*, and
f the *Albanians* their neighbours, to have come originally from *Theſſaly* with *Jaſon* [b]; but whatever their origin was, they were a very brave and warlike nation, and maintained their independency, if *Plutarch* is to be credited [c], againſt the utmoſt efforts of the *Medes*, *Perſians* and *Macedonians*. *Strabo* gives us the following account of their cuſtoms and polity [d]. The *Iberians*, ſays he, are divided into four ranks or claſſes; the firſt conſiſts of the nobility; the ſecond of prieſts; the third of ſoldiers and huſ-

Iberia.

Rivers.

Inhabitants.

[l] Appian. in Mithridat. [m] Strabo, l. xi. [n] Appian. ibid. Flor. l. iii. c. 5. [o] Appian. ibid. Eutrop. l. vi. Sex. Ruf. in epitome Jornand. de regnor. ſucceſſ. [p] Euseb. in Chron. Sex. Ruf. in epitom. Eutrop. l. vi. [q] Strabo, l. xi. p. 344. & l. i. p. 31. [r] Plin. l. vi. c. 10. [s] Vol. i. p. 102. and Vol. II. p. 267. [t] Plin. l. vi. c. 10. [u] Joseph. Antiq. l. i. c. 7. [w] In Ezech. c. 27, 32, 38, 39. [x] Vide Vol. I. p. 167. & Vol. II. p. 166. [y] Strabo, l. i. [z] Eustath. in Dionyſ. [a] Appian. in Mithridat. [b] Tacitus, l. v. [c] Plut. in Pomp. [d] Strab. l. xi.

bandmen;

bandmen; and the fourth of the common people. Out of the firſt claſs they chuſe their king, and, upon his death, raiſe always to that dignity the eldeſt of his relations. The next in age to him of the royal family adminiſters juſtice, and commands the army. The common people are employed in the loweſt miniſtries, and treated no better than ſlaves. The prieſts, beſides their peculiar function, hear cauſes, and decide ſuch controverſies as ariſe between the natives and foreigners. The *Iberians* who inhabit the champain country,, are very induſtrious, and well skilled in agriculture; but thoſe who live on the mountains, are a wild and ſavage race, and in their manners bear a great reſemblance to the *Scythians* and *Sarmatians*; whereas the former imitate both the dreſs and cuſtoms of the *Medes* and *Armenians*. Thus far *Strabo*. The monarchical form of government prevailed among them, as is plain from this paſſage; but we find no mention made of their kings till the reign of *Mithridates the Great* king of *Pontus*, when they were governed by one *Artoces*, who ſided with that prince firſt againſt *Lucullus*, and afterwards againſt *Pompey*. After the defeat of *Mithridates* by *Pompey*, *Artoces* ſent embaſſadors to the *Roman* camp, enjoining them to conclude a peace with *Pompey* upon honourable terms, and, in the mean time, drew together an army of ſeventy thouſand men, with a deſign to fall upon the *Romans* unawares, in caſe they did not grant him the conditions he required; but *Pompey* being informed of the meaſures he was taking, advanced by long marches into *Iberia*, took *Heropolis*, a city or fort, built, as appears from the name, on the ſummit of a mountain, penetrated into the very heart of the kingdom, and obliged *Artoces* to ſhelter himſelf in the moſt remote parts of his dominions. From thence he ſent embaſſadors anew to *Pompey*, and by their means obtained a peace upon very reaſonable terms; but notwithſtanding this agreement, *Artoces* ſtill kept his troops together, deſigning to fall upon the *Romans* as they paſſed the river *Pelorus*. This *Pompey* ſuſpected, and therefore following him cloſe, came up with him before he reached the above-mentioned river, and drew him to an engagement, in which the *Iberians* behaved with great gallantry, but were obliged to give way to the ſuperior valour of the *Romans*, who killed nine thouſand on the ſpot, and took above ten thouſand priſoners. Great numbers were drowned, as they attempted to ſave themſelves by ſwimming over the *Pelorus*. Many fled to the foreſts, and climbing up to the tops of the talleſt trees, defended themſelves from thence with their arrows; but the *Romans* ſetting fire to the foreſt, obliged them to ſurrender at diſcretion [e]. After this defeat, *Artoces* ſuing for a peace in good earneſt, ſent from beyond the *Pelorus* rich preſents to *Pompey*, viz. his bed, his table, and his throne, all of maſſy gold, which the *Roman* general accepted, and delivered to the quæſtor of the army; but would not hearken to any terms of an accommodation, till the king had delivered to him his ſons as hoſtages; and then he concluded a peace upon terms no-ways diſhonourable to the *Iberian* nation [f]. This king is called by *Appian Artocus*, by *Eutropius*, *Arthaces*, by *Sextus Rufus*, *Arſaces*, and laſtly, by *Dion*, *Florus* and *Oroſius*, whom we have followed, *Artoces*. He was ſucceeded by his ſon *Pharnabazus*, who being overcome by *Canidius*, *Mark Antony*'s lieutenant, joined the *Romans* againſt *Zoberes* king of *Albania* [g]. The other kings of *Iberia* mentioned by the ancients, are, *Mithridates*, *Pharaſmenes*, *Mithridates* II. *Rhadamiſtus*, and *Pharaſmenes* II. But as theſe were alſo lords of *Armenia*, we have ſpoke of them in the hiſtory of that kingdom. *Pharaſmenes* II. reigned in the time of the emperor *Adrian*, went to *Rome* with his wife and children, to clear himſelf before the emperor of ſeveral things laid to his charge by *Vologeſis* II. king of *Parthia*, and was there not only allowed to offer ſacrifices in the capitol, but honoured with an equeſtrian ſtatue erected in the temple of *Bellona* [h]. From this time, to the diviſion of the empire, there is a profound ſilence among authors with reſpect to the affairs of *Iberia*. They continued in all likelihood to be governed by their own kings, who were tributaries to *Rome*; for we do not find *Iberia* counted by any writer, or mentioned in the ancient notitia's, among the provinces of the empire; and beſides, we know, that, long after the diviſion of the empire, they were ſubject to their own princes; for *Procopius* tells us, that after they had embraced the *Chriſtian* religion, *Gyrgenes*, their king, being threatened with a war by *Cavades* king of *Perſia*, in caſe he did not conform to that of the *Perſians*, implored the aſſiſtance of the emperor *Juſtin*, which kindled a war

Government and kings.

a b c d e f g

[e] Plut. in Lucul. & Pomp. Dion. l. xxxvii. Flor. l. iii. c. 5. Zonar. Tom. II. [f] Plut. Dion. Flor. ibid. Eutrop. l. vi. Oros. l. vi. c. 4. [g] Plut. in Anton. Appian. in Parthic. Dio, l. xlix. [h] Theodos. Minor, in fragment.

between

a between the two empires. *Zonabarzes*, another of their kings, came to *Conſtantinople*, as the ſame author informs us, in the time of the emperor *Juſtinian*, to be baptized, with his queen, his children, and ſeveral noblemen of his court. *Iberia* is at preſent ſubject to the king of *Perſia*, and known to the *Perſians* by the name of *Gurgiſtan*, that is, the land of the *Georgians*; for *tan* is an ancient *Celtic* word, ſignifying a country, and ſtill in uſe among the eaſtern nations, as appears from the modern names of *Curdiſtan*, *Indoſtan*, &c. that is, the country of the *Curdes*, of the *Indians*, &c. As to the name of *Georgia*, ſome writers are of opinion, that the ancient *Iberia* was ſo called, either from St. *George* the famous *Cappadocian* martyr, held here in great veneration, or from *George* a *Cappadocian* biſhop, by whom the inhabitants
b were firſt converted to chriſtianity. Others, ſuppoſing the country to have been called anciently *Gordiæa*, and the inhabitants *Gordiæans*, from the *Gordiæan* mountains, take the words *Georgia* and *Georgians* to be a corruption of *Gordiæa* and *Gordiæans*; but this opinion is intirely groundleſs, the *Gordiæan* mountains being placed by all the ancient geographers in *Armenia*, at a conſiderable diſtance from *Iberia*. Some think, that the inhabitants were called *Georgi*, from their skill in husbandry, the *Greek* word *georgos* ſignifying a husbandman, and that the country was from them named *Georgia*. *Pliny*, enumerating the *Caſpian* nations, mentions the *Georgi*, from whom perhaps the ancient *Iberia* borrowed the name of *Georgia*, that country lying at a ſmall diſtance from the coaſts of the *Caſpian* ſea, which was inhabited, according
c to *Pliny*, by the *Georgi*, who, in proceſs of time, may have ſettled in *Iberia*, from which they were parted by the ſmall kingdom of *Albania*.

ALBANIA.

ALBANIA was bounded on the weſt by *Iberia*; on the eaſt by the *Caſpian* ſea; on the north by mount *Caucaſus*; and on the ſouth by *Armenia*[i]. It contained anciently a great many cities, but not of any note. The following are mentioned by *Strabo*, *Ptolemy* and *Pliny*; *Teleba*, *Thalbis*, *Gelda*, *Thiauna*, *Thabilaca*, *Albana*, *Cha-*
d *daca*, *Miſia*, *Boziata*, and *Cabalica*, which *Pliny* calls the metropolis of *Albania*. The rivers which it may be proper to take notice of, are, the *Cyrus* or *Cyrnus*, the *Albanus*, the *Caſius*, the *Gerrhus*, the *Soana*, the *Cambyſes*, and the *Alazon*[k], all emptying themſelves into the *Caſpian* ſea. The *Cyrus*, now the *Kûr*, ſprings from the *Moſchian* mountains, which ſeparate *Colchis* from *Armenia*, waters the country now called *Mokan*, receives into its channel the *Aragus* and the *Araxes*, and falls into the *Caſpian* ſea, within, but at a ſmall diſtance from the ſouthern borders of the ancient *Albania*. There is a great diſagreement among the ancient geographers about the mouths of this river; *Strabo*, *Plutarch* and *Appian* ſay, that it diſcharges itſelf into the ſea by twelve mouths. *Strabo* indeed, who advances nothing for certain in his
e deſcriptions of countries but what he has ſeen, ſpeaks with great reſerve, and only tells us, that the *Cyrus* is ſaid to diſcharge itſelf by twelve mouths into the *Caſpian* ſea. *Herodotus* will have this river to fall into the ſea by forty mouths; but *Pliny*, with whom all our modern travellers agree, allows it but one. The whole country, now known by the names of *Scirwan* and *Eaſt Georgia*, is extremely fruitful and pleaſant. *Strabo* deſcribes the ancient *Albanians* as tall and ſtrong-bodied men, and adds, that they had, generally ſpeaking, a very graceful mien, and far excelled all other nations in comelineſs, as well as in ſtature. Our modern travellers cry up the women of *Georgia* and *Scirwan* for perfect beauties, but find nothing extraordinary in the men; whereas the ancients admired the men, without taking any notice of the women.
f The ſame *Strabo* tells us, that the manners of the *Albanians* were very ſimple; that they were unacquainted with weights, meaſures, and the uſe of money; that they could not count above a hundred; and that trade was carried on among them only by exchange. *Pliny* tells us, that they held old age in great veneration; that they were of a very fair complexion, and thence, according to ſome, called *Albani*; that they could ſee as well by night as by day; and that not only the men were ſtout and courageous, but alſo the women, whom he pretends to be deſcended from the ancient *Amazons*. As to their origin, *Tacitus*[l] and *Pliny*[m] derive them from the *Theſſalians* who attended *Jaſon* in his expedition into *Colchis*, and ſettled in this part of the

Albania.

Cities and rivers.

[i] Strabo, l. xi. p. 345. & Ptolem. l. v. c. 12. [k] Strabo & Ptolem. ibid. Plin. l. vi. c. 13. & c. 10. Pompon. Mela, l. iii. c. 5. [l] Tacitus, l. v. [m] Plin. l. vi. c. 13.

iſthmus between the *Euxine* and *Caſpian* ſeas. *Juſtin* [n] will have them to be deſcended from the inhabitants of *Alba* in *Italy*, who followed *Hercules* into thoſe parts, after he had overcome *Geryon*. *Ammianus Marcellinus* takes the *Albani* and *Alani* to be one and the ſame people, and derives them both from the *Maſſagetæ*, of whom we have ſpoke elſewhere [o]. As to their form of government, the country was in ancient times divided into a great many ſmall kingdoms. *Strabo* tells us, that no fewer than twenty-ſix different languages were ſpoke formerly in *Albania*; and that there were as many different kings and kingdoms as languages, each tribe having their peculiar king [p]. But the *Albani*, in proceſs of time, prevailed over the other petty princes, and made themſelves maſters of the whole country. In *Pompey*'s time they could bring into the field, as *Strabo* informs us [q], ſixty thouſand foot, and twenty thouſand horſe. We find no mention made of their kings till the reign of *Alexander the Great*, to whom the king of *Albania* is ſaid by *Pliny* [r] and *Solinus* [s] to have preſented a dog of an extraordinary fierceneſs and ſize. The next king of *Albania* we find mentioned in hiſtory is *Oræſes*, who entering into an alliance with *Tigranes* the ſon of *Tigranes the Great*, obliged *Pompey* to march againſt him. *Coſis*, the king's brother, a brave and enterprizing prince, commanded the *Albanians*, and waited for *Pompey* on the banks of the *Cyrus*, which he fortified at certain diſtances with high paliſades. Hereupon *Pompey* feigning to return to *Armenia*, marching his army a great way about, and drawing up his cavalry and beaſts of burden in the bed of the river, to break the force of the ſtream, paſſed it without being diſcovered by the enemy. From the *Cyrus* he purſued his march to the *Cambyſes*, through a dry country, where his army ſuffered much for want of water. At length, after having rambled far out of the way, being led aſtray by his guides, who were *Albanians*, he reached the *Cambyſes*, where his ſoldiers were ſeized with ſtrange diſtempers, occaſioned by their drinking too greedily of the water of that river while they were hot after their march; however he ſtill advanced, with the precaution of carrying ten thouſand skins full of water, leſt he ſhould be again reduced to the ſame ſtraits. He heard no news of the enemy till he had paſſed the *Abas* or *Albanus*, when he was informed that *Coſis* was advancing full march againſt him, at the head of threeſcore thouſand foot, and twelve thouſand horſe. Upon his approach he concealed the legionaries among the thick buſhes, with which the whole plain was covered, commanding them to cover their helmets with their bucklers, leſt the rays of the ſun reflecting on them, ſhould diſcover them at a diſtance. Then he detached the cavalry, with orders to attack the enemy, and retiring before them, draw them into the ambuſcade. The ſtratagem had all the ſucceſs *Pompey* could expect; for the legionaries ſtarting up all on a ſudden, and widening their ranks to let the cavalry retire, ſurrounded the *Albanians* on all ſides, and put them to flight with great ſlaughter. On this occaſion *Coſis* behaved with great valour and intrepidity; for he kept cloſe to *Pompey* during the whole time of the engagement, and having had at laſt an opportunity of diſcharging a blow at him, pierced his breaſt-plate. Hereupon *Pompey* facing his adverſary, threw his javelin at him with ſuch vigour, that he laid him dead at his feet. The *Albanians*, diſheartened by the death of their general, fled in diſorder to the neighbouring foreſts, which the *Romans* ſet on fire, crying aloud, while the foreſt was burning, *Saturnalia, ſaturnalia*, to remind the *Albanians*, that they had attempted to ſurprize them in their quarters during the feaſts of *Saturn*, and therefore ought to expect no quarter. *Oræſes*, after the defeat of his troops, retired to mount *Caucaſus*, and from thence ſent embaſſadors to ſtrike up a peace with the conqueror, who willingly granted it, being deſirous to put an end to this war, and turn his arms againſt the king of *Parthia*, who had entered *Gordyene* at the head of a mighty army [t]. It was conſtantly reported before the engagement we have ſpoke of above, that there were many *Amazons* in the *Albanian* army; but the *Romans*, who had given credit to that rumour, in ſtripping the dead on the field of battle, found none of thoſe warlike females among them; whence they concluded this republic of military women to be a mere fable, adopted on too ſlight grounds by many credulous hiſtorians. *Oræſes* is by ſome writers called *Orodes*, and ſaid to have fought three unſucceſsful battles with *Pompey* [u].

Government.

Kings.

Oræſes.

a

b

c

d

e

f

[n] Justin. l. xlii. [o] Vol. II. p. 268. [p] Strabo, l. xi. [q] Idem ibid. [r] Plin. l. viii. c. 4. [s] Solin. l. ix. [t] Dio, l. xxxvi. Plut. in Pomp. Appian. in Mithridat. Flor. l. iii. c. 5. Eutrop. l. vi. Oros. l. vi. c. 4. Sex. Ruf. in epitome Frontin. Stratag. l. ii. c. 3. [u] Flor. Oros. Sex. Ruf. ibid. Jornand. de regnor. ſucceſſ.

Oræſes

a ſ *Oræſes* was ſucceeded by his ſon *Zoberes*, who having ventured an engagement with Zoberes.
P. Canidius, *Mark Antony*'s lieutenant, was by him intirely defeated, and obliged to
ſue for peace. In this war *Canidius* was powerfully aſſiſted by *Pharnabazus* king of
Iberia [w]. The next king of *Albania* we find mentioned in hiſtory is *Pharaſmanes*, Pharaſmanes.
who, in the time of the emperor *Adrian*, committed great devaſtations in *Armenia*,
Cappadocia and *Media*, and was on that account ſummoned by the emperor to *Rome*.
Pharaſmanes refuſed to comply with the ſummons; but in the mean time, to appeaſe
Adrian, ſent him ſome valuable preſents, among which were many great-coats, ſuch
as were wore in thoſe days by military men, all of cloth of gold. Theſe alone the
emperor accepted, but with no other view than to affront the king who had ſent
them; for he cauſed three hundred criminals to be clad with them, and in that attire
b fight the wild beaſts in the public theatre. Upon *Adrian*'s death the king of *Albania*
came to *Rome*, upon the firſt ſummons from his ſucceſſor *Antoninus Pius*, who received
him with great marks of eſteem, and ſent him back loaded with preſents to his king-
dom [x]. *Trebellius* [y] and *Marcellinus* [z] ſpeak of two kings of *Albania*, whom they do
not name, the one contemporary with *Sapor* I. king of *Perſia*, and the emperor
Valerian; the other reigning in the time of *Sapor* II. and entering into an alliance
with him againſt *Conſtantius*, the ſon of *Conſtantine the Great*. The *Albanians* con-
tinued to be governed by their own princes till the reign of *Juſtinian* II. who is ſaid
by *Zonaras* [a], and other writers [b], to have ſubdued *Albania* by his general *Leontius*.
The three kingdoms which we have here deſcribed, *viz. Colchis*, *Iberia*, and *Albania*,
c took up the whole iſthmus between the *Caſpian* and *Euxine* ſeas, and extended from
the borders of *Media Atropatene*, *Armenia* and *Pontus* on the ſouth, to the mountains
Corax and *Caucaſus* on the north. Theſe mountains have been the ſubject of many
poetical fables; but nothing has been feigned by the poets more improbable than
what we read in ſome of the ancient geographers, *viz.* that they were ſo high as to
be illuminated by the rays of the ſun even at mid-night, it being certain that they
are not much above two perpendicular miles in height [c]. They are known to the
preſent inhabitants by the names of *Cocas* and *Cochias*, which are, without doubt, a
corruption of the ancient name *Corax*. The *Arabs* call them the mountains of *Raſ*.
We ſhall conclude our account of theſe three kingdoms with the words of Sir *John*
d *Chardin*, who, in deſcribing the preſent *Georgia*, which comprehends the greater
part of the ancient *Colchis*, *Iberia* and *Albania*, ſpeaks of it thus: "*Georgia* is as fertil
" a country as can be ſeen; the bread is as good there as in any part of the world;
" the fruit of an exquiſite flavour, and of different ſorts; no place in *Europe* yields
" better pears and apples; no place in *Aſia* better pomegranates. The country
" abounds with cattle, veniſon, and wild fowl of all ſorts; the river *Kûr* is well
" ſtocked with fiſh; the wine is ſo rich, that the king of *Perſia* has always ſome of
" it for his own table, *&c.* The inhabitants are robuſt, valiant, and of a jovial
" temper, great lovers of wine, and eſteemed very truſty and faithful, endowed
" with good natural parts, but, for want of education, very vicious. The women
e " are generally fair and comely, and by their beauty recommended to the court of
" the king of *Perſia*, whoſe wives and concubines are for the moſt part *Georgian*
" women. Nature has adorned them with graces no-where elſe to be met with; it
" is impoſſible to ſee them and not love them; they are of a full ſize, clean-limbed,
" ſmall-waiſted, fair, and well-proportioned." Thus far Sir *John Chardin*, to whoſe
words, or rather panegyric on the *Georgian* women, we beg leave to ſubjoin a paſſage
out of another modern traveller of no mean character [d]: "As to the *Georgian* women,
" ſays he, they did not at all ſurprize us; for we expected to find them perfect
" beauties; they are not at all diſagreeable, and may be counted beauties if com-
" pared with the *Curdes*; they have an air of health that is pleaſing enough; but,
f " after all, they are neither ſo handſome nor ſo well-ſhaped as is reported. Thoſe
" who live in the towns have nothing extraordinary more than the others; ſo that I
" may, I think, venture to contradict the accounts that have been given us of them
" by moſt travellers." But it is now time for us to take our leave of *Georgia*, and
paſs into the neighbouring kingdom of *Boſporus*.

w Plut. in Anton. Dio, l. xlix. x Dio, ibid. Zonar. & Spartian. in Adrian. Capitolin. in Antonin. Pio. y Trebel. in Valer. z Marcellin. l. xviii. a Zonar. in Juſtin. b Hiſt. Miſc. l. xix. c Vide Vos. in Melam, l. ii. c. 2. Kircher. in mundo ſubterr. l. i. c. 14. Varen. in Geog. l. ii. c. 30. d Tournef. Voyage, &c. Vol. II. epiſt. 6.

BOS-

I

BOSPORUS.

Boſporus. THE ancient kingdom of *Boſporus*, comprehending all the provinces that were a
ſubject to the *Boſporan* princes, was bounded on the eaſt by *Colchis*; on the weſt
by the gulf *Carcinites*; on the ſouth by the *Euxine* ſea; and on the north by the *Tanais*,
where that river falls into the *Palus Mæotis*; ſo that it compriſed the *Cherſoneſus Tau-*
rica in *Europe*, and in *Aſia* all that tract which lies between the *Palus Mæotis* and the
Euxine ſea. *Diodorus Siculus* [e] confines the kingdom of *Boſporus* within the *Boſporus*
Cimmerius, the boundary of *Europe* and *Aſia* on that ſide; but *Strabo* [f], whom we
have followed, extends it to the gulf *Carcinites*, which, with the *Palus Mæotis*, forms
Cities. the iſthmus of the *Cherſoneſus*. Cities of note in the *Aſiatic Boſporus* were anciently,
Phanagoria, placed by ſome geographers on the *Euxine* ſea, by others on the *Palus*
Mæotis; but by *Pliny* [g] and *Mela* [h] at ſome diſtance from both, on a peninſula, b
which they call *Corocondama*. Near this city was formerly a famous temple dedicated
to *Venus Apatura*, ſo called from the *Greek* word *apate*, ſignifying *deceit*; for ſhe is
feigned to have overcome the giants here by a ſtratagem ſuggeſted to her by *Hercules*.
This city was, according to *Strabo* [i], the metropolis of *Boſporus* in *Aſia*. *Cepi*, *Her-*
monaſſa, *Stratoclea*, and *Cimmerium* ſtood on the *Boſporus*, and are ſaid by *Pliny* to
have been once remarkable cities. From the latter the *Boſporus Cimmerius* borrowed
its name. *Strabo*, *Pliny*, and *Pomponius Mela* tell us, that *Cimmerium* was the chief
city of the *Cimmerians*, a people famous for their robberies as early as in the days of
Homer. Theſe barbarians being driven out of their country by the *Scythian* nomades,
ravaged the fineſt provinces in the eaſt, and penetrated as far as *Sardis* in *Lydia*, c
which they reduced; but being afterwards overcome by *Halyattes* king of *Lydia*,
ſome of them returned to their ancient habitation; and others, as moſt hiſtorians
conjecture, advanced towards the north as far as the *Baltic*, and ſettled in the *Cim-*
brica Cherſoneſus, now *Jutland*; for the *Cimbri* and *Cimmerii* are by moſt hiſtorians
thought to be one and the ſame people. The other cities taken notice of by the
ancients in the *Aſiatic Boſporus*, are, *Sinda*, on the *Palus Mæotis*; *Tanais*, at the
mouth of the river bearing that name, where the city of *Aſoph* now ſtands; *Paniar-*
Inhabitants. *dis*, *Tyrambe*, and *Geraſum*, called by *Ptolemy* a *Cimbrian* village. The coaſt of the
Euxine ſea was inhabited by the *Cercetæ*, the *Heniochi*, the *Moſchi*, and the *Achæi*, of
whom we have ſpoke above. *Strabo* enumerates on the coaſt of the *Palus Mæotis* the d
following nations, the *Sindi*, *Dandarii*, *Agri*, *Arrichi*, *Tarpetes*, *Obidiaceni*, *Sittaceni*,
Doſci, and *Aſpungitani*. To theſe *Scylax* adds the *Coraxi*, the *Coraci*, or, as *Voſſius*
will have it, the *Colici*, and the *Melanchleni*. The country bordering on the *Palus*
Mæotis and the *Boſporus*, which was inhabited by the *Cimmerii*, is repreſented by the
ancients as an inhoſpitable place, covered with thick foreſts, and continual fogs, which
the rays of the ſun could not break through. This frightful deſcription gave *Cicero*
and *Ovid* occaſion to ſay, that an eternal night reigned in this gloomy climate, and
that ſleep had taken up its abode here; and hence *Cimmerian darkneſs* became,
according to *Lactantius*, a proverb, ſignifying an impenetrable darkneſs, and like-
wiſe a gloomy and ſtupid mind. *Lycophron*, *Pliny*, *Euſtathius*, *Servius*, and others, e
have planted a colony of *Cimmerians* in *Italy*, between *Cumæ* and *Baiæ*, near the lake
Avernus, and tell us, that the ſun never ſhined on that ſmall canton; but *Strabo*,
who was better acquainted with the countries we are ſpeaking of, deſcribes them as
abounding with all the neceſſaries of life, and rather pleaſant than diſagreeable. The
Rivers. rivers mentioned by the ancient geographers in this tract, are, the *Anticites* or *Varda-*
nus, the *Pſathis*, the greater and leſſer *Rhombites*, and the *Marubius*, moſt of them
ſpringing from the mountains of *Sarmatia Aſiatica*, and all emptying themſelves into
the *Palus Mæotis*.

Taurica Cher- THE *Taurica Cherſoneſus*, ſo named from its being a peninſula, anciently inhabited
ſoneſus. by the *Tauri*, or *Tauroſcythæ*, as *Pliny* and *Ptolemy* call them, lies between the *Euxine* f
ſea, the *Palus Mæotis*, and the *Boſporus Cimmerius*; extends, according to Sir *John*
Chardin, ſixty-one leagues from eaſt to weſt, and about thirty-five from north to
ſouth, and is joined to the continent by a narrow iſthmus about a mile over. The
cities here of note in former times were, *Taphræ* or *Taphrus*, on the iſthmus, where

[e] Diodor. Sicul. l. xii. [f] Strabo, l. vii. [g] Plin. l. vi. c. 6. [h] Pomp. Mela, l. i. c. 19.
[i] Strabo, l. xi.

the

a the preſent city of *Przekop* or *Precop* ſtands. The modern city is ſo called from the word *przkop*, ſignifying a ditch; for it was built on the ditch which the *Tartars* cut acroſs the iſthmus. *Cherroneſus*, or, as the more modern *Greek* writers call it, *Cherſon*, was, according to *Strabo*, built by the *Greeks* on the gulf *Carcinites*, now the gulf of *Nigropoli*, on the weſt coaſt of the *Cherſoneſus*. Of this city, now called *Topetarkan*, there are ſtill many ruins to be ſeen. *Theodoſia*, or *Theudoſia*, another *Greek* city on the eaſt coaſt of the peninſula, once a place of great note. It is now known by the name of *Caffa*, and is the capital of *Little Tartary*. From this city the *Boſporus Cimmerius* of the ancients is called by the preſent inhabitants the ſtreights of *Caffa*. *Sanſon* places *Theodoſia* where the modern city of *Tusba* ſtands. *Nymphæum*, *Lagyra*, b *Charax*, &c. ſtood on the *Euxine* ſea, and *Panticapæum* on the *Boſporus*. This city was, according to *Strabo*, the metropolis of the *European Boſporus*. It was founded by the *Mileſians*, and for ſome ages governed by its own laws; but at length ſubdued by the kings of *Boſporus*. Some writers have confounded the cities of *Panticapæum* and *Boſporus*; but *Pliny*, *Strabo* and *Stephanus* ſpeak of them as two different cities. *Procopius* often mentions the latter; but never takes any notice of *Panticapæum*, tho' the capital of *Taurica Cherſoneſus*. This peninſula is at preſent poſſeſſed by the *Tartars*, and commonly known by the name of the *Crim*, which it borrowed from the city of *Krym*, anciently called *Cremnos*. The *Boſporus Cimmerius*, now the ſtreights of *Kertzi* or *Caffa*, which divides *Europe* and *Aſia*, or the *Crim* and *Kuban*, is not above four c leagues over. The *Palus Mæotis* extends from ſouth-weſt to north-eaſt about one hundred and thirty leagues, having on the north and weſt *Little Tartary*; on the ſouth-weſt the *Cherſoneſus Taurica*, now the *Crim*; and on the eaſt and ſouth-eaſt *Sarmatia Aſiatica*, now *Circaſs Tartary*. This ſea or lake was called by the ancients *Palus Mæotis*, from the *Mæotæ* or *Mæotici*, a people inhabiting the *European*, and part of the *Aſiatic* coaſt, and alſo *Palus Sarmatiæ*, *Cimmeriæ Paludes*, *Scythica Stagna*, and *Ponti Euxini mater*, or, *the mother of the Euxine ſea*; but its modern name is the ſea of *Zabach*, borrowed from a fiſh taken there at certain ſeaſons of the year.

THE *Boſporani* were governed by princes of their own in the earlieſt times; but as the works of *Trogus Pompeius*, who wrote the hiſtory of the *Boſporan* kings [k], have not reached us, we can give but a very indifferent account of them. The firſt we meet d with in hiſtory is *Leucon*, who is mentioned by *Strabo* [l]; but we are quite in the dark both as to his reign and to that of *Pariſades*, whom *Strabo* calls the laſt of his race. *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, that many kings had reigned in *Boſporus* before the conſulate of *M. Genutius Augurinus* and *P. Curiatius Philo*. Hence it is plain that *Leucon* and *Pariſades* were not, as ſome authors have thought, the founders of the *Boſporan* kingdom, but preceded by a long ſeries of princes of the ſame race. *Spartacus* I. ſucceeded *Pariſades*, and is ſaid by *Diodorus Siculus* in one place, to have reigned ſeven years, and in another ſeventeen [m]. He had two ſons, *viz.* *Seleucus* and *Spartacus*. He left the kingdom to the former, who reigned four years, and dying without e children, was ſucceeded by his brother *Spartacus* II. and he, after a reign of twenty-ſix years, by his ſon *Satyrus*, who reigned fourteen years [n]. After him came *Leucon* II. who waged war with one *Mnemon*, probably a neighbouring prince, by whom he was overcome, and with the *Heracleans*, over whom he gained conſiderable advantages. He had a particular regard for the *Athenians*, whom he ſupplied with a great quantity of corn in the time of a famine, and allowed their merchants a free trade to all the parts of his dominions. The *Athenians*, in return for his kindneſs, made him and his children free of *Athens*, and granted to his trading ſubjects the ſame privileges and exemptions in *Attica*, which their citizens enjoyed in *Boſporus*, erecting three pillars in memory of the good underſtanding that paſſed between the two ſtates, *viz.* f one in the city of *Boſporus*, another in the *Periæus*, and the third near the temple of the *Argonauts*. He was a great encourager of trade, granting ample privileges to all foreign merchants ſettling at *Theodoſia* in the *Cherſoneſus*; by which means that city became one of the moſt rich and populous of the eaſt [o]. His exploits were celebrated by *Chryſippus* the philoſopher, as *Plutarch* informs us, but have not reached our times. He left two ſons, *Spartacus* and *Pariſades*. The former, ſurnamed *Satyrus*, ſucceeded him in the kingdom, and is called by *Dinarchus* the tyrant of *Boſporus*. He reſtored *Hecataeus*, a neighbouring prince, to his kingdom, obliging him to

Kings of Boſporus.

[k] Vide Prolog. l. xxxvii. [l] STRABO, l. vii. [m] DIODOR. SICUL. l. xii. c. 4 & 5. [n] Idem l. xiv. [o] DEMOSTHEN. contra Leptin. DIODOR. SICUL. l. xiv. & xvi. STRABO, l. vii. POLYÆN. l. v. DION. CHRYSOST. orat. 2. de regno.

marry his daughter, and murder *Tirgataone* his former wife, in order to make room for her. This kindled a bloody war between him and the ſubjects of *Hecataeus*, in which he loſt his ſon, with whoſe death he was ſo ſenſibly affected, that he did not long out-live him [p]. *Dinarchus* tells us [q], that both he and his brother *Pariſades* ſent yearly to *Domeſthenes* a thouſand buſhels of wheat. He reigned only five years, and was ſucceeded, according to ſome, by his younger ſon *Gorgippus*; according to others, by his brother *Pariſades*. Of *Gorgippus* we find nothing upon record. *Pariſades* is ſaid by *Diodorus Siculus* [r] to have reigned thirty-eight years. He left three ſons, *Satyrus*, *Eumelus*, and *Prytanis*, who made war upon one another. *Satyrus* II. the eldeſt, ſucceeded his father; but his brother *Eumelus*, being aſſiſted by *Ariopha-mes* king of *Thrace*, attempted to drive him from the throne. *Satyrus* had recourſe to the *Scythians*, who ſent to his aſſiſtance twenty thouſand foot, and ten thouſand horſe. With theſe, two thouſand *Greeks*, and an equal number of *Thracians*, he engaged and put to flight *Eumelus*, whoſe army conſiſted of two-and-twenty thouſand foot, and twenty thouſand horſe, all *Thracians*, under the command of *Ariophames* or *Ariopharnes* their king. After this defeat *Eumelus* and the *Thracian* king retired to a ſtrong hold, where they were cloſely beſieged by the conqueror. While *Satyrus* continued before this place, *Meniſcus*, who commanded the mercenaries, being ſurrounded by the enemy while he was attempting to ſtorm the fort, *Satyrus* haſtened to his relief, and reſcued him from the imminent danger he was in; but was himſelf run through the arm with a ſpear, and died of the wound the night following, after a ſhort reign of nine months. Upon his death *Meniſcus*, breaking up the ſiege, retired with the army to the city of *Gargaza*, and from thence carried the king's body to *Panticapæum*, and there delivered it to his brother *Prytanis*, who having buried it with great pomp, took upon himſelf the command of the army, and the title of king. *Eumelus* ſent embaſſadors to the new king, offering to diſband his forces, upon condition that he would divide the kingdom with him; but *Prytanis* not hearkening to his propoſals, by the aſſiſtance of the neighbouring barbarians, he made himſelf maſter of *Gargara*, and ſeveral other cities. Hereupon *Prytanis* marched againſt him, at the head of a numerous army; but was overcome in a pitched battle, and being ſhut up within a narrow neck of land between the *Palus Mæotis* and a lake, was forced to ſurrender, give up his army, and depart the kingdom; but he ſoon returned, and, by the aſſiſtance of his friends, made himſelf maſter of ſome ſtrong holds. Whereupon *Eumelus* marched againſt him anew, and having put his army to flight, purſued him to a place called the *gardens*, where he endeavoured to make head againſt his brother's victorious army, but was killed in the attempt. Upon his death *Eumelus* ordered all the friends and children of his two brothers *Satyrus* and *Prytanis* to be murdered. *Pariſades* alone, the ſon of *Satyrus*, had the good luck to make his eſcape to the court of *Agaras* king of the *Scythians*; all the others were inhumanly maſſacred. This cruelty incenſed the people, who were ready to revolt, and revenge the death of their friends with that of the tyrant, when *Eumelus* calling them together, promiſed to alter his conduct, reſtored to the cities their former privileges, freed them from all kind of taxes, and having by that means regained their affections, governed the kingdom with great equity and moderation to his death. He is celebrated by the ancients as the greateſt king who had ever reigned in *Boſporus*; for he not only defended his dominions againſt the neighbouring barbarians, who, at different times, invaded it with numerous armies, but would have brought all the nations round him under ſubjection, as *Diodorus* informs us, had he not been prevented by death, after a reign of five years and as many months; for as he was returning out of *Scythia* in a chariot covered with a canopy, the horſes taking fright, and the driver not being able to ſtop them in their career, the king threw himſelf out, but his ſword intangling in one of the wheels, he was hurried away with the violent motion of the chariot, and killed. We are told, that he had been forewarned by an oracle to beware of a moving houſe, and therefore never ventured to go into any houſe, till his ſervants had thoroughly examined both the roof and foundation; but when they underſtood that the horſes had been frightened at the canopy placed on his chariot, they concluded that the prophecy was fulfilled [s]. He was ſucceeded by his ſon *Spartacus* III. who reigned twenty years. Many years after we read of

[p] Diodor. Sicul. l. xvi. Polyæn. l. viii. [q] Dinarch. in orat. contra Demoſthen. [r] Diodor. Sicul. l. xvi. [s] Diodor. Sicul. l. xx.

Leu-

a *Leucanor* reigning in the *Boſporus Cimmerius*, and paying a yearly tribute to the *Scythians*. He was treacherouſly murdered by one *Arſacomas*, a *Scythian* prince, for having refuſed him his daughter in marriage [t]. Upon his death *Euboitus*, his brother by a concubine, was placed on the throne by the *Sarmatians*, and maintained on it by them and by the *Alani*, and the *Greek* ſtates of *Aſia*, who willingly joined him againſt the *Scythians*, who began to be too powerful in thoſe parts; however, he could never enjoy his kingdom in peace and tranquillity, till he ſubmitted to pay the *Scythians* a double tribute [u]. The next prince we find reigning in *Boſporus* is *Pariſades* III. who not being able to pay to *Scilurus* king of *Scythia* the unreaſonable tribute he exacted, nor withſtand ſo powerful an enemy, voluntarily reſigned the
b kingdom to *Mithridates the Great*, king of *Pontus*, after it had been held by his anceſtors for the ſpace of four hundred years, as *Lucian*, *Diodorus Siculus* [w], and *Strabo*, inform us [x]. In the time of the laſt *Mithridatic* war the *Boſporans* revolted from *Mithridates*, and admitted *Roman* gariſons into the cities of *Phanagoria*, *Theodoſia*, *Cherſoneſus*, and *Nymphæum*; but, upon the death of that prince, the whole country was reſtored by *Pompey* to his ſon *Pharnaces*, whom he honoured with the title of a friend and ally of the *Roman* people. During the civil war between *Cæſar* and *Pompey*, *Pharnaces*, not ſatisfied with the kingdom of *Boſporus*, attempted the recovery of his father's dominions, croſſed the *Euxine* ſea, and reduced *Colchis*, *Armenia Minor*, and ſeveral places in *Cappadocia*, *Pontus* and *Bithynia* [y]. After the battle of *Phar-*
c *ſalia*, *Cæſar* ſent *Domitius Calvinus* againſt him with part of his army; but *Domitius* being overcome in a pitched battle, *Pharnaces* made himſelf maſter of the remaining part of *Pontus* and *Cappadocia*, and of all *Bithynia*; whence he was preparing to advance into *Aſia* properly ſo called; but in the mean time *Cæſar* leaving *Egypt*, where he was paſſing his time in banquets and revels with *Cleopatra*, and croſſing *Syria*, came unexpectedly upon *Pharnaces*, and having attacked him, without allowing any reſpite either to his own men or to the enemy, gained a complete victory; an account whereof he wrote to one of his friends in the celebrated words, *veni*, *vidi*, *vici*, I *came*, I *ſaw*, I *conquered*; which, as they well expreſſed the expedition by which he obtained ſo ſignal a victory, he cauſed to be wrote in capital letters, and
d carried before him in his triumph [z]. *Pharnaces*, after this defeat, fled to *Sinope* with a thouſand horſe, and from thence ſailed back into *Boſporus*; where he no ſooner landed, but *Aſander*, whom he had appointed governor of that country during his abſence, ſeized him, and put him to death, taking upon himſelf the title of king of *Boſporus* [a]. Hereupon *Cæſar* beſtowed the kingdom of *Boſporus* on *Mithridates* the *Pergamian*, in regard of the eminent ſervice he had done him in *Egypt*, as we have related in the hiſtory of that country [b]. At the ſame time he appointed him tetrarch of *Galatia*, which he had a title to in right of his mother, who was deſcended from one of thoſe tetrarchs. He might alſo have laid claim to the kingdom of *Boſporus* in right of his father; for he was ſuppoſed to be the ſon of *Mithridates the Great*, his mother
e having been one of that prince's concubines, after the death of *Menodotus* of *Pergamus* her husband. But *Cæſar*, in appointing him king of *Boſporus*, gave him only an empty title; for *Aſander* being in poſſeſſion of the whole country, he was to ſettle himſelf on the throne by force of arms. With this view he raiſed what forces he could; but, inſtead of gaining the kingdom, loſt his life, being overcome and ſlain in battle by *Aſander*, who, after his death, held the kingdom without any further moleſtation, the *Romans* not being at leiſure, on account of their inteſtine broils, to give him any diſturbance [c]. He was a man of great courage, and skill in the military art, and in neither reckoned inferior to any of the age he lived in; however, the emperor *Auguſtus* diſtruſting him, gave the command of the *Boſporan* troops, who
f ſerved in the *Roman* army, to *Scribonius*; which *Aſander* took ſo much amiſs, that he abſtained from all food, and by that means put an end to his life in the ninety-third year of his age [d]. Upon his death, *Scribonius* giving out that he was the grandſon of *Mithridates*, married *Dynamis* the daughter of *Pharnaces*, and poſſeſſed himſelf of the kingdom of *Boſporus*; but was ſoon driven out by *Polemon*, on whom *Auguſtus* had beſtowed that kingdom. *Polemon* was the ſon of *Zeno*, a famous orator

[t] Lucian. in Toxari. [u] Idem ibid. [w] Lucian. & Diodor. Sicul. ibid. [x] Strabo, l. vii. [y] Plut. in Cæſ. Hirt. de bell Alexandrin. Dio Cass. l. xlii. Appian. de bell. civil. l. ii. [z] Appian. l. ii. p 485. Plut. in Cæſ. Suet. in Julio. [a] Appian. Hirt. & Plut. ibid. [b] Vide p. 676 & 678. [c] Appian. in Mithridat. p. 254. Strabo, l. xiii. p. 625. Hirt. ibid. [d] Strabo, & Dio, ibid. Lucian. in Macrob.

of

of *Laodicea*, and after the battle of *Philippi*, had been by *Marc Antony* rewarded for his gallant behaviour, with that part of the kingdom of *Pontus* which lay next to *Cappadocia*. He attended the ſame *Marc Antony* in his expedition againſt the *Parthians*, by whom he was taken priſoner. He was afterwards ſent by the king of *Media* to negotiate a peace between him and *Antony*; which he concluded to the great ſatisfaction of the triumvir, by whom he was on that conſideration made king of *Armenia Minor*. After the battle of *Actium*, in which he fought with great bravery for *Antony*, he was not only pardoned by *Auguſtus*, but ſent by him, or rather by *Agrippa*, againſt *Scribonius*, whom he defeated, and drove from the throne. He engaged in ſeveral wars with the neighbouring barbarians, whom he kept in awe, preventing them from making incurſions into the *Roman* territories; but was at length overcome, taken, and put to death by the *Aſpungitani*, whom *Strabo* reckons among the nations that bordered on the *Palus Mæotis*. He had been honoured by *Auguſtus* ſome time before his death with the title of a friend and ally of the *Roman* people [e]. He left two ſons, *Zeno* and *Polemon* II. The former, ſurnamed *Artaxia*, was by *Germanicus* made king of *Armenia*, to the great ſatisfaction of the *Armenians*, among whom he had been brought up [f]. The latter ſucceeded his father in the kingdom of *Boſporus*, which he afterwards exchanged in the reign of *Claudius* for part of *Cilicia*. We find no further mention in hiſtory of the *Boſporani* till the reign of *Trajan*, who, as *Eutropius* informs us [g], received the king of *Boſporus* under his protection. In the time of *Antoninus Pius*, one *Rimethalces* reigned in the *Boſporus Cimmerius*, and came to *Rome* to treat with the emperor about the affairs of his kingdom, as we read in *Capitolinus* [h] *Lucian* tells us [i], that the *Boſporans*, in his time, were governed by a king named *Eupator*; but what fate attended them thenceforth to the diviſion of the empire, we find no-where recorded; and therefore ſhall proceed to a ſuccinct account of the other kingdoms mentioned in the title prefixed to this chapter.

[e] Strabo, l. xi. Plut. in Anton. Appian. de bell. civil. l. v. Dion. l. xlix. liii. liv. [f] Tacit. Annal. l. ii. c. 54, 56. [g] Eutrop. l. viii. [h] Capitol. in Antonin. Pio. [i] Lucian. ibid.

MEDIA.

Media. WE have delivered elſewhere [k] the hiſtory of *Media*, from the earlieſt account of time to its being reduced by the *Perſians*, by whom it was held to the reign of *Darius Codomanus*, when the other provinces of *Media* fell under the power of the *Macedonians*; but that which lay between mount *Taurus* and the *Caſpian* ſea, withſtood *Alexander*, being defended by one *Atropatus*, who, upon the downfal of the *Perſian* monarchy, kept it for himſelf, and tranſmitted it to his poſterity, who held it as ſovereigns to *Strabo*'s time [l]. From *Atropatus* it was called *Media Atropatia*, or ſimply *Atropatene*. In proceſs of time it became a very conſiderable kingdom; for *Strabo* tells us [m], that the kings of *Atropatene* could bring into the field forty thouſand foot, and twenty thouſand horſe. The metropolis of this kingdom is called by *Strabo*, *Gaza*; by *Plutarch*, *Phrahata*; and by *Dion*, *Praaſpa*. But as we have deſcribed elſewhere [n] this country, and given an account of the cities it contained, we ſhall proceed to the hiſtory of its kings. The firſt who reigned here was *Atropatus*, who being governor of this province in the time of *Darius Codomanus*, as we have hinted above, defended the narrow paſſes leading into it againſt *Alexander*, and upon his departure cauſed himſelf to be acknowledged king of the country. Upon the death of *Alexander*, *Perdiccas*, who had married his daughter, ſuffered him to enjoy his new kingdom without moleſtation. The other kings of *Media* we find mentioned in hiſtory, are, *Timarchus*, *Mithridates*, *Darius* and *Artuaſdes*. *Timarchus* reigned in the time of *Demetrius Soter* king of *Syria*, who attempted, but without ſucceſs, to reduce *Media*, as *Trogus* informs us [o]. *Mithridates* was contemporary with *Mithridates the Great* king of *Pontus*, whom he aſſiſted againſt *Lucullus*. He married the daughter of *Tigranes* king of *Armenia*; but dying without iſſue, left the kingdom to his brother *Darius*, who likewiſe ſided with *Mithridates*; but was overcome by *Pompey* [p]. *Darius* was ſucceeded by his ſon *Artvaſdes*, or *Artauaſdes*, on whom *Marc Antony* made war at the inſtigation of *Artabazes* king of *Armenia*; but was therein attended with bad ſucceſs, as we ſhall relate in the hiſtory of *Parthia*. Upon

[k] Vol. II. p. 1, &c ſeq. [l] Strabo, l. xi. p. 523. [m] Idem ibid. [n] Vol. II. p. 1, 2.
[o] Trog. Pomp. Prolog. l. xxxiv. [p] Dion. l. xxxv. Plut. in Pomp. Appian. in Mithridat.

the

a the retreat of *Marc Antony*, *Artuaſdes* falling out with his allies the *Parthians*, about the diviſion of the *Roman* ſpoils, ſent embaſſadors into *Egypt*, acquainting *Antony*, that he was ready to join him with all his forces, and aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of his power in the reduction of *Parthia*. Hereupon the triumvir reſolved to return into *Parthia* by the way of *Media*, and to attach *Artuaſdes* more firmly to his intereſt, firſt ſent him as a preſent the head of *Artabazes* his inveterate enemy, whom he had treacherouſly ſeized, and afterwards contracted a marriage for *Alexander*, one of his ſons by *Cleopatra*, with a daughter of the king of *Media*; but in the mean time the civil war breaking out between *Antony* and *Octavianus*, *Artuaſdes* ſent his forces to join the former, which gave the *Parthians* an opportunity of invading his dominions,
b and driving him from the throne. After having lived ſome time in *Syria*, he had recourſe to the clemency of *Octavianus*, who received him into favour, and beſtowed upon him the kingdom of *Armenia Minor* [q]. As for the kingdom of *Media*, it continued ſubject to the *Parthians*, who held it for many years, as we ſhall ſee in the hiſtory of that people. Some authors indeed ſpeak of kings reigning in *Media* long after the times we are now writing of; but theſe princes were probably of the race of the *Arſacidæ*; for *Dion*, *Tacitus* and *Joſephus* tell us, that the *Parthian* kings ſometimes ſuffered their younger brothers to reign in *Media*.

[q] Dion, l. xlix. p. 415. Zonar. Tom. II.

BACTRIA.

c *BACTRIA* or *Bactriana*, now *Choraſſan*, was bounded on the weſt by *Margiana*; on the north by the river *Oxus*; on the ſouth by mount *Paropamiſus*; and on the eaſt by *Aſiatic Scythia* and the country of the *Maſſagetæ*. It was a large, fruitful and well-peopled country, containing, if *Ammianus Marcellinus* is to be credited [r], a thouſand cities; but of theſe we find only the following mentioned by the ancients, *Bactra*, the metropolis of the country, called anciently *Zariaſpe*. Some writers indeed make *Bactra* and *Zariaſpe* two different cities; but *Strabo* [s] and *Pliny* [t] tell us in expreſs terms, that *Bactra* and *Zariaſpe* were two names of one and the ſame city. *Pliny* places *Bactra* on the river *Zariaſpa*; and *Curtius* on the *Bactrus*, at the foot of mount *Paropamiſus*; but *Ptolemy* diſagreeing with both theſe writers, deſcribes it as ſtanding
d on the river *Dargidus*, in the heart of the country, at a great diſtance from mount *Paropamiſus*, which was the ſouthern boundary. From the river *Bactrus*, *Curtius* [u] will have both the city and country to have borrowed their names. The other cities of *Bactria* mentioned by the ancient geographers, are, *Alexandria*, probably built by *Alexander*; *Darapſa* or *Adraſpa*, the ſame city which *Arrian* calls *Drapſaca* [w]; *Euchratidia*, *Cariata*, both ſpoke of by *Strabo* [x]; the latter was deſtroyed by *Alexander*; *Siſimethræ Petra*, where *Alexander* ſolemnized his marriage with *Roxana*, who was kept there; *Maracanda*, repaired, but not built, as *Æneas Sylvius* and *Cambinus* have imagined, by *Tamerlan*. The ſame writer tells us, that *Maracanda* was the birth-place of that great commander, but are therein contradicted by *Chal-*
e *cocondyles* [y]. This city is now known by the name of *Samaracanda*; whence the preſent kings of *Perſia* ſtyle themſelves princes of *Samaracanda*, as *David Chytræus* informs us [z]. *Ebuſmi* and *Charracharta*, now *Chiariachar*, were once two places of great note, being called by *Ptolemy* royal cities. The chief rivers of *Bactria* were, the *Ochus*, the *Oxus*, the *Orgomenes*, or, as *Ptolemy* calls it, *Dargomenes*, the *Zariaſpa* or *Zariaſpes*, the *Artimis*, and the *Dargidus*. Moſt of theſe rivers fall into the *Ochus*, which ſprings from mount *Paropamiſus*, and diſcharges itſelf into the *Caſpian* ſea. *Paropamiſus* or *Parapamiſus* is a part of mount *Taurus*, and not of mount *Caucaſus*, as thoſe who attended *Alexander* in his expedition into *India* were pleaſed to call it [a]. That part of *Bactria* which was watered by the river *Oxus*, is deſcribed by the
f ancients as a very fruitful country, abounding with paſtures, and well ſtocked with cattle of a very large ſize; but the ſouthern parts were nothing but ſandy deſerts, without any tract or beaten way; inſomuch that travellers uſed to reſt in the day-time, and purſue their journey in the night, guiding themſelves by the ſtars, as on Bactria.

[r] Ammian. Marcel. l. xxiii. [s] Strabo, l. xi. [t] Plin. l. vi. c. 15, 16. [u] Q. Curt. l. vii. c. 4. [w] Arrian. l. iii. c. 29. [x] Strabo, l. xv. p. 498. [y] Chalcocond. l. iii. [z] Chytræus in Chron. [a] Strabo, l. xi. p. 348. Arrian. Indic. c. 11.

the ſea, not without danger of being buried in the ſand. The country was inhabited a
by the following nations, *viz.* the *Salataræ*, *Zariaſpæ*, *Chomatri*, *Comi*, *Acinacæ*,
Tambyzæ, *Thocaræ*, *Marycæi*, *Amariſpii*, and ſeveral others of leſs note. The *Bactrians* in general were reckoned good ſoldiers, being always at war, either among themſelves, or with the neighbouring nations, and enemies to all manner of luxury. *Pliny* tells us, that they uſed to expoſe their old people, when they attained to a certain age, to be devoured by fierce maſtiffs, which they kept for that purpoſe, and called *ſepulchral dogs*. The ſame author adds, that they allowed their daughters to keep company with whom they pleaſed, and that incontinency was no ways diſreputable even to the women [b]. As to their government, they were ruled by kings in the earlieſt ages. *Zoroaſter* is ſaid by *Euſebius* [c] to have reigned in *Bactria*, and to b
have been contemporary with *Ninus*, who made war upon him, and ſubdued his country. But *Cteſias* mentions one *Oxyartes* as reigning in *Bactria*, when that country was reduced by *Ninus*, and will have *Zoroaſter* to have been contemporary with *Cyrus the Great*. *Pliny* queſtions whether he ever reigned in *Bactria*; but of him and his writings we have ſpoke elſewhere [d]. All authors agree, that *Bactria* was ſubdued, firſt by the *Aſſyrians*, and afterwards by the *Perſians* under *Cyrus the Great*, as we have related in the hiſtory of thoſe two empires. It fell afterwards under the power of the *Macedonians*, and was held by the ſucceſſors of *Seleucus Nicator* till the reign of *Antiochus Theos*, when *Theodotus*, from governor of that province, became king, and ſtrengthened himſelf ſo effectually in his new kingdom, while *Antiochus* was c
engaged in a war with *Ptolemy Philadelphus* king of *Egypt*, that he could never afterwards diſpoſſeſs him of his acquiſitions [e]. He was ſucceeded by his ſon, named alſo *Theodotus*, who entering into an alliance with *Arſaces*, the founder of the *Parthian* monarchy, conſiderably inlarged his kingdom, while the two brothers *Seleucus Callinicus* and *Antiochus Hierax* were waſting their ſtrength againſt each other [f]. *Theodotus* was overcome in battle, and driven out by *Euthydemus* his brother, who, as he was a very valiant and prudent prince, maintained a long war againſt *Antiochus the Great*, in defence of his country, obliging him at laſt to lay aſide all thoughts of ever reducing it, as we have related in the hiſtory of *Syria*. *Euthydemus* was ſucceeded by his brother *Menander*, who paſſing the river *Hypanis*, ſubdued the king- d
dom of *Sigertis*, the large province of *Pattalena*, and ſeveral other countries unknown even to *Alexander the Great*; but while he was preparing to make new conqueſts, and invade the *Syrian* dominions, he was taken off by a violent fever, to the great grief of his ſubjects, among whom his aſhes were diſtributed, to quell the diſturbances that aroſe on account of his body, which many cities laid claim to. By this means magnificent monuments were erected to his memory in moſt cities of *Bactria* [g]. He was ſucceeded by his nephew *Demetrius*, the ſon of *Euthydemus*, in whoſe name he had governed, that prince being very young at his father's death. *Demetrius* was no ways inferior to his uncle in courage and bravery; for he not only maintained himſelf in the poſſeſſion of the provinces which *Menander* had reduced, but made ſeve- e
ral new acquiſitions, and at his death left the kingdom of *Bactria* in a moſt flouriſhing condition. His ſon *Eucratides* built the city of *Eucratidia*, and having invaded *India*, made himſelf maſter of all thoſe provinces which had been ſubjected by *Alexander*. On his return to his own dominions, he was treacherouſly murdered by his ſon, named alſo *Eucratides*, to whom he had committed the government of the kingdom during his abſence. So wicked an action did not go long unpuniſhed; for the *Scythians* invading *Bactria* on one ſide, and the *Parthians* on the other, *Eucratides* was driven from the throne, and ſoon after killed in attempting to recover it. Upon his death the *Parthians* ſeized on the provinces of *Aſpionia* and *Thuriva*, leaving all the reſt to the *Scythians*, who held the kingdom of *Bactria* till the invaſion of the *Huns*, f
of whom we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak in a more proper place. The kings, whom we find mentioned as reigning in *Bactria* in the times of the emperors *Adrian*, *Antoninus Pius* and *Valerian*, were all of *Scythian* extraction; but the *Scythians* were in their turn driven out by the *Huns*, who reigned in *Bactria*, as we read in our modern hiſtorians, in the time of *Ladiſlaus* IV. king of *Hungary*.

Revolt of the Bactrians.
Year after the flood 2699.
Before Chriſt 300.

[b] PLIN. ibid. [c] EUSEB. in Chron. [d] Vide Vol. II. p. 71, 74, & 204, 207, & ſeq. [e] ARRIAN. in Parthic. apud Phot. cod. 58. SYNCEL. p. 284. JUSTIN. l. xii. c. 4. STRABO, l. xi. p. 515. [f] JUSTIN. l. xli. c. 4. [g] ARRIAN. Peripl. p. 32. TROG. in Prolog. l. xli.

E D E S S A.

a THE ancient city of *Edeſſa* is placed by geographers in *Meſopotamia*, on the banks of the *Scirtus*, between mount *Maſius* and the *Euphrates*, into which the *Scirtus* empties itſelf. It was once a place of great note, and famous for a temple of the *Syrian* goddeſs, which was reckoned one of the richeſt in the world, nations and princes ſending thither preſents and offerings from all parts of the eaſt. From this temple *Edeſſa* was ſtyled *Hierapolis*, or the *holy city*. During the inteſtine broils, which greatly weakened the kingdom of *Syria*, one *Augarus* or *Abgarus* ſeized on the city of *Edeſſa*, and its fruitful territory, which he erected into a new kingdom, ſtyling himſelf king of *Edeſſa*, and tranſmitting the ſame title to his poſterity. Under which of the *Syrian* kings this revolution happened, we find no-where recorded. All b we know of the founder of this new kingdom is, that he often defeated the *Syrians*, to whom the country which he poſſeſſed had been long ſubject, and, in ſpite of their utmoſt efforts, left at his death his ſmall principality, as *Egnatius* [h] and *Xylander* ſtyle it [i], in a very flouriſhing condition. He was ſucceeded by his ſon *Ariamnes*, or *Abgarus* II. for the name of *Abgarus* was common to all the kings of *Edeſſa*. This prince made himſelf maſter of the whole province of *Oſroene*, and entering into an alliance with *Pompey* againſt *Tigranes the Great* king of *Armenia*, ſupplied his army with all manner of proviſions. In the *Parthian* war he pretended to ſide with *Craſſus*; but in the mean time maintaining a private correſpondence with the enemy, was the chief cauſe of the great overthrow which the *Romans* received at *Carrhæ*, as c we ſhall relate at length in the hiſtory of the *Parthians*. He left the kingdom to his ſon *Uchanias*, mentioned by *Euſebius* [k], who was ſucceeded by his ſon *Abgarus* III. a prince much ſpoke of by the eccleſiaſtic writers, on account of the letters which he is ſuppoſed to have wrote to our Saviour, and our Saviour to him. Theſe letters were found by *Euſebius*, as he aſſures us, in the public archives of *Edeſſa*, and by him tranſlated out of the original *Syriac* into *Greek*, and inſerted in his eccleſiaſtic hiſtory [l]. They are alſo ſpoke of by *Nicephorus* [m], *Cedrenus* [n], *Dorotheus* [o], *Evagrius* [p], *Glycas* [q], *Curopolates* [r], *Nicetas* [s], &c. The laſt-mentioned writer tells us, that our Saviour's letter was ſtolen in the reign of *Andronicus Comnenus*, and never after heard of [t]. Theſe letters have given occaſion to many diſputes among our modern writers, ſome d maintaining them to be genuine, and others to be forged. This ſubject has been learnedly handled by *Caſaubon*, *Gretſerus*, *Tillemont*, *Du Pin*, and the late father *Alexander*, a writer of great note of the *Dominican* order, to whom we refer ſuch of our readers as are deſirous to be well acquainted with this controverſy, which is altogether foreign to our ſubject. *Abgarus* IV. the ſon of the above-mentioned prince, reigned in the time of the emperor *Claudius*, and joined *C. Caſſius* governor of *Syria*, who had been ordered by that emperor to place *Meherdates* on the throne of *Parthia*. When *Meherdates* arrived at *Edeſſa*, *Abgarus*, who had been gained over by the *Parthians*, detained him there, under various pretences, till ſuch time as the enemy had drawn together their forces, and, in the heat of the engagement, abandoning e the *Romans* with the king of the *Adiabenians*, brought on the defeat of their army [u]. The next prince of *Edeſſa* we find mentioned in hiſtory, is, that *Abgarus*, who was contemporary with the emperor *Trajan*, to whom he ſent, during the war he waged with the *Parthians*, two hundred and fifty fine horſes, a great many complete ſuits of armour, and ſixty thouſand javelins. *Trajan* accepted of three breaſt-plates only, and declared *Abgarus* a friend and ally of the *Roman* people [w]. *Suidas* ſometimes calls him *Algarus*, and ſometimes *Augarus*, giving him in one place the title of king, and elſewhere ſtyling him the chief of the *Edeſſans*. He was ſucceeded by his ſon *Arbandes*, who was highly favoured by *Trajan*. *Abgarus* VI. the ſon of *Arbandes*, is mentioned by *Capitolinus* in his life of *Antoninus Pius*, and by *Epiphanius*, who calls f him a moſt pious prince. Another prince of the ſame name reigned at *Edeſſa* in the time of the emperor *Severus*, aſſiſted him in the wars he waged in the eaſt, and attended him to *Rome*, where he was, by the emperor's orders, received and enter-

[h] Egnat. in Spart. Sever. [i] Xylander, in Dion. l. xl. [k] Euseb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. i. c. 15. [l] Idem, l. i. c. 15. & l. ii. c. 1. [m] Niceph. Callist. l. ii. c. 7. [n] Cedren. p. 144. & ſeq. [o] Doroth. in Synopſi. [p] Evagrius, l. iv. c. 27. [q] Glycas, p. 393, 441. [r] Curopalat. p. 60, 99. [s] Nicetas, l. ii. [t] Nicetas, ibid. [u] Tacit. l. xii. [w] Suidas, voce Εδεσσα. Theodos. Min. in fragment.

tained

tained with the utmoſt pomp and ſplendor [x]. He was afterwards ſuſpected by *Caracalla* of holding a correſpondence with the enemies of *Rome*, and being ſummoned to juſtify himſelf before the emperor, he was, by his orders, confined, and his kingdom reduced to a *Roman* province [y]. He is by *Spartianus* called king of *Perſia*; but by *Dion*, *Zonaras* and *Herodianus* king of the *Oſroëni*, the dominions of the kings of *Edeſſa* being confined within the narrow bounds of *Oſroëne*, or, as others call it, *Oſdroëne*, a province of *Meſopotamia*, bounded on the weſt and ſouth by the *Euphrates*; on the eaſt by the *Chaboras* or *Aborras*; and on the north by mount *Taurus*, dividing it from the *Greater Armenia*. a

[x] Spartian. in Severo. [y] Dion, & Zonar. in Caracalla & Heliogabalo. Spartian. ubi ſupra. Herodian. l. iii.

E M E S A.

Emeſa. *EMESA*, *Emiſa*, or *Emiſſa*, was a city of *Syria*, placed by moſt of the ancient geographers, on the *Orontes*, between *Apamea* and *Laodicea Cabioſa*. This city one *Sampſiceramus*, an *Arabian*, ſeized during the troubles of *Syria*, and aſſuming the title of king, held *Emeſa*, and its ſmall territory, without the leaſt diſturbance from the *Seleucidæ*, who had other more important wars on their hands [z]. *Sampſiceramus* is often mentioned by *Cicero* in his letters to *Atticus* [a]. But *Nizolius* is of opinion, that *Cicero*, under that diſguiſe, meant *Pompey*, who had overcome *Sampſiceramus*. He left two ſons, *Jamblichus* and *Alexander*. The former ſucceeded his father, and as he was greatly attached to the *Romans*, acquainted *Cicero*, while he governed *Cilicia* in quality of proconſul, with the motions and deſigns of the *Parthians*, who, under the conduct of *Pacorus* their king, were preparing to invade *Syria*. In the civil wars of *Rome*, he ſided firſt with *Cæſar* againſt *Pompey*, and afterwards with *Antony* againſt *Octavianus*. After the victory gained by the latter at *Actium*, *Antony*, apprehending that he deſigned to follow the example of the neighbouring princes, who had all declared for the conqueror, got him into his power, and, upon that bare ſuſpicion, cauſed him to be put to a moſt cruel death [b]. He is ſtyled by *Strabo*, *the petty king of the* Emeſeni; by *Joſephus*, *a petty prince of* Arabia; and by *Dion*, *prince of the* Arabians. Upon his death the kingdom was by *Antony* beſtowed on his brother *Alexander*, who continuing faithful to his benefactor in his greateſt diſtreſs, was taken priſoner by *Octavianus*, and not only deprived of his kingdom, but carried in triumph, and afterwards put to death [c]. His ſon *Jamblichus* II. was received into favour by *Octavianus*, and by him reſtored to his father's kingdom, after he had lived ſome time in baniſhment [d]. Many years after him reigned *Sampſiceramus* II. whom ſome writers take to have been his grandſon. He is mentioned by *Joſephus*, who ſtyles him king of the *Emeſeni* [e]. He was ſucceeded by his ſon *Azizus*, who falling in love with *Druſilla*, the ſiſter of *Agrippa minor*, embraced the *Jewiſh* religion, in order to marry her [f]. His ſiſter *Jotape* was married to *Ariſtobulus* the brother of *Agrippa the Great* [g]. *Azizus* is the laſt king of *Emeſa* we find mentioned in hiſtory. This ſmall kingdom was perhaps ſeized by the *Arabians*; for ſome years after we find it poſſeſſed by the *Ituræans*. The emperor *Heliogabalus* was a native, as *Evagrius* informs us, of the city of *Emeſa*. b c d

[z] Strabo, l. xvi. [a] Cic. ad Attic. l. ii. epiſt. 14, 16, 17, & 23. [b] Strabo, ibid. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 13. Dion, lib. l. Cic. epiſt. ad fam. l. xv. epiſt. 1. [c] Dion, l. li. [d] Idem, l. liv. [e] Joseph. Antiq. l. xviii. c. 7. & l. xix. c. 7. [f] Idem, l. xx. c. 5. Zonar. Tom. I. [g] Idem, l. xviii. c. 7.

A D I A B E N E.

Adiabene. AS we have deſcribed elſewhere the province of *Adiabene* [h], which was the richeſt and moſt fruitful of all *Aſſyria*, we ſhall in this place only give a ſuccinct account of the kings, who taking advantage of the diſturbances that reigned among the *Seleucidæ*, erected here a new kingdom, and held it in ſpite of the *Syrian* kings, till they were driven out by the ſuperior power of the *Roman* emperors. The firſt king we find mentioned in hiſtory, reigned in the time of the *Mithridatic* war, and joined *Tigranes* againſt *Lucullus*, as we read in *Plutarch*, tho' that author does not acquaint us with e

[h] Vol. I. p. 858.

his

a his name [1]. Many years after, that is, in the reign of the emperor *Claudius*, one *Monobazus*, called alſo *Bazeos*, ruled over the *Adiabenians*. This prince falling in love with his ſiſter *Helena*, married her, and had by her two ſons, *viz.* *Monobazus* and *Izates*. He had ſeveral children by other wives; but as he favoured *Izates* above all the reſt, this raiſed no ſmall jealouſy in his other ſons, eſpecially in *Monobazus* the eldeſt. To prevent therefore the evil conſequences which his partiality might occaſion in his family, he ſent *Izates* to be brought up by one *Abemerigus*, lord, or, as *Joſephus* calls him, king of a rich country in that neighbourhood. *Abemerigus*, who then reſided at a place called *Spaſinus*, brought him up with great care, and gave him his daughter *Samacha* in marriage, and with her a rich and fruitful
b country by way of dowry. In the mean time *Monobazus*, as he was ſtricken in years, and deſirous to ſee his favourite child before his death, ſent for him, and receiving him with great tenderneſs, beſtowed upon him the country of *Cæron*, which abounded with odoriferous plants, and was famous, as *Joſephus* informs us, on account of the remains of *Noah*'s ark, which were ſtill to be ſeen there in his time. In this country *Izates* remained till his father's death, when his mother *Helena* calling together the chief lords of the kingdom, told them, That the deceaſed king had, by his laſt will, appointed *Izates* to reign in his ſtead, as the moſt worthy of all his children; but that ſhe had not thought proper to acquaint him therewith, till the honour, to which he had been deſtined by his father, was confirmed to him by the unanimous
c conſent of his ſubjects. She had ſcarce uttered theſe words, when the nobles, proſtrating themſelves on the ground before the queen, according to the cuſtom of the country, declared, that they approved the king's election, and were ready, not only to obey *Izates*, who had been deſervedly preferred to his brothers, but to put them all to death, that he might enjoy the kingdom without diſturbance. The queen thanked them for their zeal, but at the ſame time deſired them to forbear ſhedding the blood of any of the royal family, till the will of their new ſovereign was known. Hereupon they intreated the queen to confine at leaſt the young princes till the king's arrival, and in the mean time to appoint one to govern in his name. *Helena* readily complied with their requeſt, and named her eldeſt ſon, *Monobazus*, guardian of the
d kingdom during his brother's abſence, placing with her own hand the diadem on his head, and delivering to him his father's ſeal, with the robe called by the *Adiabenians*, *ſampſera*, and exhorting him to govern with juſtice and moderation till the arrival of his brother, to whom the crown belonged, both by the laſt will of his father, and the unanimous election of the people. In the mean time *Izates* being acquainted with his father's death, and the zeal his new ſubjects had ſhewn for him, haſtened to his kingdom, where he was received with great rejoicings, and met by his brother *Monobazus*, who, on his arrival, reſigned to him the diadem, and other enſigns of royalty.

WHILE *Izates* was at the court of *Abemerigus*, he had been inſtructed in the *Jewiſh*
e religion by one *Ananias*, who, at his requeſt, had attended him into the kingdom of *Adiabene*, and continued with him in the province of *Cæron*, which his father, as we have ſaid above, had beſtowed on him. His mother likewiſe, having been inſtructed by another *Jew*, had embraced that religion; but nevertheleſs did all that lay in her power to diſſuade her ſon from circumciſion, to which, as a zealous proſelyte, he had a great inclination, thinking himſelf obliged to comply with all the duties of the religion he had embraced. *Ananias* his inſtructor agreed with the queen, and fearing leſt ſome misfortune might befal him, if the king's converſion, which had been brought about by his means, were publicly known, repreſented to him, that he might ſerve the true God without being circumciſed; that ſince he had re-
f ſolved to live according to the other laws of the *Jews*, God would pardon him this neglect in conſideration of that reſolution; that true religion conſiſted in the pious ſentiments of the ſoul, and not in the circumciſion of the body; which was indeed injoined by *Moſes*, but might be diſpenſed with in the preſent circumſtances, conſidering the danger he was in of forfeiting his kingdom by an open profeſſion of the *Jewiſh* religion, *&c.* Laſtly, *Ananias*, who, it ſeems, was a time-ſerver, threatened to forſake the pious prince, if he did not lay aſide, for the preſent, all thoughts of circumciſion. By theſe remonſtrances *Izates* was prevailed upon to ſuſpend the execution of his deſign; but not long after another *Jew*, by name *Eleazer*, a man well

[1] PLUT. in Lucull.

verſed in the law of *Moſes*, and of great learning, arriving at the court, and finding the king, when he went to wait on him, reading the books of *Moſes*, told him in plain terms, that he offended both againſt God and the law; for it is not enough, ſaid he, for any man to underſtand his religion; the main duty incumbent upon us, is, to do what our religion commands us. How long will you remain uncircumciſed? If you are unacquainted with the injunctions of the law touching this point, read it now, that you may no longer be ignorant of the guilt you incur, in omitting one of the moſt eſſential duties of your religion. *Izates*, ſtruck with theſe words, immediately withdrew, and, in compliance with the law, ſubmitted to the ceremony which it preſcribed [k]. In his reign *Artabanus* king of the *Parthians*, being driven out by his rebellious ſubjects, had recourſe to him, and was not only kindly received at his court, and treated like a king, but, by his good offices, reſtored to the crown, as we ſhall relate in the hiſtory of *Parthia*; in acknowledgment of which kindneſs, *Artabanus* yielded to him the fruitful province of *Niſibis*, which he had lately taken from the king of *Armenia*. Upon the death of *Artabanus*, a civil war breaking out in *Parthia*, between *Gotarzes* and *Meherdates*, *Izates* pretended to favour the latter, whoſe claim was ſupported by the emperor *Claudius*, but maintained the whole time a private correſpondence with the former, and joined him at laſt with all his forces, which brought on the ruin of *Meherdates*, as we ſhall have occaſion to relate in the hiſtory of *Parthia* [l].

Monobazus, the king's elder brother, and the other princes of the royal family, finding that *Izates* had been attended with wonderful ſucceſs, ſays *Joſephus* [m], in all his undertakings, ever ſince the change of his religion, reſolved to follow his example; which ſo offended the chief lords of the kingdom, that entering into a conſpiracy againſt their prince, who had firſt introduced the *Jewiſh* religion among them, they wrote privately to *Abias* king of *Arabia*, promiſing him great ſums of money, on condition he would aſſiſt them in driving *Izates* from the throne, and aſſuring him, that they were all to a man reſolved to forſake him, and deliver him up to the firſt that ſhould invade his dominions. Hereupon *Abias* having drawn together a conſiderable army, entered the kingdom of *Adiabene*, where he was met by *Izates*, and a battle enſuing, the *Adiabenians*, at the firſt onſet, fled, as if they had been ſeized with a panic fear, and retired in great diſorder to their camp. The king ſeeing himſelf abandoned by his men, retired with them, and having found, on examining the cauſe of ſo ſudden a flight, that the private men had only followed the example of their leaders, and by that means diſcovered the whole plot, he cauſed the chief conſpirators to be immediately put to death, and marching out the next day with the reſt, fell unexpectedly upon the enemy, and gained a complete victory. The king of *Arabia* being cloſely purſued by the *Adiabenians*, ſheltered himſelf in the fortreſs of *Arſam*, which *Izates* immediately beſieged, and aſſaulted with ſuch vigour, that it was ſoon obliged to ſurrender. He found there an immenſe booty, and great ſtore of proviſions; but *Abias*, by a voluntary death, eſcaped captivity, as did many of the *Arabian* lords who attended him [n]. The conſpirators, tho' thus diſappointed, ſtill perſiſted in their former reſolution of getting rid, by ſome means or other, of a king, who endeavoured to aboliſh their ancient religion, and introduce a ſtrange law. They therefore had recourſe to *Vologeſes* king of the *Parthians*, intreating him to aſſiſt them in driving from the throne *Izates*, and to give them a king of the race of the *Arſacidæ*, ſince they could not live under a prince, who countenanced a religion differing from that of his own country. Upon this invitation *Vologeſes* marched with a mighty army againſt *Izates*, who finding himſelf no-ways in a condition to oppoſe ſo powerful an enemy with his own ſtrength, had recourſe to prayers, beſeeching the Almighty, for whoſe ſake he was reduced to ſuch ſtraits, to exert his power in the defence of one who put all his confidence in him. He had ſcarce ended his prayer, when news was brought him, that *Vologeſes*, who had encamped over-againſt him on the other ſide of the river, which parted *Adiabene* from *Media*, was retired in great haſte and confuſion, upon certain advice, that the *Dabæ* and *Sacæ*, taking advantge of his abſence, had invaded *Parthia*, and were committing every-where moſt dreadful ravages [o]. *Izates*, being thus delivered, by the protection of heaven, from the imminent danger he was in of loſing both his life and his kingdom, ſpent the remainder of his days in peace and tranquillity, and died in the fifty-fifth year of his age,

[k] Joseph. Antiq. l. xx. c. 2. [l] Tacitus, Annal. l. xii. [m] Joseph. ibid. [n] Idem ibid. [o] Idem ibid

and

a and twenty-fourth of his reign. *Joſephus* gives him a moſt extraordinary character, which he well deſerved, if all that writer relates of him be true. He had by his wife *Samacha* or *Samaco*, the daughter of *Abemerigus*, five ſons, who were all brought up under their grandmother *Helena* at *Jeruſalem*, and there taught both the *Jewiſh* language and religion. They were in that city while it was beſieged by *Titus*, who generouſly pardoned them, and carried them with him to *Rome*, where they remained as hoſtages [p]. *Helena*, who was both mother and aunt to *Izates*, and a zealous proſelyte to the *Jewiſh* religion, no ſooner ſaw her favourite ſon ſettled on the throne, but ſhe undertook a journey to *Jeruſalem*, being deſirous to viſit the holy city, and offer ſacrifices of thankſgiving in the temple, which was ſo renowned over all the
b world. *Izates* not only ſupplied her with all things that were neceſſary for her journey, in a royal and magnificent manner, and with large ſums of money, but attended her in perſon great part of the way. On her arrival at *Jeruſalem*, ſhe was received by the prieſts and chief men of the nation in a manner ſuitable to her rank, and entertained with great ſplendor and magnificence; but ſoon after the city being moſt grievouſly oppreſſed by a famine, that, in all likelihood, which had been foretold by the prophet *Agabus*, as we read in the *Acts* [q], the pious queen not only refuſed to be maintained at the public expence, but plentifully ſupplied the poor of the city with corn from *Egypt*, and other proviſions from the iſland of *Cyprus*. She likewiſe perſuaded her ſon *Izates* to ſend a conſiderable ſum of money to the governor of *Jeru-*
c *ſalem*, for the relief of the afflicted citizens [r]. Theſe pious offices, and the zeal ſhe ſhewed for the *Jewiſh* religion, gained her, as *Joſephus* informs us, the affection of the whole nation. She continued in *Jeruſalem*, where ſhe built a magnificent palace, which was burnt by the *Romans* under *Titus*, till the death of *Izates*, when ſhe returned to *Adiabene*, and ſoon after died. *Monobazus*, who ſucceeded his brother *Izates*, ſent his body, with that of his mother *Helena*, to be depoſited in the magnificent monument, which ſhe had erected with three lofty pyramids, about three furlongs from the city of *Jeruſalem* [s]. This monument is mentioned by *Euſebius* [t]. St. *Jerom* [u], and *Pauſanias* [w]. The latter ſpeaks of it in the following terms: Tho' I have heard of many monuments worthy of admiration, yet I ſhall here take notice of two only;
d the one at *Halicarnaſſus*, the other in the country of the *Jews*. The former, erected in honour of *Mauſolus* king of *Halicarnaſſus*, was ſo magnificent and ſtately an edifice, that the *Romans*, ſtruck with its extraordinary beauty and grandeur, called all majeſtic monuments *mauſoleums*. The other, a monument of ſurpriſing workmanſhip, ſtands at a ſmall diſtance from *Jeruſalem*, and is the ſepulchre of one *Helena*, a native of that country. It is all of marble, and has a door, which, on a ſtated day and hour of the year, opens by ſome hidden ſprings, and ſoon after ſhuts again. At other times you may break it down, but it is impoſſible to open it. Thus far *Pauſanias*; but *Joſephus*, who was better acquainted with the monuments of his own country than any of the *Greeks*, takes no notice of this prodigy. *Oroſius* tells us [x], that
e *Helena* embraced the *Chriſtian* religion, and, during the above-mentioned famine, ſupplied the indigent and diſtreſſed *Chriſtians* with corn brought from *Egypt* for that purpoſe.

Tho' *Izates* had ſeveral children, yet by his laſt will he bequeathed the crown to his brother *Monobazus*, rewarding him thereby for the great care and indefatigable fidelity with which he had governed the kingdom during his abſence, and the intire ſubmiſſion he had ſhewn him, tho' a younger brother, the whole time of his reign. But as to the affairs of this kingdom, there is a profound ſilence among authors, from the death of *Izates*, who was contemporary with the emperor *Claudius*, to the reign of *Trajan*, when one *Mebarſapes* ruled there, and joined *Coſdroes* king of the *Perſians*
f againſt the *Romans*; but that war proving unſucceſsful for him and his allies, he was driven from the throne, and obliged to ſhelter himſelf in the dominions of *Manus* king of *Arabia*, who attempted to reſtore him to his kingdom; but as the ſtrong caſtle of *Adenyſtræ* was held by a *Roman* gariſon, which he could never diſlodge, he was forced to drop the enterprize, and abandoning his friend and ally, conclude a peace with *Rome* [y]. We find no further mention made of the *Adiabenians*, till the reign of *Sapor* II. king of *Perſia*, when they embraced the *Chriſtian* religion, as

[p] Idem, de bell. Jud. l. vii. c. 13. [q] Acts, c. xi. ver. 28. [r] Joseph. Antiq. l. xx. c. 2.
[s] Idem ibid. [t] Euseb. Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. ii. c. 12. [u] Hieronym. ad Euſtoch. [w] Pausan. l. viii.
[x] Oros. l. vii. c. 6. [y] Dion, in Trajan. Sex. Ruf. in epit. Theodos. Min. in fragment. l. lxxv. Dionys.

Sozo-

4

Sozomenus [z] and *Nicephorus* [a] inform us, and were, on that account, treated with a great cruelty by the above-mentioned king, to whom they were at that time ſubject. a

[z] Sozom. l. ii. c. 12. [a] Niceph. Hiſtor. Tripar. l. viii. c. 38.

E L Y M A I S.

Elymais. *ELYMAIS*, or, as *Strabo* calls it[b], *Elymatis*, was a province of *Perſia*, lying between the rivers *Eulæus* and *Oroates*, and extending from the confines of *Media* to the *Erythræan* ſea, or *Perſian* gulf. It was formerly divided into three great diſtricts, *viz. Meſabatene*, *Gabene* or *Gabiene*, and *Carbiana*, and contained the following cities; *Seleucia*, in more ancient times *Soloce*, on the banks of the *Hedypos* or *Hedypnus*, which *Strabo* [c] calls a great city; *Saſirate*, at a ſmall diſtance from mount *Caſyrus*; *Badaca*, on the *Eulæus*; and *Elymais*, the metropolis of the province, famous for a rich temple conſecrated to *Diana*, which *Antiochus Epiphanes* attempted to plunder; but was obliged by the inhabitants to retire with diſgrace, as we have related in the hiſtory of *Syria*. We muſt not confound this city with that of *Perſepolis*, called alſo by ſome writers *Elymais*; for the city we are here ſpeaking of ſtood in the province of *Elymais*, and the other in that of *Perſis*. The temple of *Elymais* was afterwards plundered by one of the *Parthian* kings, who found in it, as *Strabo* tells us [d], ten thouſand talents. In this country there was alſo a very rich temple conſecrated to *Jupiter Belus*, which *Antiochus the Great* attempted to plunder, but loſt his life in the attempt, as we have related in the hiſtory of his reign. The country of *Elymais* was inhabited, according to *Pliny* [e], by the following nations, *viz.* the *Oxii* or *Uxii*, *Mizæi*, *Parthuſi*, *Mardi*, *Saitæ*, *Hyi*, *Coſſæi*, *Larætaceni*, and *Meſſabatæ*. The *Elymæans* were, as *Strabo* informs us [f], a powerful people, inured to the toils of war, ſkilful bowmen, *&c.* and never ſubdued either by the *Syro-Macedonian* or *Parthian* kings, but governed by their own princes. If what *Strabo* writes be true, we may date the riſe of this kingdom from the downfal of the *Perſian* monarchy; for it is agreed on by all the ancients, that the *Elymæans* were ſubject to the kings of *Perſia*, and if they never ſubmitted to the *Syrian* yoke, they muſt have been firſt governed by their own princes, either in *Alexander*'s life-time, or ſoon after his death. Their kings are often ſpoke of by the ancients; but not one of them, which is ſomewhat ſurpriſing, named by any writer. All we know of them is, that they aſſiſted *Antiochus the Great* in his wars with *Rome*; but afterwards cut off both him and his army in defence of their temple. The like fate would have attended *Antiochus Epiphanes*, when he attempted to plunder the temple of *Diana*, had he not, by a timely flight, retired into *Media* [g]. They afterwards, under the conduct of their king, engaged in a war againſt the *Babylonians* and *Suſians*, in which they were aſſiſted by the *Coſſæans*, who, it ſeems, were not ſubject to the kings of *Elymais*, with thirteen thouſand archers [h]. *Juſtin* writes [i], that *Mithridates* king of *Parthia*, having overcome the king of the *Elymæans*, made himſelf maſter of all his dominions. But what *Juſtin* ſays is contradicted by *Strabo*, and alſo by *Plutarch*, who tells us in expreſs words, that the *Elymæans* in *Pompey*'s time were governed by their own kings [k]. But as neither their actions nor names have been tranſmitted to us, we ſhall dwell no longer on this barren ſubject. b c d e

[b] Strabo, l. xvi. [c] Idem ibid. p. 512. [d] Idem ibid. p. 744. [e] Plin. l. vi. c. 27.
[f] Idem ibid. [g] Polyb. in excerpt. Val. p. 144. Appian. in Syriac. Maccab. 1. c. vi. ver. 1, 2, &c.
[h] Strabo, ibid. [i] Justin. l. xli. [k] Plut. in Pomp.

C H A R A C E N E.

Characene. *CHARACENE* was the moſt ſouthern part of *Suſiana*, a province of *Perſia*, lying on the *Perſian* gulf, between the *Tigris* and the *Eulæus*. It was ſo named from the city of *Charax*, called firſt *Alexandria*, from its founder *Alexander the Great*; afterwards *Antiochia*, from *Antiochus* V. king of *Syria*, who repaired and embelliſhed it; and laſtly, *Charax Spaſinæ* or *Paſinæ*, that is, *the mole of* Spaſines, an *Arabian* king of that name having ſecured it againſt the overflowing of the *Tigris*, which often laid it under water, by a high bank or mole, extending three miles, which ſerved f

as

a as a fence to all that country [l]. *Dionyſius Periegetes*, and *Iſidorus*, author of the *Parthicæ Manſiones*, were both natives of this city. The ſmall diſtrict of *Characene* was ſeized by *Paſines* the ſon of *Sogdonacus*, king of the neighbouring *Arabs*, during the troubles of *Syria*, and erected into a kingdom [m]. *Lucian* calls him *Hyſpaſines*, and adds, that he ruled over the *Characeni* and the neighbouring people, and died in the eighty-fifth year of his age [n]. The other kings of this country we find mentioned by the ancients, are, *Teræus*, who died in the ninety-ſecond year of his age, and after him *Artabazus* the ſeventh, as *Lucian* informs us, who was driven from the throne by his own ſubjects; but reſtored by the *Parthians* [o]. And this is all we find in the ancients relating to the kings of *Characene*.

[l] Plin. l. vi. c. 27. [m] Idem ibid. [n] Lucian. in Macrob. [o] Idem ibid.

COMMAGENE.

b THIS country, which was part of *Syria*, we have deſcribed elſewhere [p], and therefore ſhall proceed to the hiſtory of its kings. *Commagene* was ſubject to the *Syrians* in the time of *Antiochus the Great*, and left to him by the treaty of peace, which he concluded with *Rome* after the famous battle of *Magneſia*; whence it is probable, that it was ſeized by ſome of the princes of the *Seleucian* family, during their inteſtine wars; for we find no mention made of the kings of *Commagene* till *Pompey*'s time, and the names of thoſe, who afterwards reigned there, are intirely *Syrian*. The firſt we find mentioned in hiſtory, is *Antiochus*, who, together with *Darius* king of *Media*, oppoſed *Pompey* as he entered *Syria*, after the defeat of *Tigranes*; but being overcome in battle, he ſubmitted to the conqueror, and was for his ſubmiſſion not only confirmed by *Pompey* in his kingdom, but rewarded with part of *Meſopotamia* [q]. Commagene, or Comagene.

c In the civil war between *Cæſar* and *Pompey* he ſent large ſupplies to the latter. He afterwards joined *Pacorus* king of *Parthia*, whom *Labienus* had invited into *Syria*, and was on that occaſion beſieged by *Ventidius* in the city of *Samoſatæ*, and obliged to purchaſe a peace of *Marc Antony* with three hundred talents. In the reign of *Auguſtus* a diſpute ariſing between him and his brother *Mithridates*, he cauſed the embaſſador, whom his brother had ſent to plead his cauſe at *Rome*, to be treacherouſly aſſaſſinated. Whereupon he was ſummoned to appear before the ſenate, and being by that body found guilty of the murder laid to his charge, he was by the emperor's orders put to death [r]. He was ſucceeded by *Mithridates*, on whom *Au-*

d *guſtus* beſtowed the kingdom of *Commagene*, tho' no-ways related to the deceaſed king, as a reward for his ſervices during the war with *Antony* and *Cleopatra*. *Mithridates* the king's brother was excluded from the throne, for having ſided with *Antony* [s]. Upon the death of *Mithridates*, *Auguſtus* ſuffered *Antiochus* II. the ſon of *Antiochus* I. to take poſſeſſion of his father's kingdom. He died in the reign of *Tiberius*, and upon his death great diſturbances ariſing between the nobles and the people, the latter demanding a king, and the former deſiring to be governed by a magiſtrate ſent them from *Rome*, *Tiberius* complied with the requeſt of the nobles, and appointed *Q. Servæus* to govern *Commagene* in quality of prætor [t]. But *Caligula* reſtored the kingdom of *Commagene* to *Antiochus* the ſon of *Antiochus* II. adding to it the maritime

e parts of *Cilicia*. He defeated the *Cilicians*, who refuſed to acknowledge him for their king, and took *Troſobor* their ringleader priſoner. He aſſiſted *Veſpaſian* againſt *Vitellius*, and ſerved under *Titus* at the ſiege of *Jeruſalem*; but being afterwards ſuſpected of holding a private correſpondence with the *Parthians*, he was taken priſoner by *Ceſennius*, and ſent in chains to the emperor *Veſpaſian*, who baniſhed him to *Lacedæmon*; but afterwards ſuffered him to lead a private life at *Rome*. *Antiochus* left two ſons, *viz.* *Antiochus* and *Callinicus*, and one daughter, named *Jotape*. *Antiochus*, ſurnamed *Epiphanes*, ſerved under *Otho* againſt *Vitellius*, and under *Veſpaſian* in his war with the *Jews*, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf at the ſiege of *Jeruſalem*. *Callinicus* is mentioned by *Joſephus* [u], who tells us, that his ſiſter *Jotape* was married to *Alexander*

f king of *Leſis* in *Cilicia*. But *Veſpaſian* having reduced *Commagene* to the form of a *Roman* province, would not allow any of the ſons of *Antiochus* to ſucceed him. This country was afterwards made part of the province called *Auguſtophratenſis*, or, as *Ammianus* has it, *Euphratenſis*, and was commonly known by the name of *Euphrateſia*.

[p] Vol. I. p. 360. [q] Joseph. Antiq. l. ii. Oros. l. vi. [r] Dion, l. iii. p. 495. [s] Idem, l. liv. [t] Tacit. Annal. l. ii. Joseph. Antiq. l. xviii. c. 3. [u] Joseph. de bell. Jud. l. vii. c. 27.

4

CHALCIDENE.

Chalcidene. *CHALCIDENE*, one of the moſt fruitful provinces of *Syria*, was bounded on the a
eaſt by *Chalybonitis*; on the weſt by *Antiochis*; on the ſouth by *Apamene* and *Cæle-Syria*; and on the north by *Cyrrheſtica*. It was called *Chalcidene* from the city of *Chalcis*, the metropolis of the province, ſituated at the foot of mount *Libanus*. This province was ſeized by *Ptolemy* the ſon of *Mennæus*, during the troubles of *Syria*, and by him made a ſeparate kingdom. *Ptolemy* himſelf is ſtyled by *Joſephus* [w] and *Hegeſippus* [x] only prince of *Chalcis*; but his ſon *Lyſanias* is honoured both by *Joſephus* [y] and *Dion* [z] with the title of king. Upon the death of *Antiochus Dionyſius* king of *Syria*, he attempted to make himſelf maſter of *Damaſcus* and all *Cæle-Syria*; but the inhabitants having an utter averſion to him on account of his cruelty and wickedneſs, choſe rather to ſubmit to *Aretas* king of *Arabia*, by whom *Antiochus* and b
his whole army had been cut off [a]. He oppoſed *Pompey* on his entering *Syria*, but was by him defeated, taken priſoner, and ſentenced to death; which however he eſcaped, by paying to *Pompey* a thouſand talents [b], who left him alſo in the poſſeſſion of his kingdom. After *Ariſtobulus* king of *Judæa* had been poiſoned by the friends of *Pompey*, and *Alexander* his ſon beheaded at *Antioch*, as we ſhall relate in the hiſtory of the *Jews*, he ſent *Philippion* his ſon to *Askalon*, whither the widow of *Ariſtobulus* had retired with her other children, to bring them all to *Chalcis*, propoſing, as he was in love with one of the daughters, named *Alexandria*, to maintain them in his own kingdom in a manner ſuitable to their rank; but *Philippion* likewiſe falling in love with *Alexandria*, married her on the way, for which *Ptolemy* put him to death on his c
return, and then married her himſelf [c]. By reaſon of this affinity, he aſſiſted to the utmoſt of his power *Antigonus*, the younger ſon of *Ariſtobulus*, who being thus aſſiſted by him, took the field at the head of a conſiderable army; but, on his firſt entering *Judæa*, was intirely defeated by *Herod* [d]. *Ptolemy* ſoon after died, and was ſucceeded by his ſon *Lyſanias*, who eſpouſing the cauſe of the *Aſmonæan* family with no leſs warmth than his father had done, promiſed to *Barzaphbarnes*, who commanded the *Parthian* troops in *Syria*, and to *Pacorus* the king's ſon, a thouſand talents, and five hundred women, provided they put *Antigonus* in poſſeſſion of the kingdom of *Judæa*, and depoſed *Hyrcanus* [e]. He was not long after put to death by *Marc Antony*, at the inſtigation of *Cleopatra*, who, in order to have his dominions granted to her, accuſed d
him falſly of having entered into an alliance with the *Parthians* [f]. *Dion Caſſius* calls him king of *Chalcis* and *Ituræa*; but *Strabo* informs us [g], that he poſſeſſed only the mountainous parts of *Ituræa*, as we ſhall ſee in the hiſtory of *Arabia*, to which the ſmall kingdom of *Ituræa* belonged.

And thus far of the conqueſts of *Alexander the Great*, and the ſeveral kingdoms which ſprung up on the downfal of the *Macedonian* empire, from their riſe to their being ſubdued by the *Romans*, the hiſtory of which people will be the chief ſubject of the next volume.

[w] Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 13. [x] Hegesip. l. i. c. 24. [y] Joseph. de bell. Jud. l. 1. c. 17. [z] Dio, l. xlix. [a] Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 23. & de bell. Judaic. l. i. c. 4. [b] Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 5. [c] Idem, l. xiv. c. 13. [d] Idem, l. xiv. c. 21. [e] Josbph. de bell. Jud. l. i. c. 11. [f] Idem, Antiq. l. xv. c. 4. Dio, l. xlix. p. 411. [g] Strabo, l. xvi.

The End of the Third Volume.

AN INDEX TO THE THIRD VOLUME.

The Numbers direct to the Page, the ſmall Letters to the Line of the Page, and the great Letters to the Notes.

A.

Aa, *Abus*, a mountain in *Armenia*, 694, b.
Abacænum, a city in *Sicily*, deſcribed, 92, O.
Abantos, firſt inhabiters of *Eubœa*, 250, a.
Abas, who, 250, a. Killed, ibid.
Abdalominus made king of *Sidon*, by *Alexander*, 337, K.
Abdera, by whom founded, 786, c.
Abdymon dethrones the king of *Cyprus*, 179, c. Killed, ibid.
Abgarus I. founder of the kingdom of *Edeſſa*, 847, a. —— II. his conqueſts, ibid. b. —— III. his letter to Chriſt, ibid. c. —— IV. his treachery to the *Romans*, ibid. d. —— V. allies with *Rome*, ibid. d, e. —— VI. &c. ibid. & ſeq.
Abias invades *Abilene*, 850, c. Defeated by *Izates*, ibid. d.
Abiſſares's ſubmiſſion to *Alexander*. 393, b.
Abreas killed by the *Malli*, 398, d.
Abſarus, river in *Colchis*, 833, c.
Abulites put to death for oppreſſion, 405, b.
Aoulpharagus, his works, 629, C.
Abydos forſaken by *Antiochus*, 560, c.
Accaron given to *Jonathan*, 597, c.
Aceſines's river paſt by *Alexander*, 393, b.
Aceſta in *Sicily*, vid. *Segeſta*, 7, f.
Acheruſian lake in *Chaonia*, 798, a.
Achæus aſſiſts the *Byzantines*, 145, b. Gained over by the *Rhodians*, ibid. d. Defeated by the *Macedonians*, 474. —— regent of *Syria*'s valour and fidelity, 530, a, b. Forced to take the government, 535, c. Beſieged in *Sardis*, 539, d. Betrayed to *Antiochus*, 540. Beheaded, 541, a.
Achillas drives out *Cleopatra*, 673, a. Beſieges *Ceſar* in *Alexandria*, 675, d. Put to death, 676, c.
Acradina, one of the four quarters of *Syracuſe*, 4, b, c. Forced by *Dionyſius*, 46, d. Taken by the *Carthaginians*, 52, d. Delivered up to the *Romans*, 120, & ſeq.
Acroe, when and by whom built, 12, b. Deſcribed, 114, S.
Actiac æra, how computed, 691, a, b.
Actor, firſt king of *Ægina*, 244, b.
Ada, the *Carian* queen's conduct towards *Alexander*, 530, a.
Adiabene, the kings of, 848, & ſeq. Embraces chriſtianity, 851, f.
Adiabenia conquered by *Tigranes*, 700, c.
Admetus killed at the ſiege of *Tyre*, 341, d. —— king of *Epirus*'s kindneſs to *Themiſtocles*, 800, c, d.
Adranum, a city in *Sicily*, 8, e.
Adranus, tutelar god of the *Siculi*, ibid.
Adrianople in *Thrace*, built by *Adrian*, 787, d.
Aea, a city in *Colchis*, 833, b.
Æaces, tyrant of *Samos*, 190, c. —— II. treachery to the *Ionians*, 197, d, e.
Æacidas, king of *Epirus*, driven out, 459, a. 802, f. Slain by the *Macedonians*, 461, a. 803, a.
Æacus, king of *Ægina*, 244, b.
Ædepſum in *Eubœa*, its hot waters, deſcribed, 249, b.
Ædes, king of *Colchis*, 834.
Ægates, iſland, deſcribed, 10, e.
Ægean ſea, deſcribed, 202, R. Iſlands in it, 203, & ſeq.
Ægeates, whence ſo called, 271, d.
Ægina, iſland, deſcribed, 243, b. Its trade, &c. ibid. & ſeq. By whom ſubdued, 245, a.
Ægineans invaded by the *Samians*, 189, c. Their revenge on them, 193, b.
Ægis, metropolis of *Macedonia*, plundered by *Pyrrhus*, 471, f.
Ægypt, the kings of, 623, & ſeq.
Ægyptians, why diſaffected to the *Perſians*, 345, c. —— aſtronomers flattery to *Alexander*, 350, a.

Æmathia, *Macedonia* why ſo called, 253, a. Deſcribed, 256, a.
Æmilius joins the *Rhodian* fleet, 150, & ſeq.
—— ſent againſt *Antiochus*, 556, & ſeq. Defeats his fleet, 559, d.
Ænoe, a city in *Icaria*, 211, f.
Ænos betrayed to the *Macedonians*, 147, b.
—— metropolis of the *Cicones*, 790, c.
Æolian iſlands deſcribed, 10, c.
Æolians, firſt inhabiters of *Lesbos*, 105, d.
Æolus, firſt king of the *Siculi*, 13, c.
Æropas, king of *Macedon*, 273. —— Guardian of *Macedon*, 284, d. His meſſage to *Ageſilaus*, ib. e.
Æſchines's character of king *Philip*, 295, d. Sent to the *Amphyctons* court, 305 f.
Æſculapius worſhipped at *Cos*, 812, d.
Æſtrians, where ſituate, 257, b.
Ætna, a burning mount, in *Sicily*, 9.
Ætolians diſtreſſed by *Antipater*, 451, c. Make peace with him, ibid. d. Invade *Theſſaly*, 452, b. Defeated, ibid. d. Treacherous to the *Acarnanians*, 460. Puniſhed by *Philip*, 461, a.
Agathoclea married to *Philopator*, 646, e. Her ſad cataſtrophe, 647, b.
Agathocles, tyrant of *Sicily*, his birth and education, 79, & ſeq. Riſe and ſucceſs, 80. Narrowly miſſes being murdered, 81, a. His perjury and cruelties to the *Syracuſians*, ibid & ſeq. Proclaimed king, 82. a. Defeated, ibid. d. Carries the war into *Africa*, ibid. & ſeq. His ſucceſs there, 83, & ſeq. Treachery to *Ophellas*, 86, a, b. Reduces *Sicily*, ibid. d. Deſerts *Africa*, ibid. & ſeq. His cruelty in *Sicily*, 87, b. Subdues part of *Italy*, ibid. e, f. His death and character, ibid. & ſeq.
—— the ſon of *Lyſimachus*, his ſucceſs againſt *Demetrius*, 444. Poiſoned by his father, 468, d.
Agathyrna, a city in *Sicily*, 8, d.
Ageſilaus, meſſage to *Eropas*, 284, e.
Agis defeated by *Antipater*, 354, a.
Agnon ſent againſt the *Macedonians*, 280, b.
Agragas, the city of, vid. *Agrigentum*, 5, e.
—— the river of, ibid.
Agrigentum in *Sicily*, deſcribed, 5, e. When, and by whom founded, 12, a. The famed buildings of it, 17, d. Beſieged by the *Carthaginians*, 41. Abandoned to them, 42, c. Betrayed to the *Romans*, 127, c.
Agrion's ſhort ſucceſs againſt the *Macedonians*, 474, d.
Ajax, king of *Salamis*, 176.
Alaſa, a city in *Sicily*, 8, c.
Alala, the *Macedonian* huzza, 269, e.
Albana, a city in *Albania*, 837, d.
Albania, the kingdom of, deſcribed, 837, & ſeq.
Albanians, their ſimple manners, 837, e, f. Government, kings, 838, & ſeq.
Albanus, the river of, 837, d.
Alceas, where born, 204, b. A coward, ibid. c.
Alcetas, king of *Macedonia*, 273.—— Brother of *Perdiccas* betrays *Eumenes*, 421, f. Proſcribed, 423, c. Joins himſelf to him, 424, a. Defeated by *Antigonus*, ibid. & ſeq. His death, 425, a.
—— I. king of *Epirus*, driven out, 800, f.
—— II. Defeated by *Caſſander*, 803, c. Murdered, ibid. d. & 461, e.
Alcibiades invades *Sicily*, 26, & ſeq. Recalled to *Athens*, 27, e.
Alcimalus ſent to ſettle democracy in *Greece*, 327, e.
Alcyonius generouſly reproved by *Pyrrhus*, 472, d.
Alexander prince of *Macedon*'s ſtratagem againſt the *Perſian* embaſſadors, 274, & ſeq. His ſpeech to the *Athenians*, 277, & ſeq. Warns them againſt *Mardonius*, 279, a. His generoſity to the *Argives*, ibid. d.
—— II. ſucceeds *Amyntas* II. 285, & ſeq. Outwits the *Theſſalians*, 286, a. His death, ib. c.
—— *the Great* born, 291, a. & C. Made regent during *Philip*'s abſence, 299, & ſeq. Saves his life, 305. His rencounter with *Attalus*, 310, c. Recalled to court, 311, a. Whether privy to his father's murder, 314, P. His education and character, 312. N. 317. Puniſhes his father's murderers, 318. Declared general of *Greece*, ib. c. Invades the *Triballi* and *Illyrians*, ibid. & ſeq. His ſudden return into *Greece*, 320, d. Takes and ſacks *Thebes*, 321, & ſeq. Viſits *Diogenes*, 323, a. His expedition into *Aſia*, ibid. & ſeq. Victory at the *Granicus*, 325. Comes to *Epheſus*, 327, d. Diſmiſſes his fleet, why, 328, a. Invades *Caria*, 330, a. Sends his married ſoldiers to winter at home, ibid. e. Diſcovers a conſpiracy, 331. His paſſage through the ladders, whether miraculous, ibid. H. March through *Phrygia*, 332, c. Cuts the *Gordian* knot, 333, c, d. Enters *Cilicia*, ib. f. Cured by *Philip*, 334, c. Fights *Darius* at *Iſſus*, 335, & ſeq. His generoſity to his family, 336, L. Invades *Cœlo-Syria*, 337. His letter to *Darius* 338. Moderation towards the *Greek* embaſſadors, 339. Beſieges *Tyre*, ibid. & ſeq. Cruelty to the *Tyrians*, 342. Anſwer to *Darius*, 343. Reſpectful behaviour to the *Jewiſh* high-prieſt, ibid. & ſeq. Takes *Gaza*, 344, & ſeq. Goes into *Egypt*, 345, & ſeq. Builds a new city there, ibid. Conſults the *Hammonic* oracle, 347. Settles the *Egyptian* government, 348, b, c. Paſſes the *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, 349. Defeats *Darius* at *Guagamela*, 350, & ſeq. Goes to *Babylon*, 353. To *Suſa*, 354. Deſtroys *Perſepolis*, 356, & ſeq. Marches into *Media*, 357. Purſues *Darius*'s traytors, 359. His vain attempt againſt luxury, 362. Conſpired againſt, 363. Puniſhes the conſpirators, 365. His cruelty to the *Branchida*, 368, S. To ſome tyrants, 107, c. Favour to the *Mitylenians*, &c. ibid. Ill ſucceſs againſt the *Scythians*, 371. Degenerates, 374, & ſeq. Kills *Clytus*, 375, & ſeq. W. Challenges divine honours, 378, & ſeq. Conſpired againſt, 380. Re-enters *Sogdia* 382. In love with *Roxana*, 384, d. Marches towards *Indus*, 385, & ſeq. His cruelty to the *Indians*, 388, b, c. Paſſes the *Indus*, 390. The *Hydaſpes*, ibid. & ſeq. His treatment of king *Porus*, 392. Penetrates further into *India*, 393, & ſeq. Stops at the river *Hypaſis*, 394, & ſeq. His ſtrange vanity, 395, E. Embarques his army, 397. In imminent danger from the *Malli*, 398. Sails down the *Indus* into the ocean, 401. Goes by land to *Babylon*, 402, & ſeq. Takes two wives, 405, b, c. Generoſity to his army, ibid. & ſeq. Quells a mutiny on the *Tigris*, 406, & ſeq. Goes into *Media*, 407. *Babylon*, 408, & ſeq. Threatened with ill omens, 409, & ſeq. and N. His death, 411, & ſeq. and O. Character, 412. His vaſt deſigns ſet aſide, 418, b, c. His corps buried in *Egypt*, 421.
—— the ſon of *Alexander the Great*, 413, a. Impriſoned by *Caſſander*, 462, a. Murdered by him, ibid.
—— the ſon of *Polyſperchon*, his character, 453, d. Favoured by *Antigonus*, 459, d, e. Made general of *Peloponneſus*, ibid. f. Murdered, 460.
—— the ſon of *Caſſander*, drives his brother out of *Macedon*, 473, b. Put to death by *Demetrius*. ibid. 442, b. 465, e.
—— king of *Epirus* allies with *Philip*, 801, b. Wars againſt the *Brutii*, ibid. d. Deceived by an oracle, ibid. e. Defeated and killed, 802, a, b. His character, ibid. c. d.
—— the ſon of *Pyrrhus*, invades *Macedon*, 473, a. 820, c, d. Driven out by *Demetrius*, ibid.
—— the ſon of *Perſeus* ſent priſoner to *Rome*, 499. Forced to a private life, 500, d.
—— a ſham ſon of *Perſeus* invades *Macedon*, 505, d, e.
—— prince of *Syria* revolts againſt *Antiochus*, 530. His tragical end, 533, e.
—— *Balas* ſet up againſt *Demetrius*, 594, a. Acknowledged by the *Romans*, ibid. e. Courts the *Jews*, 595, b. Defeats and kills *Demetrius*, ibid. & ſeq. Marries *Cleopatra*, 596, b. Degenerates, ibid. & ſeq. Abandoned by *Philometor*, 598, c. Defeated

Defeated and killed, ibid. & ſeq. His character, 599, K. 600, & ſeq. His coin, 621, note.
—— *Zebina* ſet up againſt *Demetrius*, 611, & S. His character, 612, b. Defeated by *Phyſcon*, 613, a. His death, ibid. Coin, 622, note.
—— *Janneus* defeated by *Aretas*, 616, f. Beſieges *Ptolemais*, 660, a. Defeated by *Lathurus*, ibid. c, d. Spared by *Cleopatra*, 661, e.
—— the ſon of *Phyſcon* ſet up againſt his elder brother, 659, b. Kills his mother, 662, a. Defeated and killed, ibid. c.
——II. the grandſon of *Phyſcon*, murders *Cleopatra*, 665, c. Baniſhed for his cruelties, ibid. e, f. Bequeaths *Egypt* to the *Romans*, 666, a, b.
—— the *Pherean* wars againſt the king of *Macedon*, 285, f. Murdered, 292, a.
—— the ſon of *Eropas* conſpires againſt *Alexander the Great*, 331, a. G.
—— king of *Emeſſa* taken priſoner, 848.
Alexandra, queen of the *Jews*, ſues to *Tigranes*, 701, d.
Alexandria, when and by whom built, 368. Beſieged by *Antiochus*, 577.
Alexandrians, their fidelity to *Philometor*, 575, e. Greatly oppreſſed by *Phyſcon*, 655, & ſeq. Maſſacred, 657, b.
Alexandrian library deſcribed, 629. Deſtroyed by the *Saracens*, 630.
Alga, a city in *Eubœa*, deſcribed, 249, e.
Aliacmon, a river in *Macedonia*, 260, c.
Almopians, where ſituate, 257, b.
Alopeconneſus, where ſituate, 788, a.
Althamenes ſettled in *Crete*, why, 132, b, c.
Amadocus, king of the *Odryſæ*, 792, a.
Amalthea, one of *Jupiter*'s nurſes, 165, b.
Amaſia, a city in *Pontus*, deſcribed, 720, d.
Amaſis's letter to *Polycrates*, 191, b. Breaks his alliance with him, why, ibid. e.
Amaſtrine married to *Craterus*, 405, c.
Amaſtris murdered by her ſons, 825, b.
—— a city built by her, ibid.
Amathus, a city of *Cyprus*, 173, d.
Amathuſa, part of *Cyprus*, 175, a.
Amathuſians ſacrifice to *Oneſilus*, why, 178, b.
Amazons, ſome account of them, 721, c, d.
Ambiſurus's ſubmiſſion and preſents to *Alexander*, 390, b.
Ambracia, a city in *Epirus*, 796, b.
Aminias, a *Rhodian* commander, killed, 142, b.
Amiſus, a city in *Pontus*, deſcribed, 720, c. Surrendered to *Lucullus*, 744, d. 747.
Ammon, *Jupiter*, the temple and oracle of, 347, d.
Ammonius's cruelties, 596, c. Murdered by the *Antiochians*, 598, d.
Amphaxis, the region of, deſcribed, 256, c.
Amphialus ſettles at *Pergamus*, 800, a.
Amphicrates, king of *Samos*, wars againſt *Ægina*, 189, c.
Amphimachus's lot after *Alexander*'s death, 423, e.
Amphipolis beſieged by *Braſidas*, 281, & ſeq. Taken by *Philip*, 290, c.
Amphipolus of *Syracuſe*, his office, 78, a.
Amphytrio conquers *Cephalonia*, 242, b.
Amphyctions condemn the *Locrians*, 306, e. Chuſe *Philip* general, ibid. e.
Amyntas king of *Macedon*, 273. His reception of the *Perſian* embaſſadors, 274, d. Zeal for the *Perſians*, 276, & ſeq. Cuts off the uſurper, 285, a. Subdues the *Olynthians*, ibid. b, c.
—— *Alexander*'s governor murdered, 320, d.
—— —— general ſuſpected of treaſon, 366, d. Cleared, ibid.
Anacus, a river in *Sicily*, 10, b.
Ananias, a *Jewiſh* time-ſerver, 849, e, f.
Anaphas I. and II. kings of *Cappadocia*, 764.
Anapis, a river in *Sicily*, 5, b.
Anaxales ſeizes *Zancle*, 12, a.
Anaxarchus pounded to death, 179, c.
—— the ſophiſt's flattering ſpeech to *Alexander*, 378, c.
Anaximenes ſaves *Lampſacus*, 325, a.
Anchor, why and how born by the *Seleucidæ*, 510, a. & A.
Andranodorus, ſon-in-law to *Hiero*, 100, c. Debauches young *Hieronymus*, 101. Becomes head of a party, 103, f. Submits to the ſenate, 104, e, f. Choſen magiſtrate, 105, a. Undermines the republic, ibid. & ſeq. Put to death, 106, b.
Andrians anſwer to *Themiſtocles*, 227, a.
Andriſcus ſet up for *Philip* the ſon of *Perſeus*, 501, Sent priſoner to *Rome*, ibid. e. Eſcapes into *Thrace*, 502, a. Invades *Macedon*, 503. Defeats the *Romans*, 504, b. Turns tyrant, ibid. b, c. Defeated, 505. Sent priſoner to *Rome*, ibid. d.
Androgeus murdered at *Athens*, 166, f.
Andromachus reſtored to *Achæus* by the *Rhodians*, 145, d.
Andronicus forced to ſurrender *Tyre*, 433, b.
—— *Perſeus*'s governor in *Theſſaly* put to death, 488, a.
—— murders *Onias*, 574, c. Put to death for it, ibid. d. —— a cruel governor of *Samaria*, 577, a.
Andros iſland deſcribed, 226. Subdued by the *Athenians*, 227, a, b.
—— metropolis of the iſland beſieged by *Themiſtocles*, 227, a. Its ruins deſcribed, ibid. d.
Anicetus invades *Pontus*, 760, f. Delivered up to the *Romans*, 761.
Anicius ſent to *Illyria*, 490, f. His ſucceſs there, 498, E.
Annius's forged hiſtory, how diſcovered, 522, M.
——— king of *Delos*, 231, d.
Antandros, iſland, why ſo called, 226, d.
Anticyra, famed for its ellebore, 252, c. No iſland of that name, ibid.
Antigenes's lot after *Alexander*'s death, 423, e. Treachery to *Eumenes*, 430. Cruel puniſhment, ibid. f.
Antigonia razed by *Seleucus*, 514, f.
Antigonus invades *Rhodes*, 137, & ſeq. His lot after *Alexander*'s death, 417, b. 423, f. Defeats *Alcetas*, 424, & ſeq. Outwitted by *Eumenes*, 425, b. Repulſed with loſs, 427. Defeated by *Eumenes*, 428, & ſeq. His treachery to him, 429, & ſeq. And to his own friends, 430, f. Marches into *Babylon*, 431, c. Seizes *Syria* and *Phœnice*, 432. Recovers them from *Ptolemy*, 433, e. Makes a new partition with the confederates, 435, b. Invaded by them, ibid. d. Takes the title of king, 437, b. His extraction and character, ibid. & ſeq. Ill ſucceſs againſt *Egypt*, 438, & ſeq. Invaded by the confederates, 440, & ſeq. Slain at the battle of *Iſſus*, 441, a.
—— the ſon of *Demetrius*, his filial piety, 447, a. Gentleneſs, 466, c, d.
—— *Gonatus* ſeizes the crown of *Macedon*, 470, e, f. Defeats the *Gauls*, 471, b. Invaded by *Pyrrhus*, ibid. c. Expelled by him, ibid. e. Defeats him at *Argos*, 472. Deſerted by his men, 473. Takes the citadel of *Corinth*, ibid. f. His death, 474, b.
—— *Doſon* choſen regent of *Macedon*, 475, b. His character, ibid. c, d. Courted by the *Achæans*, ibid. f. Friendſhip to *Aratus*, 476, c. Succeſs againſt *Cleomenes*, ibid. & ſeq. Kindneſs to the *Spartans*, 477, a. Defeats the *Illyrians*, ibid. b. His death, ibid. c.
Antioch, metropolis of *Syria*, 509. By whom built, 414, e. Deſcribed, ibid. & ſeq. & E. Burnt by the *Jews*, 602, d.
—— metropolis of *Mygdonia*, where ſituate, 532. R.
Antiochis, her ſpurious brood, 592, e.
Antiochus Soter's ſucceſs in *Sicily*, 148, d. Anſwer to the *Rhodians*, ibid. f. Forced to retire into *Sardis*, 150, e. Defeated at ſea, 151, b, c. And land, ibid. d. Pretenſions to *Macedon*, 470. Succeeds his father *Seleucus* in *Syria*, 522. Yields *Greece* to *Antigonus*, 523, a. Why ſurnamed *Soter*, ibid. c. Defeated at *Sardis*, ibid. d. His death, ibid. Coin, 620, W.

—— *Theos*, why ſo called, 523, e. Wars with *Egypt*. 524, d, e. Loſes ſeveral provinces, 525. Makes peace with *Ptolemy*, ibid. e. Poiſoned by his wife, ibid. & ſeq. His coin, 620, W.

—— *Hierax*, why ſo called, 527. Wars againſt his brother, 528, a. Expelled *Syria*, ibid. & ſeq. His death, 529, e.

—— *the Great* invades *Egypt*, 531, c. Forced to retire, ibid. f. Defeats his rebellious ſubjects, 533. Wars againſt *Ptolemy*, 535, & ſeq. Defeats him, 537, e. Marches into *Judæa*, ibid. & ſeq. Defeated by *Ptolemy*, 538, d. Makes peace with him, 539, b. Marches againſt the *Achæans*, ibid. & ſeq. Againſt *Arſaces*, 541, b. Invades *Bactria*, ibid. e. *India*, 542, b, c. Joins *Philip* againſt *Egypt*, ibid. & ſeq. Recovers *Paleſtine*, &c. 543, d, e. Allies with *Ptolemy*, 544. His conqueſts in *Aſia Minor*, ibid. & ſeq. In *Cherſoneſus*, 545. Anſwer to the *Roman* embaſſadors, 546, a. Sends his ſon to *Rome*, 548. Declares war againſt it, 549, & ſeq. Invades *Piſidia*, 550, & ſeq. His conference with the *Roman* deputies, 551, & ſeq. Marries a young wife, 554, e. Defeated by the *Romans*, ibid. f. At ſea, 555. Invades *Troas*, 557, & ſeq. Defeated at ſea, 559, e, f. His ill conduct, 560. Sues to the *Romans*, 561. His gallant army, 563. Defeated at *Magneſia*, 564. Makes peace with *Rome*, 565, & ſeq. & Q. His death, 567. Reign foretold by *Daniel*, 568, R. His coin, 620, W.

—— *Epiphanes*, the ſon of *Antiochus the Great*, ſent hoſtage to *Rome*, 565, f. Exchanged for *Demetrius*, 570, d. Mounts the *Syrian* throne, 571, f. His character, ibid. & ſeq. War with *Egypt*, 573, & ſeq. His embaſſy to *Rome*, 574, f. Injuſtice to the *Jews*, 575, d. Conquers *Egypt*, ib. & ſeq. Marches into *Judæa*, 576. Profanes and plunders the temple, ibid. & ſeq. Returns into *Egypt*, 577. His career ſtopt by the *Romans*, 579, & ſeq. Wreaks his revenge on the *Jews*, 580, & ſeq. His gambols at the games of *Daphne*, 581, & ſeq. Repulſed at *Elymais*, 583, a. His miſerable end, ibid. & ſeq. His coin, 620, W.

—— *Eupator* ſucceeds his father in *Syria*, 585, a. His ill ſucceſs againſt the *Jews*, 586. & ſeq. Treachery to them, 588, b. Put to death. 691, c, d. His coin, 621, note.

—— *Theos* the ſon of *Balas*, ſet up by *Tryphon*, 602, b, L. Crowned at *Antioch*, 603, a. His coin, 622, note.

—— *Sidetes*, whence ſo called, 606, O. Marries his brother's wife, ibid. c. His letter to *Simon Maccabee*, ibid. e. Treachery to him, 607, & ſeq. Defeats the *Parthians*, 608. His death, 609. And character, ibid. & ſeq.

—— *Grypus* ſet upon the *Syrian* throne, 612. Defeats his brother *Cyzicenus*, 613, f. Defeated by him, 614, e. Divides the kingdom with him, ibid. f. Falls out with him, 615, a. His death, ibid. c. Coin, 622, note.

—— *Cyzicenus* mounts the throne, 615, b. Defeated and killed by *Seleucus*, ibid. c.

—— *Euſebes* defeats *Seleucus*, 615, d. Wars with *Philip*, ibid. f. Defeated, 616. Driven out by *Tigranes*, 617, a.

—— *Dionyſius* ſupplants his brother *Philip*, 616, c. Cut off by the *Arabians*, ibid. e.

—— *Aſiaticus* ſent to *Rome*, 617, c. His adventure at *Syracuſe*, ibid. & ſeq. Reigns over part of *Syria*, 619, d. Stript of it by *Pompey*, ibid. & ſeq. His death, 620, a.

—— king of *Commagene* defeated, and reſtored by *Pompey*, 853, b. Put to death, ibid. c.

—— II. ſucceeds his father, ib. d. —— III. aſſiſts *Veſpaſian*, ibid. e —— IV. ſerves under the *Romans*, ib d.

Antipater's character, 309, b. Conduct in *Greece*, 353, c. d. Victory over *Agis*, 354, a. Whether guilty of *Alexander*'s death, 411, & ſeq. O. His poſt after that prince's death, 417, a. Choſen protector to his ſon, 423, d. His deſcent and character, 448, a, b. Marches againſt the revolted *Greeks*, 449. Defeated by *Leoſthenes*, ibid. e. By *Antiphilus*, ibid. f. Makes peace with them, 450. Wars with the *Ætolians*, 451. Marches againſt *Perdiccas*, ibid. & ſeq. Choſen protector, 452, a. His death and ſucceſſor, 453, & B.

—— the ſon of *Caſſander*, his bloody parricide, 465, a. Expelled by his brother, ibid. e. Put to death by *Lyſimachus*, ibid. f.

—— the ſon of *Philip*, choſen king of *Macedon*, 470, c.

—— the *Jew*, aſſiſts *Cæſar* in *Egypt*, 678, b.

Antiphilus's ſucceſs againſt *Antipater*, 449, f.

Antiphon's biting anſwer to *Dionyſius*, 59, c.

Antiſſa, a city in *Lesbos*, deſcribed, 203, & ſeq.

Antony, Marc, ſent into *Egypt*, 670, f. His ſucceſs there, 671, a, b. Captivated by *Cleopatra*, 679, & ſeq. Marries *Octavia*, 681, d. Bewitched from her by *Cleopatra*, ibid. e, f. His profuſeneſs to her, 682. Treachery to *Artabanes*, ibid. &. ſeq. Betrayed by *Artuaſdes*, 708, a. Seizes on his kingdom, ibid. e, f. Marches againſt *Octavianus*, 683. Defeated by him, 684, d. Betrayed by *Cleopatra*, 686, & ſeq. Kills himſelf, 687, d.

Aornus, a city in *India*, deſcribed, 388, f. The rock of, taken by *Alexander*, 389, e.

Apamea, by whom built, 515, a. Taken by *Trajan*, 173, e.

Apanomeria, the harbour of, 215, d.

Apelles, where born, 212, f.

Apellicon's noble library, 738.

Apion, the ſon of *Phyſcon*, made king of *Cyrene*, 658, f. Bequeaths it to the *Romans*, 662.

Apocalypſe, the houſe of, at *Pathmos*, 212, b.

Apollo, his temple at *Delos* deſcribed, 228, b, c. His ſtatue, ibid. Offerings how performed, 229, d, e. Oracle, ibid. & ſeq.

Apollocrates left to command the citadel of *Syracuſe*, 69, b. Surrenders it to *Dion*, 72, b.

Apollonia, a city in *Macedon*, 225, a, & D. The country of, ſubmits to *Glaucias*, 461, c.

Apollonides's ſpeech to the *Syracuſians*, 108.

Apollonius's bloody expedition againſt the *Jews*, 580, & ſeq. Defeated by *Jonathan*, 597. Several generals of that name, ibid. I.

Apollophanes's advice to *Antiochus*, 526, e.

Appius, Claud. ſent into *Sicily*, 93, c. 95, b. Enters *Meſſana*, 96, b. Marches againſt *Hippocrates*, 109, a. Sent againſt *Perſeus*, 487. Sadly diſtreſſed, 488, f. Speech againſt *Pyrrhus*, 812, b.

Apſus, river in *Macedon*, deſcribed, 260, c.

Apteras, king of *Crete*, 165, c. & not.

Apteron, a city in *Crete*, 161, e.

Aquilius's inhumanity to the *Pergamenians*, 785, a. Subdues the kingdom to the *Romans*, ibid. c. Defeated by *Mithridates*, 730, f. His cruel death, 731, c.

Arabs, invaded by *Antigonus*, 433, & ſeq.

Arachoſia, ſurrendered to *Alexander*, 367.

Aratus, highly favoured by *Ptolemy Phil.* 636, e. His policy againſt the *Macedonians*, 473, & ſeq. Revenge on the treacherous *Athenians*, 474, e. Joins with *Antigonus Doſon*, 476, b. Poiſoned by *Philip*, 477.

Araxes, a river in *Armenia*, 692, d. 694, a, & C. From whom ſo called, 696, e.

Arbela, the battle of, 350, & ſeq.

Arcadia, a city in *Crete*, deſcribed, 161, f.

Archagathus, defeated in *Africa*, 86, d. Killed, ibid. f.

Archeanax, tyrant of *Lesbos*, 106, c.

Archelais, in *Cappadocia*, whence ſo called, 762, c.

Archelaus, king of *Macedon*, 283. A lover of learning, 284. His death, ibid. c.

—— king of *Egypt*, defeated by *Gabinius* 671, b. His gallant death, ibid. c.

Archelaus's ſucceſſes in *Aſia*, 733, & ſeq. Defeat and treachery, 734, & ſeq. & T.

—— king of *Cappadocia*, 768.

Archias,

Archias, founder of *Syracuſe*, 11, c.— Treachery to *Ptolemy* puniſhed, 653, c.
Archidamus, defeated by *Demetrius*, 442, a.
Archilochus, where born, 223, a.
Archimedes's curious ſhip built for *Hiero*, 99, d. Brave defence of *Syracuſe*, 111, f. Machines deſcribed, 112, & ſeq. Death and character, 122, & ſeq. Other wonderful engines, 123, & ſeq.
Archipelago, Vide *Ægean* ſea, 202, R.
Aretas, choſen king of *Damaſcus*, 616, c. Defeats the *Jews*, ibid. f.
Argæus ſeizes the crown of *Macedon*, 273, 285.
Argaus, mount, deſcribed, 762, d.
Argis, why honoured by the *Delians*, 229, f.
Argives conquer *Macedonia*, 262, a.
Argonauts, their expedition into *Colchis*, 834.
Argos, treacherouſly entered by *Pyrrhus*, 472, c. Doubly beſet, 816, & ſeq.
Ariadne's rape and feſtival, 220, f. 221, note.
Arians, defeated by *Alexander*, 361, e, f. By *Eriggus*, 367, d.
Ariarammes, I. and II. kings of *Cappadocia*, 764, & ſeq.
Ariarathes, I. king of *Cappadocia*, 764.
—— II. Crucified by *Perdiccas*, 420, b. 764, e.
—— III. Recovers his father's kingdom, ibid. & ſeq.
—— IV. Defeats *Arſaces*, 765, a.
—— V. Allies with the *Romans*, ibid. b.
—— VI. His character, 592, & ſeq. 765. Dethroned by *Demetrius*, 593. 765.
—— VII. Poiſoned by *Mithridates*, 766, e.
—— VIII. Stabbed by the ſame hand, 726, 728, f.
—— IX. Dethroned by the ſame, 767, a.
Arideus, *Alexander*'s brother, appointed to ſucceed him, 415, b. Called *Philip* by the army, ibid. e. Put to death by *Olympias*, 457.
—— the ſon of *Alexander* by *Roxana*, born, 417, a.
Ariobarzanes, king of *Armenia*, 710.
Arion, firſt tragedian, 204, a.
Ariſba, a city in *Lesbos*, deſcribed, 203, d.
Ariſtarchus, king of *Colchis*, 835.
Ariſteas, where born, 201, O.
Ariſteus, the firſt who peopled *Ceos*, 216, e.
Ariſto, diſcovers a plot againſt the *Syracuſian* ſenate, 206, a.
Ariſtobulus, a learned *Jewiſh* philoſopher, 654, c.
Ariſtodemus's, ſpeech to *Antigonus*, 184, b.
Ariſtomenes, ſent guardian of *Egypt*, 543, 648. Put to death for his fidelity, 649, b.
—— Made king of *Cappadocia*, 767. Wars with *Mithridates*, ibid. & ſeq.
—— II. Friend to the *Romans*, 767, f. Put to death by *Caſſius*, 768, a.
—— III. Killed by *Marc Antony*, ibid. b.
Ariſtonicus ſeizes on *Pergamus*, 782. Defeats *Craſſus*, 783, d. Defeated by *Perpena*, 784, b. Sent priſoner to *Rome*, ibid.
Ariſtotle, where born, 256, c. Teaches at *Mitylene*, 204. Declares his ſucceſſor, 205. Whether converſant with *Moſes*'s writings, 230, & F. His books carried off by *Sylla*, 738, X.
Armenia, the *Leſſer*, deſcribed, 718. Its kings, ib. & ſeq. — Kingdom of, deſcribed, 691, & ſeq. Its ſoil, 695, c. Origin and government, 693. Kings, ibid. & ſeq. Given to *Cleopatra*'s ſon, 708. Recovered, 709. Becomes tributary to *Rome*, ibid. & 713. & ſeq. Its various fates ſince, 717, & ſeq.
Armoſata, where ſituate, 693, b.
Arſaces ſeizes the *Armenian* crown, 710, b. Murdered, ibid.
—— Revolts from *Antiochus*, 525, b. Founds the kingdom of *Bactria*, ibid, c. d. Invades *Syria*, 528, e.
—— II. Invades *Media*, 521. Makes peace with *Antiochus*, ibid. d, e.
Arſanes, brought bound to *Alexander*, 373, d.
Arſinoe, queen of *Egypt*, murdered, 646, c.
—— Daughter of *Auletes*, ſet up by *Ganymede*, 676, c. Taken priſoner by *Cæſar*, 679. Led in triumph, ibid. Put to death by *Antony*, ibid. d.
—— A city in *Cyprus*, 173, a. In *Cyrene*, deſcribed, 662.
Artabanes, led in triumph by *Marc Antony*, 682.
Artabanus's bold letter to *Tiberius*, 710, d.
Artabazanes, invaded by *Antiochus*, 534, b.
Artabazes, firſt king of *Pontus*, 724, a.
—— King of *Media*, wars with the *Parthians*, 845, a.
Artabazus's fidelity to *Darius*, 359, c. Rewarded by *Alexander*, 360, c.
Artagera, taken and razed by the *Romans*, 709.
Artanes, killed by *Tigranes*, 700, b. 718, e.
Artaniſſa, a city in *Iberia*, 835, c.
Artaxata, metropolis of *Armenia*, 692, d. Taken by *Pharaſmenes*, 710, c. Razed by *Corbulo*, 715, a.
Artaxias I. king of *Armenia*, revolts againſt *Antiochus*, 582, d, & Y. Defeated by him, ibid. & 698, & ſeq. Taken priſoner 699, c.
—— II. Driven out of *Armenia*, 708, e. Recovers it, 709, a. Strangled, ibid.
—— III. Crowned by *Germanicus*, 710, b.
Artaxerxes's expedition againſt *Cyprus*, 179, & ſeq. Forced to make peace, 181, c.
Artoces, king of *Iberia*, wars with *Pompey*, 836, b.
Artuaſdes I. ſucceeds *Tigranes* in *Armenia*, 707, f. His treachery to *Marc Antony*, 708, a. Caught and put to death by him, ibid. f.
—— II. invaded by *Phraartes*, 709, c. Reſtored by *Caius*, ibid. d. His death, ibid.
Artemiſia ſurprizes *Rhodes*, 136, d. Her character, ibid. f.
Artemiſium, a promontory in *Eubœa*, 247, a, e, f.
Artemon, inventor of battering rams, *&c.* 200, b.
Artybius, killed by the *Cypriots*, 178, a.
Arviſia, the wine of, famed, 108, b.
Aſander, gets the kingdom of *Boſporus*, 843, e. Starves himſelf, ibid. f.
Asbeſtos, ſtone, where digged, 248.
Aſcalon taken by the *Jews*, 597, c.
Aſcanian iſlands, whence ſo called, 203, b. Deſcribed, ibid. & ſeq.
Aſclepiada, kings of *Rhodes*, 134, e.
Aſculum, the battle of, 813, & not.
Aſdrubal ſent into *Sicily*, 78, b. Defeated by *Timoleon*, ibid. d, e.
Aſpendus taken by *Alexander*, 332, a.
Aſphaltes, the lake of, meaſured by *Demetrius*, 434, d.
Aſpii, invaded by *Alexander*, 386, d.
Aſps of *Egypt*, how they kill, 690, b.
Aſſaceni invaded by *Alexander*, 387, b.
Aſtacus in *Bithynia*, different from *Nicomedia*, 822, b, c.
Aſter, a famed archer, the ſtory of, 291, note.
Aſterius, king of *Crete*, 163, e. Marries *Europe*, 166, b.
Atalanta put to death, 423, c.
Atamas, king of *Cappadocia*, 764.
Atamirus, *Jupiter*, why ſo called, 132, c.
Atargatus, the temple of, burnt, 587, b.
Atarneus, why given to the *Chians*, 210, b.
Atheneas ſent againſt the *Arabs*, 433. Slain by them, 434.
Athenians invited into *Sicily*, 24, & ſeq. Beaten by the *Syracuſians*, 29, & ſeq. Blockaded by the *Lacedæmonians*, 30, & ſeq. Beaten before *Syracuſe*, 31, a, b. At ſea, 32, & ſeq. Totally ruined in *Sicily*, 34, & ſeq. Their priſoners cruelly treated, 36, e, f. Their noble carriage towards *Dion*, 65, b, c. War with the *Rhodians*, 135, & ſeq. Clap up a peace with them, ibid. & ſeq. Succour *Cyprus* againſt the *Perſians*, 178. Make peace with them, 179, a. Send *Chabrias* into *Cyprus*, 180. War with the *Samians*, 199, c. *Mitylenians*, 206, a. Purify *Delos*, 230. Baniſh the *Pelaſgians* out of *Attica*, 235. Their ill ſucceſs in *Ægine*, 244, not.

note. Fall out with the *Perſians*, 275, & ſeq. Their anſwer to *Alexander*, 278. Defeat the *Perſians*, 279, c. War with *Perdiccas*, 280. Outwitted by *Philip*, 290, d. Aſſiſt the *Olynthians*, 294, a. Send *Phocion* againſt *Philip*, 304, d. Beaten at *Cheronea*, 307. Their rank flattery to *Philip*, 312, b. To *Alexander*, 321, e. Treachery to *Demetrius*, 341, b. Puniſhed, 442, a. Forced to ſubmit to *Antipater*, 450, d, e. Betrayed to *Mithridates*, 733, c.
Athenion ſent into *Judæa*, 640. His kindneſs to *Joſeph*, 641, & ſeq.
Athens taken by *Demetrius*, 442, a. Its government altered by *Antipater*, 451, a, b. Gariſoned by *Gonatus*, 473, a.
Athos mount deſcribed, 233, B.
Atropatia, where ſituate, 534, X.
Atropatene, by whom ſo called, 844, d. The kings of it, ibid. & ſeq. By whom conquered, 845, a, b.
Atropatus makes himſelf ſovereign of *Atropatene*, 844, d.
Attalus king of *Pergamus* defeats the *Gauls*, 769, e. His conqueſts, 771, a, b. Friendſhip to the *Romans*, ibid. c. Love of learning, ibid. d, e. Death, ibid.
——II. brother of *Eumenes*, ſent to *Rome*, 771. His cowardiſe at *Pergamus*, ibid, e, f. Generoſity at *Rome*, 777, a, b. Succeeds his brother, 778. Invaded by *Pruſias*, ibid. Aſſiſted by the *Romans*, 779, b. Aſſiſts *Nicomedes* againſt his father, 780. His death and excellent character, 781.
—— III. his cruelties, 781, & ſeq. Death, 782. Why ſurnamed *Philometor*, ibid. Bequeaths his kingdom to the *Romans*, ibid. & E.
Attalus's ſpeech to *Philip*, 310, c. Abuſe of *Pauſanias*, 313. Treaſonable views, 318. Put to death, ibid. d.
—— *Alexander*'s admiral, 423, e. Joins with *Eumenes*, 424, a. Defeated and taken by *Antigonus*, 424, f.
Autolychus, the famed ſtatue of, 748, O.
Autonomi ſubdued by *Alexander*, 794, a, b.
Auxeſias, her ſtatue erected by the *Epidaurs*, 244, I.
Axiothea, queen of *Paphos*, kills all her daughters, and herſelf, 182, e.
Axius, a river in *Macedonia*, 260, d.
Azizus, laſt king of *Emeſſa*, turns *Jew*, 848, d.

B.

Babylon, the ruins of, deſcribed, 517, b. & H. *Babylonians* ſubmit to *Alexander*, 353, a. Forced to abandon their city, 434, & ſeq. Freed by *Demetrius*, 591, e.
Bacchus defeats the *Titans*, 164, note. Worſhipped at *Naxus*, 220, b.
—— the famous temple of, 222, a.——at *Andros*, 226, d, e.
Bactra, metropolis of *Bactria*, 845, c. Taken by *Alexander*, 369, b.
Bactria, the kingdom of, deſcribed, 845, & ſeq. When and by whom founded, 525, b, c. Invaded by *Alexander*, 369, & ſeq. By the *Scythians*, 846.
Bactrians, their character and brutiſh cuſtoms, 846, a, b.
Bagdad, where ſituate, 518, ſub fin. note.
Bagoas's revenge on *Orſines*, 405, note.
Balas, Vid. *Alexander Balas*, 594.
Baliſta of *Archimedes*, deſcribed, 112, note.
Balm of *Gilead*, a plantation of, near *Aſphaltes*, 434, d.
Baris worſhipped by the *Armenians*, 697, d.
Barſina married to *Alexander*, 405, c. Her iſſue by him, 413. Murdered by *Polyſperchon*, 462, e.
Baryazes put to death by *Alexander*, 405, a.
Barzaentes murders *Darius*, 359, e. Put to death by *Alexander*, 362, a.
Barzanes, by whom conquered, 696, d.
Bas, king of *Bithynia*, 828, c.
Baſcana, where ſituate, 604, N.
Baſil, ſaint, his epiſcopal ſee, 762, b.
Baſtarna invited into *Macedon* by *Philip*, 479, f. Fall out with the *Thracians*, 483, a, b.
Batus made king of *Lybia*, 215, e.
Bazira taken by *Alexander*, 388, e.
Beans, a wonderful kind ſpring out of a lake, 820, d.
Bebrices, their origin, 827, paſſ.
Bellona, the temple of, at *Comana*, 762, b. 763, d.
Belus, the temple of, ſeized by *Antiochus*, 567, c.
Berenice's intriegues at the *Egyptian* court, 468, e.
—— princeſs of *Lydia*, aſſaſſinates *Demetrius*, 524, d.
—— daughter of *Ptolemy* married to *Antiochus*, 525, e.—— murdered by *Laodice*, 526, b.
—— daughter of *Auletes* ſet upon the throne, 667, e. Murders her husband *Seleucus*, ibid. f. Marries *Archelaus*, ibid. & ſeq. Put to death, 671, e.
Berenices-Coma made a conſtellation, 639, e.
Beroſus, his character, writings, &c. 523, f. & ſeq.
Berytus, whether in the iſle of *Cyprus*, 174, c.
Besbicus, iſland, ſeparated from the continent, 202, a.
Beſſi, a people of *Thrace*, deſcribed, 790, a. Conquered by the *Romans*, ibid. b, c.
Beſſus's treaſon to *Darius*, 359, c. Proclaims himſelf king, 361, d. Delivered up to *Alexander*, ibid. & ſeq. His puniſhment and death, 373, e, f. & T.
Bethſan deſcribed, 604, M.
Bethſura beſieged by *Lyſias*, 587, f.
Betis defends *Gaza*, 344, b. *Alexander*'s cruelty to him, ibid. f.
Bibulus's ſons murdered in *Egypt*, 672, f.
Bion, where born, 201, & ſeq. & O.
Births, how celebrated by the *Thracians*, 788, c.
Biſaltæ, where ſituate, 257, a.
Biſtones in *Thrace* ſubdued by the *Romans*, 790.
Bithynia, the kingdom of, deſcribed, 822, & ſeq. Its origin and government, 827, & ſeq. Invaded by *Mithridates*, 729. Reduced into a *Roman* province, 832.
Bithynian embaſſy, whence a proverb, 780, f.
Bithynians, their origin, 827, c. Kings, &c. 828, & ſeq. Defeated by *Mithridates*, 730. Set up *Nicomedes* againſt *Pruſias*, 781.
Bloſſius the philoſopher, his character and death, 784.
Bœotians forced to build *Heraclea*, 823, a, b.
Bogaſi, the two ſtreights of, 186, e.
Boliſſus, *Homer*'s houſe ſhewn at, 108, d.
Bomilcar choſen general againſt *Agathocles*, 84, c. His treachery, ibid, f.——ſent into *Sicily*, 114, c. Retires, ibid. e. Returns with a large fleet, 119, b. Forced back, ibid. c.
Boſporans revolt from *Mithridates*, 843.
Boſporus, the king of, deſcribed, 840, & ſeq. Its government, kings, &c. 841, & ſeq. Given to *Pharnaces*, 843, b, c.
Boterus king of *Bithynia*, 828, c.
Bottiæi, ancient *Thracians*, 829, a.
Brachmans put to death by *Alexander*, 400, d. H.
Branchidæ maſſacred by the ſame, 368, S.
Braſidas ſent to aſſiſt the *Macedonians*, 281, c. His ſucceſs and moderation, ibid. & ſeq. Joins with the *Macedonians*, 282, d. Falls out with *Perdiccas*, ibid. e. Killed before *Amphipolis*, 383, a.
Bruchium, the library of, burnt, 629, d.
Bryges defeats the *Perſians*, 275, f. & ſeq.
Brygs, a people of *Thrace*, 791.
Brytius defeats *Metrophanes*, 733, d.
Bubaris, how reconciled to the *Macedonians*, 275, d.
Bucephalus taken and reſtored by the *Mardi*, 360, e.
—— a city built by *Alexander*, 393, a.
Budorus, a river in *Eubœa*, 247, c.
Butes, king of the *Siculi*, 13, c.
—— the ſon of *Boreas* ſettles in *Naxus*, 220, c. Puniſhed by *Bacchus*, ibid. d.
Byſas, the ſuppoſed founder of *Byzantium*, 787, a, b.

Rythi defeats the *Achæans*, 474, c.
Byzantines war with the *Rhodians*, 144, & ſeq. Forced to a peace, 145, f. Beſieged by *Philip*, 305, b.
Byzantium, by whom founded, 787, a.

C.

Cabetra, a city in *Cappadocia*, 762, c.
Cabira, a city in *Pontus*, 721, a. Surrendered to the *Romans*, 746, b.
Cabiri, an account of thoſe deities, 238, E.
Cadmus, lord of *Cos*, his faithfulneſs to *Gelon*, 16, O.
—— arrival at *Samothrace*, 240.
Cæſar, Julius, ſtudies oratory at *Rhodes*, 740. Compounds with *Auletes* for a large ſum, 666, c. Lands in *Egypt*, 673, c, f. Arbitrats between *Ptolemy* and his ſiſter, 674, c, d. Beſieged in *Alexandria*, 675. Burns *Ptolemy*'s ſhips, 676, a. Defeats *Ganymede*, 677, a, b. Forced to ſwim for his life, ibid. c, d. His victory at *Canopus*, 678. On the *Nile*, ibid. e. Settles the crown on *Cleopatra*, ibid. f, & ſeq. Defeats *Pharnaces*, 759, & ſeq.
Cæſarion, ſon of *Cæſar* by *Cleopatra*, made king of *Egypt* by *Marc Antony*, 683, b. Put to death by *Octavianus*, 691, a.
Caffa, metropolis of *Little Tartary*, 841, a.
Caius ſent to oppoſe the *Parthians*, 709, c. Wounded at *Atagera*, ibid. e. His death, 710, a.
Calanus burns himſelf alive, 405, a.
Calcedon, a city in *Bithynia*, 822, d. Why called the city of the blind, ibid.
Calippus's murder of *Dion* puniſhed, 73, b, c.
Caliſta, iſland, vid. *Thera*, 214.
Caliſthenes's free ſpeech againſt adoring *Alexander*, 378, & ſeq. His character, 380, Y. Death, 381, d.
Callas's ſucceſs againſt *Polyſperchon*, 457, & ſeq.
—— a river in *Eubœa*, 247, c.
Callias, tyrant of *Eubœa*, wars with the *Athenians*, 251, d.
Callicrates prevents the *Achæans* ſuccouring *Egypt*, 579, W.
Callimachus favoured by *Philadelphus*, 639, b. His hymns extant, ibid.
—— a famous engineer, 705, e. 747, d. Put to death, ibid. f.
Callines's ſpeech to *Alexander*, 407, a.
Callipolis, metropolis of *Naxos*, 219, f.
—— the ſtreights of, in *Thrace*, 788, a.
Callycadnus, promontory, where ſituate, 657, in fin. note Q.
Camerina, a city in *Sicily*, deſcribed, 5, c, d. When and by whom built, 12, b. Deſtroyed, 15, c. Forſaken by order of *Dionyſius*, 46, b.
Camirus, a city of *Rhodes*, deſcribed, 129, c.
Campanians, their treachery to the *Entellines*, 48, b.
Camps, how formed among the *Macedonians*, 269, c, &c.
Cappadocia, the kingdom of, deſcribed, 761, & ſeq. Product, 762. Origin, government, &c. ibid. & ſeq. Kings, 764, & ſeq. Subdued by *Tigranes*, 700, c. Invaded by *Mithridates*, 728. Made a *Roman* province, 768, c.
Capros, a river in *Aſſyria*, 533, T.
Caramanians complain to *Alexander*, 403, & ſeq.
Caranus conquers *Macedonia*, 262, a. Firſt king of it, 271.
Carbani, their office, 222, b, c.
Cardia in *Cherſoneſus*, where ſituate, 788, a.
Caria invaded by the *Romans*, 141, & ſeq. Taken from the *Rhodians*, 156, b.
Carians, whence ſo called, 187, d. Firſt inhabitants of *Samos*, 188.
Cariata deſtroyed by *Alexander*, 845, d.
Carnion taken and burnt by the *Maccabees*, 587, b.
Carpaſia, in *Cyprus*, taken by *Demetrius*, 183, a.
Carpathus's iſland deſcribed, 213.
Cars, a city in *Armenia*, deſcribed, 693, B.
Carthaginians, their wars with the *Sicilians*, 15, & ſeq. Defeated by *Gelon*, 17, b, c. Make peace with him, ibid. & ſeq. Invited by the *Egeſtines*, 37. Their cruelty in *Sicily*, 38, f. 39, c. Beaten by the *Syracuſians*, 41. Send *Amilcar* againſt *Dionyſius*, 50. Invade *Sicily*, 51, & ſeq. 100,000 die there of the plague, 54, b, c. Defeated by ſea and land, ibid. & ſeq. Invited by *Icetas*, 75, a. Outwitted by *Timoleon*, ibid. d. Return to *Carthage*, 76, f. Invaded by *Agathocles*, 82, & ſeq. Defeated before *Syracuſe*, 85. Invade *Sicily*, 88, d, e. Beſiege *Meſſana*, 95, b. & ſeq. Defeated by the *Romans*, 107, & ſeq. Send new forces, 125.
Carthea, a city in *Ceos*, deſcribed, 216, f.
Caryſtians worſhip *Briareus*, 248.
Caryſtus taken by the *Romans*, 147, c.
Caſos iſland deſcribed, 213.
Caſſander, whether he poiſoned *Alexander*, 411, & ſeq & O. His poſt after that prince's death, 423, f. Leagues againſt *Antigonus*, 432, a. Repelled by him, ibid. d. Murders *Roxana*, and her ſon, 435, c. 462, a. Invades *Peloponneſus*, 462, b. Corrupts *Polyſperchon*, ibid. e. Raiſes a confederacy againſt *Antigonus*, 463. His death, 464. Hatred to *Alexander*, ibid. C. Defeated by *Demetrius*, 439, d. Makes a new alliance with *Antigonus*, ibid. & ſeq.
—— the ſon of *Antipater*, why he did not ſucceed him, 453, B. His ſeverity to *Demades*, ibid. c. Attempt againſt *Polyſperchon*, 454, & ſeq. Goes to *Nicanor*, 455. Marches againſt *Olympias*, 457. & ſeq. Againſt *Polyſperchon*, 459, a, b. Outwits *Antigonus*, ibid. f. Wars with the *Ætolians*, &c. 460, & ſeq. Ill ſucceſs in *Aſia*, 461, c, d.
Caſſandra, by whom built, 458. f.
Caſſandria, *Potidea* why ſo called, 257, a.
Caſſiope, a city in *Epirus*, 796, a.
Caſſius ſent againſt the *Rhodians*, 158. Subdues them, ibid. & ſeq. Sent againſt *Mithridates*, 730, & ſeq.
—— *Jupiter Caſſius*, his temple, 796, a.
Catana, a city in *Sicily*, deſcribed, 3, b. How deſtroyed, ibid. c. Taken by the *Athenians*, 27, d. By *Dionyſius*, 48, c.
Catanius, *Apollo*, his temple at *Daſtacum*, 763, d.
Cathei confederate againſt *Alexander*, 393, c, d. Defeated, ibid. & ſeq.
Cato ſent againſt his will to take *Cyprus*, 185, c. His ſpeech in favour of the *Rhodians*, 158, & ſeq. His advice to *Auletes*, 667, d.
—— *Portius* expounds the *Sybilline* oracle, 669, b.
Cavarus mediates a peace with the *Rhodians*, 145, f.
Caulonia beſieged by *Dionyſius*, 57, a.
Cea, alias *Ceos*, iſland, deſcribed, 216.
Ceans, a barbarous cuſtom among them, 216, f.
Ceballinus diſcovers a conſpiracy againſt *Alexander*, 364, paſſ.
Celeta, a people of *Thrace*, 795, a.
Celtes ſue to *Alexander*, 319, f. Their anſwer to him, 320, a.
Celydnus, a river in *Macedon*, 260, c.
Cendebæus ſent againſt the *Jews*, 607, & ſeq.
Centuripe, a city in *Sicily*, 9, a.
Cephalenia, vid. *Samos*, 186. Deſcribed, 242, a. By whom conquered, ibid. b.
Cephareus, a promontory in *Eubœa*, 247, a, d.
Ceraſtis, *Cyprus*, why anciently ſo called, 172, & ſeq.
Ceraſus, a city in *Pontus*, why ſo called, 721, f.
Ceraunian mountains in *Epirus*, 798, a.
Ceraunus, where ſituate, 214, a.
Cerines, a city in *Cyprus*, deſcribed, 173, b.
Cerinthus in *Eubœa*, by whom built, 249, d.
Ceſtrius, river, deſcribed, 566, P.
Chabrias's ſucceſs againſt the *Perſians*, 180.—Killed in the ſocial war, 135, b, c.
Chadaca, metropolis of *Albania*, 837, d.
Chalcedon, vid. *Calcedon*, 822, d.
Chalcidene, the kingdom of, deſcribed, 834.
Chalcidians come into *Sicily*, 11, d.
Chalcidica, where ſituate, 256, d.
Chalcis, capital of *Eubœa*, 246, b. Deſcribed 248, f.

Chalcodon, king of *Eubœa*, ſubdues the *Thebans*, 250, d.
Chalonitis, where ſituate, 534, W.
Chaonia, a province in *Epirus*, deſcribed, 795, f.
Characene, the kingdom of, deſcribed, 852, & ſeq. Founded by *Paſines*, 853.
Chares of *Lindus*, maker of the *Coloſſus*, 130, C.
—— the *Athenian*, his raſh enterpriſe againſt *Perſia*, 135, e. Sent to relieve *Perynthus*, 300, b.
Charidemus put to death, 332.
Charilus the *Samian*, his character, 195, note.
Chariſtus, a river in *Colchis*, 833, c.
Charybdis, the famed rock, 2, c.
Chaſmena, when and by whom built, 12, b.
Cheries, why called *Ceraſa*, 721, f.
Cherſis, king of *Salamis*, 177, b.
Cherſobleptes invaded by *Philip*, 298, a. & note.
Cherſon, the ruins of, 841, a.
Cherſoneſus invaded by *Demetrius*, 441.
—— *Thracian* deſcribed, 787, & ſeq. The kings of, 795.—— *Taurica* deſcribed, 840, & ſeq.
Chian ſlaves their faithfulneſs, 211, c.
Chians, their government, kings, &c. 109, & ſeq. Fidelity to the *Ionians*, 197, e. Subdued by the *Perſians*, 210. Revolt and reduced, ibid. c, d. Join in the common confederacy, ibid. & ſeq. Subject to the *Athenians*, 211, a, b. Their various fates ſince, ibid. c, d.
Chimara, its hot baths, 796, b.
Chios, iſland, deſcribed, 107, c, f. Famed for its wines, 108. And maſtic, &c. ibid. paſſ. By whom peopled, 109, a.
——— the city of, deſcribed, 109, c. Deſtroyed by the *Perſians*, 210. Beſieged by *Philip*, 211.
Choaſpians ſubdued by *Alexander*, 386, b.
Chorax, king of *Arabia*, ſtops the overflowing of the *Tigris*, 852, f.
Chorienes beſieged in his fortreſs, 384, e. Surrenders himſelf, 385, b.
Chorſa, a city in *Armenia*, 693, d, B.
Chryſe, one of the *Cyclade* iſlands, 233.
Chryſippus put to death for treaſon, 634, a.
Cicero's injuſtice to *Archimedes*, 122, d, e. Diſcovers his tomb, 124, b. His letter to *Lentulus*, 696, e.
Cicones, a people of *Thrace*, 790.
Cilicia invaded by *Demetrius*, 441, d, e.
Cilles defeated by *Demetrius*, 433, d, e.
Cimmerians, their character, 840, b. A colony of them in *Italy*, ibid. e.
Cimolian earth deſcribed, 219.
Cimolis, iſland, deſcribed, ibid.
Cimon's ſucceſs againſt the *Perſians*, 178, e. Carries the bones of *Theſeus* to *Athens*, 232, d.
Cinyras, firſt king of *Cyprus*, 175, e. His vaſt wealth, 176, a.
Cios defeated, 92, c. Kills himſelf, ibid.
Ciraus, a river in *Eubœa*, 247, e.
Ciſſa river in *Colchis*, 833.
Ciſſæus conquered by *Caranus*, 271, e.
Citium in *Cyprus*, by whom built, 173, d.
City, the great, taken and razed by *Agathocles*, 84, b.
Cius in *Bithynia*, by whom built, 822, a.
Claudius ſent to *Meſſana*, 93, d. His ſpeech to the *Mamertines*, ibid. & ſeq. Takes *Meſſana*, 94, c. Beſieged in it, 95, b.
*Clazomenian*s driven out of *Abdera*, 786, d.
Clearchus, tyrant of *Heraclea*, 825. His parricide and death, ibid. b.
Cleobulina, princeſs of *Rhodes*, her great learning, 134, a.
Cleobulus, king of *Rhodes*, 133, b. One of the ſeven wiſe men, 134, a.
——king of *Sparta*'s contempt of *Mæandrus*'s riches, 197, b. Succeſs againſt the *Achæans*, 475, & ſeq. Defeated by *Antigonus Doſon*, 476, f. Well received by *Evergetes*, 642. Ill treated by *Philopator*, 643. His ſad cataſtrophe, 644, a, b.
Cleopatra, a common name of the *Egyptian* princeſſes, 665, a.
Cleopatra put to death by *Antigonus*, 436, a.—daughter of *Antiochus*, married to *Ptolemy*, 550, e. —wife of *Demetrius*, marries young *Sidetes*, 606, c. Shares *Syria* with *Zebina*, 611. Murders her own ſon, 613, a. Her death and character, 613, c, d. ——wife of *Phyſcon*, invites *Demetrius* againſt him, 610, & ſeq.
——daughter of *Phyſcon* marries *Cyzicenus*, 613, & ſeq. Murdered by her ſiſter, 614, e. Her coin, 622, W.——wife of *Philometor*, left regent, 654, d. Cruelly uſed by *Phyſcon*, 655, & ſeq. Divorced from him, 656, e. Takes refuge in *Syria*, 657, & ſeq. ——widow of *Phyſcon*, left regent in *Egypt*, 658, f. Her ambition and partiality, ibid. & ſeq. Treachery to *Lathurus*, 659. Drives him out of *Phœnice*, 661, b. Takes *Ptolemais*, ibid. c. Murdered by her ſon *Alexander*, 662. Falſely confounded with the former *Cleopatra*, 664, l.—— daughter of *Lathurus*, ſucceeds him, 664, & ſeq. Marries *Alexander* II. 665, c. Aſſaſſinated by him, ib. d.
——daughter of *Auletes*, married to her brother, 672. Driven out by his miniſters, 673, b. Is privately carried to *Cæſar*, 674, f. Reinthroned by him, 678, & ſeq. Goes to *Marc Antony* at *Tarſus*, 679. Her magnificence and profuſeneſs, 680. Cruelty and avarice, 681, & ſeq. Takes the name of *Iſis*, 683, c. Her fatal counſel to *Marc Antony*, 684, d, e. Treachery to him, 685, & ſeq. Treats with *Proculeius*, 688, c. Surpriſed by him, ibid. c. Buries *Marc Antony*, 689. Deceives *Octavianus*, ibid. & ſeq. Kills herſelf, 690. Her character and funeral, ibid. & ſeq.
—— wife of *Antiochus Pius*, put to death by *Tigranes*, 701, c.
Cleophes queen of *India* ſubdued by *Alexander*, 387, & ſeq. His treatment of her, 388, d.
Clitander put to death for oppreſſion, 403, & ſeq.
Clodius Publius, his revenge againſt the king of *Cyprus*, 184, & ſeq. Unjuſt decree againſt that kingdom, 666, f. Raiſes a mutiny againſt *Lucullus*, 706, b, f.
Clondicus, who, 489, f. Outwitted by *Perſeus*, ibid. & ſeq.
Clytus revolts from *Alexander*, 320, a. Defeated, ibid. e. Joined in command with *Epheſtion*, 367, a. Reproves *Alexander*, 375, & ſeq. Killed by him, 376, & W.
Cnidus, whether in *Cyprus* or no, 174, c.
Coa's ſtuffs deſcribed, 212, e.
Coans, their government, kings, wars, &c. 213, a.
Cocalus king of the *Siculi* murders *Minos*, 13, b.
Cocas, the famed mountain of, 839, c.
Cœle-Syria reduced by *Alexander*, 337, & ſeq.
Cœnus, king of *Macedon*, 273, a.—wounded at *Guagamela*, 350, & ſeq. Made commander of *Bactria*, 382, d. Defeats the rebels, 383. His ſpeech in behalf of the ſoldiers, 394, & ſeq. His death, 396, in fin. note F.
Coes, why made king of *Lesbos*, 106, f. Stoned, ibid.
Coin, where firſt made, 244.—of *Macedon*, 267, a. Of *Syria*, 620, W.
Colæus's fortunate voyage to *Tarteſſus*, 189, b.
Colchis, the kingdom of, deſcribed, 832, & ſeq. Origin, kings, &c. 833. Gold mines, 834, c, e. Subdued by *Mithridates*, ibid. f.
Colonia, the ſtrongeſt city in *Armenia*, 693, c.
Colophon, the city of, deſcribed, 559, a.
Coloſſus of *Rhodes*, 130, & ſeq. & C. Overturned, 131, b. Its weight, ibid. c.
Colpas, a river in *Bithynia*, 827, b.
Comana, a city in *Pontus*, 721, a.—in *Cappadocia*, 762, b.
Comets, two large ones at the birth of *Mithridates*, 727, a, & P.
Commagene, the kingdom of, deſcribed, 853, & ſeq. Subdued by the *Romans*, ibid. f.
Commeni, their reſidence at *Trapeſus*, 722, b.
Conacorix betrays *Heraclea* to the *Romans*, 747, b.
Conon, the *Samian*, his character, 195, note.
—— the contriver of *Berenice*'s coma, 639, f.

Conſtantine miraculouſly hindered from rebuilding *Chalcedon*, 822, e.
Coraceſium beſieged by *Antiochus*, 544, f.
Corax, river in *Colchis*, 833, c.
Corbulo ſent to quiet *Armenia*, 713, c, d. His ſevere diſcipline, ibid. & ſeq. Succeſs againſt *Tiridates*, 714, & ſeq. Interview with him, 716, d, e.
Corcyrea, iſland, deſcribed, 240, & ſeq.
—— metropolis of that iſland, ibid. d.
Corcyreans, their government, navigation, &c. 240, d. Treachery to the *Greeks*, ibid. f. Protected by the *Samians*, 190, b. War with the *Corinthians*, 280, a.
Corinth, the citadel of, taken by *Gonatus*, 473, f. By *Aratus*, 474, b.
Corinthians reſtore liberty to *Syracuſe*, 77, c, d. War with the *Samians*, why, 190, b. With the *Corcyreans*, 280.
Cornelia rejects *Phyſcon*'s offer, 652, c.
Cornelius Cethegus cabals againſt *Marcellus*, 126, b. Subdues the reſt of *Sicily*, 127, b.
Corobius ſent to colony *Platea*, 215, b.
Corybas goes into *Phrygia*, 240, a.
Corycus, the naval fight of, 555, c, d.
Cos, iſland, deſcribed, 272, d. Taken by *Nicander*, 105, e. Subdued by *Mithridates*, 213, b. By the *Romans*, ibid. c, d.
—— metropolis of the iſland, deſcribed, 212, d. Overthrown, 213.
Coſis, a brave prince of *Albania*, killed by *Pompey*, 838, d, e.
Coſmi in *Crete*, their office, 170, b.
Coſſeans, why ſubdued by *Alexander*, 408.
Cotta's ill ſucceſs againſt *Mithridates*, 740, & ſeq. Againſt *Heraclea*, 746. Returns to *Rome*, 747, c, d.
Cotys I. king of the *Odryſæ*, aſſaſſinated, 792, b.
——II. joins the *Perſians* againſt the *Macedonians*, ibid. & 485.
——III. allies with the *Romans*, 793.
——IV. made king by *Brutus*, ibid. b.
——V. murdered by his brother, ibid. d, e.
—— king of the *Sapæi*, 794, f. Murdered, 795, a.
Craſſus ſent into *Pergamus*, 782. Defeated and killed, ibid. d, e.
Craterus appointed protector after *Alexander*'s death, 417. Sent againſt *Eumenes*, 421. Defeated and killed, 422.
—— aſſiſts *Antipater*, 450. His death, 451, d.—treaſon againſt *Archelaus*, 284. Defeats the *Maſſagetes*, 382, c. And other rebels, 385, c. Made governor of *Andaca*, 386, d.
Crateſipolis, her conduct and bravery, 460, a.
Crenides taken by *Philip*, 290, f.
Cres, one of the *Curetes*, 164, note. King of *Crete*, 165, a.
Cretans, whence, 162, & ſeq. Their colonies, 164, a. Government, kings, &c. ibid. & ſeq. Come into *Sicily*, 12, b, c. 166, d. Their laws, 167, & ſeq. Degeneracy, 168. Reduced into a commonwealth, 170, b, c. Their civil wars, ibid. d, e. Enſlaved by the *Romans*, ibid. & ſeq.
Cretan ſea, the iſles of, 214, & ſeq.
Crete, iſland, deſcribed, 159, & ſeq. By whom firſt inhabited, 162. The kings of, 164, & ſeq. & K. Subdued by the *Romans*, 170, & ſeq.
Cretes, king of *Crete*, 164, d, & ſeq.
Creteus, king of *Crete*, 169, b. Killed, ibid.
Crobyſi, a people of *Thrace*, 794.
Crocodiles in the river *Indus* lead *Alexander* into a ſtrange notion about the *Nile*, 396, F.
Crœſus's ambiguous threats to the *Lampſacians*, 789, c.
Cuma the *Sybil*, her tomb, 7, c.
Curetes, ancient *Cretans*, deſcribed, 162, e. Their origin, 163, c. The ſame with the *Abantes*, 250, b. Why called *Curetes*, ibid. note.
Cyadas, a famous painter, where born, 217, c.
Cyane, the fountain of, where ſprung, 9, b.
Cyaneas, a river in *Colchis*, 833, c.
Cyclades, iſlands, whence ſo called, 203, a. Deſcribed, 216, & ſeq.
Cyclopes, the fable of, 9, e. Who they were, 10, e.
Cichreus, firſt king of *Salamis*, 245, b.
Cicolaus takes *Samos*, 105, e.
Cydon reigns in *Crete*, 165, c, & note.
Cydonia, a city in *Crete*, deſcribed, 160, c. By whom founded, 193, a.
Cyname put to death by *Perdiccas*, 421, a.
Cyneas, his excellent character, 805, d. Advice to *Pyrrhus*, ibid. & ſeq. Sent to *Tarentum*, 106, c. His judicious remark on the *Romans*, 809, note. Sent embaſſador to *Rome*, 811, d. His ill ſucceſs there, 812, a, b. Sent a ſecond time, 814.
Cynthus, mountain in *Delos*, deſcribed, 331, c.
Cypriots aſſiſt *Alexander* againſt *Tyre*, 340, & ſeq. Oppreſſed by the *Perſians*, 177, d. Aſſiſted by the *Ionians*, ibid. Make peace with *Perſia*, 179, a. Subdued by *Evagoras*, 180. Invaded by *Ochus*, 181, & ſeq. By *Ptolemy*, 182, c, d. By *Demetrius*, ib. e. Subdued, 183, f. & ſeq. Reſtored by *Ptolemy*, 184, c. Subdued by the *Romans*, ibid. d.
Cyprus, iſland, deſcribed, 172. How divided, 175, a, b. Climate, government, ibid. d. Kings and petty kingdoms, 176, b, c. Taken by *Cyrus*, ibid. d. By *Ptolemy*, 435, d. By *Antiochus*, 579, b. Sold by *Archias* to *Demetrius*, 653, e. Given to a baſtard of *Lathurus*, 666, d. Seized by the *Romans*, ibid. & ſeq.
Cyrene, by whom built, 215, c. Deſcribed, 662, c, d. Yielded to *Phyſcon*, 651. Revolts from him, 652, & ſeq. Given to *Apion*, 658, f.
Cyropolis taken by *Alexander*, 367, e.
Cyrus's camp abandoned to *Alexander*, 334, a.
—— tomb deſcribed, 404, b.
—— a river of *Armenia*, 694, a.—of *Albania*, 837, d.
Cyta, a city in *Colchis*, 833, b.
Cythera, iſland, deſcribed, 242, f.
Cytherea, whether in *Cyprus*, 174, c.
Cythnus, iſland, deſcribed, 217.
Cyzicum, iſland, deſcribed, 201, & ſeq. & Q.
—— city beſieged by *Mithridates*, 741, & ſeq. Relieved by *Lucullus*, 742, & ſeq.

D.

Dædalus's treachery to *Minos*, 167, b.
Dagon's temple burnt by *Jonathan*, 597, b.
Damagetus king of *Rhodes*, 133, a.
Damatelis, a *Rhodian* magiſtrate, killed, 143, b.
Damias, who, 244, note.
Damides's ſtratagem againſt *Polyſperchon*, 456, b.
Damocles made ſenſible of a tyrant's happineſs, 82, A.
Daniel, ſeveral of his prophecies fulfilled, 526, O. 527, P. 568, R. 570, f. 571, f. 582, paſſ. 584, B.
Daphne, the infamous grove of, deſcribed, 515, E. — the ſanctuary of, forced by *Laodyce*, 526, & ſeq.—the games of, deſcribed, 581, X.
Daphneus beats the *Carthaginians*, 41, d. Put to death by *Dionyſius*, 45, e.
Dardanians expelled by the *Baſtarnæ*, 483, c.
Dardanus, where born, 239, f. Founds the *Trojan* kingdom, ibid. & ſeq.
Darius, one of *Cambyſes*'s guards, his requital to *Syloſon* the *Samian*, 196, c. & ſeq. Beats the confederates, 197, c.
—— king of *Perſia*'s unfortunate attempt on *Scythia*, 273, & ſeq. Againſt *Athens*, 275, & ſeq. Marches againſt *Alexander*, 334, & ſeq. Defeated at *Iſſus*, 335, f. His firſt meſſage to *Alexander*, 338, b. Second meſſage rejected, 343, a. Defeated near *Guagamela*, 351, & ſeq. A great inſtance of his goodneſs, 353, ſub fin, note. His treaſure at *Suſa*, 354, b, c. & P. Flies to *Ecbatane*, 357, f. Betrayed by *Beſſus*, 359, b, c. Murdered, ibid, e.

—— the ſon of *Pharnaces*, made king of *Boſporus*, 760, c.
—— king of *Atrobatene*, 844, f.
Daſcylus, a city in *Bithynia*, 822, a.
Daſſareta, where ſituate, 255, a.
Datames king of *Cappadocia*, 764.
Datis's reſpect for *Diana*'s temple, 228, f. Defeated by *Miltiades*, 276.
Deciarcha at *Samos*, their office, 200, c.
Decius's anſwer to *Pyrrhus*, 812. Killed, 813. —reſcued by *Philopator*, 646, a.
Deidamia, queen of *Epirus*, whether murdered, 821, a, b.
Dejoratus I. made king of *Armenia Minor*, 718, f. His fidelity to the *Romans*, ibid. & ſeq.
—— II. his reign, 719. Succeſſors, ibid. d, e.
Delians, their government, kings, &c. 231, d, e. Conquered by the *Athenians*, ibid. e, f.
Delias and *Deliaſti*, what, 230, e.
Delos, iſland, 203, a, 227. Why ſo called, ibid. & ſeq. Its temples, 228. Reverenced by the *Perſians* and others, 229, a, b. The oracle, ibid. & ſeq. The iſland purified, 230, b, c.
—— metropolis of it, deſcribed, 231, b.
Delphic oracle corrupted by *Philip*, 307, a.
Demades's ſpeech to *Philip*, 321, & ſeq. Succeſsleſs embaſſy to *Antipater*, 450, f. His character, 452, e. Severe puniſhment, 453, c.
Demarata, the ambitious daughter of *Hiero*, 100, c, d. Aſpires to the throne, 104, e. 105, e. Put to death, 106, e.
Demaratus's ſharp anſwer to *Philip*, 311, a.
Demaretia, a *Sicilian* coin, whence ſo called, 18, b.
Demetria, by whom built, 447, b.
Demetrius inveſts the city of *Rhodes*, 138, & ſeq. Deviſes the *Helepolis*, 140, a. Forced to raiſe the ſiege, 143, c. Some inſtances of his clemency, 144. Invades *Cyprus*, 182, & ſeq. Beſieges *Salamis*, 183, c. Subdues the iſland, ibid. & ſeq. Loſes it, 184, c.
—— the ſon of *Antigonus*, left with the government of *Syria*, 432, d. His character, ibid. e. Defeated by *Ptolemy*, 433, a. Defeats *Cilles*, ibid. d. His gallantry to *Ptolemy*, ibid. e. Sent againſt *Petra*, 434, c. Meaſures the lake *Aſphaltes*, ibid. d. Marches into *Babylon*, ibid. & ſeq. Recovers *Sicily*, 435, d. His conqueſts in *Cyprus*, 436, & ſeq. Saluted king by his father, 437, b. His ill ſucceſs againſt *Rhodes*, 439, a. Degeneracy, ibid. & 467, c. Defeated at *Iſſus*, 441, a, b. Gives his daughter to *Seleucus*, ibid. d. Becomes king of *Macedon*, 442, c. & 466. Prepares for the conqueſt of *Aſia*, 443, a. Driven out of *Macedonia*, ibid. & ſeq. Ill ſucceſs againſt *Lyſimachus*, &c. 444, a, b. Againſt *Pyrrhus*, ibid. & 466, & ſeq. Retires to *Caſſandria*, 467. Surrenders himſelf to *Seleucus*, 445, & ſeq. His laſt letter to his ſon *Antigonus*, 446, d. Death, ibid. e, f. Funeral honours, 447. Wives and offſpring, ibid. d, e. Coin, 622, W.
—— the ſon of *Demetrius*, king of *Cyrene*, 447, e.
—— the ſon of *Gonatus*, his early valour, 473, b. Marries *Nicæa*, ibid. e. His troubleſome reign, 474, c, d. 475, b.
—— the ſon of *Philip*, his character, 478, d. Pleads for his father before the *Roman* ſenate, 479. Envied by his natural brother, ibid. & ſeq. Suſpected by his father, 481. Put to death, ibid.
—— prince of *Macedon*, marries *Apame*, 524, c. Murdered by her daughter, ibid. d.
—— the ſon of *Antiochus* ſent to *Rome*, 510, e.
—— the ſon of *Seleucus*, his ſuit to the *Roman* ſenate, 585, & ſeq. Rejected, 586, c, d. Preſents a ſecond, 589. Eſcapes into *Syria*, 590. His letter to the ſenate, 592, b. Wars againſt *Ariarathes*, ibid. d. Degenerates, 593, c. Courts the friendſhip of the *Jews*, 595, a, b. Defeated and killed, ibid. & ſeq.
—— *Nicator* repulſed by the ſenate, 593, e. Dethroned by *Alexander Balas*, 594, & ſeq. Allies with *Philometor*, 598, b, c. Reſtored to his kingdom, ibid. & ſeq. Degenerates, 601. Saved by the *Jews*, 602, c, d. Treachery to them, ibid. e. Taken and kept priſoner in *Parthia*, 605, & ſeq. 608, b. Reſtored to his kingdom, 610, d. Invaded by *Zebina*, 611, & ſeq. His death, ibid. c. Coin, 622, W.
—— *Eucheres* crowned at *Damaſcus*, 615, f. Defeated and killed, 616, b.
—— *Phalereus*, his character and office, 630, e, f. Perſuades *Ptolemy Soter* to build a library, 631, a, b. His great integrity, 633. Death, ibid. e.
—— king of *Bactria*, his character, &c. 846, d, e.
—— *Polyorcetes*, his preſent to the *Rhodians*, 131, a.
Democritus, where born, 786, d.
Demoſthenes ſent into *Sicily*, 29, c, &c. Surpriſes *Epipolæ*, 31, a. Beaten before *Syracuſe*, ibid. b. At ſea, 32, & ſeq. In great diſtreſs, 33. Forced to ſurrender, 34, d. Put to death, 36, e.—his character of king *Philip*, 292, ſub fin. not. Whether the pacific oration be really his, 296, E. His ſpeech in favour of *Diopetes*, 297, c. Outwreſtles *Philip*, 299, a. Withdraws the *Thebans* from him, 306, & ſeq. His cowardiſe, 307, d, e. Raiſes the *Greeks* againſt *Alexander*, 320. Poiſons himſelf at *Cythera*, 243, b.
Denſeleta, a people of *Thrace*, 789, & ſeq.
Deucalion, king of *Crete*, 169, a.
Dia, a city in *Eubœa*, by whom built, 249, d.
Diagoras I. king of *Rhodes*, 133, b. Head of the *Diagoridæ*, ibid.
—— II. his reign and progeny, 134, b. Dies of joy, ibid. c.
—— the firſt atheiſt, where born, 218, f.
—— tyrant of *Eretria*, 251, e.
Diana, her feſtival at *Syracuſe*, 116, W.
—— worſhipped at *Icaria*, 211, f, & ſeq. Her medals, 212, a.——*Perſica* worſhipped in *Cappadocia*, 763, e.——her ſtatue taken and reſtored by *Philadelphus*, 637, b, c.
Dicearchus's impiety puniſhed, 547, a, b.
Dicte, a mountain in *Crete*, deſcribed, 162, b.
Dictynna, the temple of, by whom built, 193, b.
Dictys, Cretenſ an account of him, 169, c.
Diegylis, king of the *Odyſſæ*, 792, & ſeq.
Dinarchus put to death, 455, c.
Dinocrates, the *Sicilian* general, defeated by *Agathocles*, 87.
—— *Macedonian* general, defeated by the *Rhodians*, 148, b, c.
Dinomades's treachery to *Hieronymus*, 103, d. Choſen one of the magiſtrates, 105, b.
Diocæſarea, where ſituate, 762, c.
Diocles's barbarous fury againſt the *Athenian* priſoners, 35, d. Cauſes *Hermocrates* to be baniſhed, 40, b.
Diodatus, vid. *Tryphon*, 601, f.
Diodorus Siculus, how far preferable to *Plutarch*, 435, D.
—— a *Syrian*, facilitates *Demetrius*'s eſcape, 589, f. & ſeq.
Diogenes's treachery to the *Macedonians*, 475, d.
—— ſurlineſs to *Alexander*, 323, a.
Dion's character, &c. 63. His brave ſpeech to *Dionyſius* I. 62. C. Falſely accuſed to *Dionyſius* II. 64, d, e. Baniſhed, ibid. f, & ſeq. Returns to *Syracuſe*, 66. Strives to aboliſh tyranny, ibid. & ſeq. Seizes on the capital, 67. Defeats *Dionyſius*'s troops, ibid. & ſeq. His brave anſwer to him, 68, b. Oppoſed by *Heraclides*, ibid. & ſeq. Forced to fly to *Leontini*, 69, & ſeq. Recalled to *Syracuſe*, 70, d. His ſpeech to his ſoldiers, 71, a. Relieves that capital, ibid. d, e. Takes the citadel, 72. Why he put *Heraclides* to death, ibid. a, & e. Baſely murdered by *Caliphus*, 73, a, b.
—— the philoſopher, aſſaſſinated by *Pompey*, 668, b.
Dionyſius I. lays the foundation of tyranny, 43, & ſeq. Choſen generaliſſimo, 44, f. Obtains a guard, 45, b. Declares himſelf king of *Syracuſe*, ibid. e. Makes peace with *Imilcar*, 46. Outwits the *Syracuſians*,

cuſians, 47, & ſeq. Diſarms them, 48, c. Wars againſt the *Carthaginians*, ibid. & ſeq. His army and fleet, 49. Takes *Motya*, 50, b. Defeated at ſea, 51, & ſeq. Beſieged in *Syracuſe*, 52, b, c. In danger of being depoſed, 53. Defeats the *Carthaginians*, 54, & ſeq. *Rhegians*, 55, f. Paſſes into *Italy*, 56. Defeats the *Italians* before *Caulum*, 57, b. Takes *Rhegium*, 58. His barbarity to *Phyto*, ibid. d, e. Affectation of poetry, ibid. & ſeq. Ill ſucceſs at the *Olympic* games, 59, d, e. Wars againſt the *Carthaginians*, 60. Defeated by them, ibid. d. Makes peace with them, ibid. e. His death and character, ibid. & ſeq. His offspring, 61, & ſeq.

—— II. ſucceeds his father, 63, a, b. His character, ibid. c. Sends three times for *Plato*, ibid. & ſeq. His treatment of him, 64, & ſeq. Gives a looſe to all vices, 66, a. Invaded by *Dion*, 67, b, c. Defeated, ibid. & ſeq. Forced to flee into *Italy*, 69, b. Recovers *Syracuſe* after ten years abſence, 73, e. Surrenders himſelf to *Timoleon*, 76, a. Reduced to keep a ſchool at *Corinth*, ibid. c.

—— tyrant of *Heraclea*, 824. His death and character, 825, a.

—— *Eutyches*, who, 228.

Diopethes invades *Philip*'s territories, 297, a.

Diophanes's brave attempt againſt *Seleucus*, 557, L. 771, e, f.

Dioſcorias, a city in *Colchis*, 833, a.

Dioſcorides murdered by *Achillas*, 675, e.

Dioſcuri ſubſtituted to *Bacchus*, 375, 377, b, c.

Dodanim, the firſt peopiers of *Epirus*, 798, b.

Dœdaſſus, king of *Bithynia*, 828, c.

Dodona, the city of, deſcribed, 796, c.—the temple, grove, and oracle of, ibid. K.

Dolabella Cornel. in love with *Cleopatra*, 690, b.

Doloaſpis made preſident of *Egypt*, 348, c.

Dolonci, who, and whence, 788, & ſeq.

Dolopians reduced by *Perſeus*, 483, e.

Domitius defeated by *Pharnaces*, 758, f.

Dorians ſettle in *Rhodes*, 132, e. In *Crete*, 163, d.

Dorias, the ſolemnity of, 230, e.

Doriens I. king of *Rhodes*, 133, a.

—— II. his victories, 134, c.

Dorilaus defeated by *Sylla*, 734.

Doxareas's ſubmiſſion and preſents to *Alexander*, 390, b.

Dracunon, a city in *Icaria*, 211, f.

Drepane, a city in *Bithynia*, 822.

Drepanum, a city in *Sicily*, deſcribed, 7, c.

Drypetis married to *Hepheſtion*, 405, a. Murdered by *Roxana*, 418, d.

Dryphis, the temple of, in *Eubœa*, 247, e.

Dnatius, king of the *Siculi*, driven out by the *Syracuſians*, 13, & ſeq.

Dulichium, one of the *Echinades* iſlands, 241, e.

Dura, where ſituate, 533, U.

Dymnus conſpires againſt *Alexander*, 364, a. Dies, ibid. d.

Dyrrachium, whether the ſame with *Epidamnus*, 254, in fin. C.

E.

Eclypſe of the moon, foretold by *Sulpitius Gallus*, 492, b. Throws the *Macedonians* into a panic, ibid.—trightens the *Gauls*, 776.

Echinades, iſlands, deſcribed, 241.

Ecron taken, and razed by *Judas Maccabeus*, 587, c.

Edeſſa, the kingdom of, deſcribed, 847, & ſeq. Made a *Roman* province, 848, a.

—— metropolis of that kingdom, 847, a.

—— the famous temple of, ibid.

—— metropolis of *Macedon*, 256, a.

Edoni, a people of *Thrace*, 790, f. Their kings, 791, a.

Edonia, where ſituate, 257, b.

Ege taken by *Pyrrhus*, 816.

Egeſta in *Sicily*, vid. *Segeſta*, 7, f.

Egeſtines invite the *Athenians* into *Sicily*, 25, & ſeq. And the *Carthaginians*, 37, & ſeq. Maſſacred by *Agathocles*, 87, a.

Elatea taken by *Philip*, 36, c.

Elea, where ſituate, 551, I.

Eleazer reproves *Izates*'s hypocriſy, 849.

Elephants rout the *Romans*, 809, e, f. A remedy found againſt them, 813, a. 815, c, d.

Elephenor, prince of *Eubœa*, kills his grandfather, 250, d. Baniſhed, ibid. e. Killed before *Troy*, 351, a.

Eleuthera, a city in *Crete*, deſcribed, 161. Taken by *Metellus*, 171.

Ellopia in *Eubœa*, by whom built, 249, e.

Elyma, a city of *Macedon*, 255, a.

Elymais, the kingdom of, deſcribed, 852.

—— metropolis of that kingdom, ibid. b.

—— the temple of, plundered, ibid. c.

Elymean kings, unknown by name, 852, d, e.

Emeſſa, the kingdom of, deſcribed, 848.

Emilianus Scipio paſſes mount *Olympius*, 491, e.

Emilius Paulus, *Roman* conſul, ſent againſt *Perſeus*, 490, & ſeq. Defeats him, 492, & ſeq. His ſpeech to him, 495, c. Treatment of him, 496, & ſeq. New models the *Macedonian* government, ibid. & ſeq. His triumph at *Rome*, 499.

Empedocles turns the ſtream of two rivers, 7, a.

Engyum, a city in *Sicily*, 9, c. Taken and ſpared by *Marcellus*, 124, c.

Enna, the city of, 9, a. Taken by *Dionyſius*, 48, c. Attempted by *Hamilco*, 114, c.

Ennonſes put to death by the *Romans*, 115, c, d.

Entella ſurprized by the *Campanians*, 48, b.

Eordians, where ſituate, 255, a.

Epanimondas, guardian to *Philip*, 287, c. His character, 288, A.

Epaphroditus ſent to watch *Cleopatra*, 689, & ſeq.

Epheſians, their pride, 317, d.

Epheſus viſited by *Alexander*, 327, d. Taken by *Antiochus*, 545, a.

—— the temple of, ſpared by *Demetrius*, 441, b.

Epicydes plots againſt *Syracuſe*, 105, d. Choſen prætor, 107. Cabals with *Leontines*, 109, b. Commands with *Hippocrates* in *Syracuſe*, 114, a. Retires to *Agrigentum*, 119, d. Defeated, 125, a.

Epidamnus, a city in *Macedonia*, deſcribed, 254, C. Taken by the *Corcyreans*, 280, a, b.

Epidaurians, firſt peopiers of *Ægina*, 243, d. Subdue it, 244, & note. Submit to *Glaucias*, 461, c.

Epigenes envied by *Hermias*, 530, & ſeq. Treacherouſly murdered by him, 532, d.

Epigoni, whence ſo called, 406.

Epipolæ, the hill of, deſcribed, 4, e. Surpriſed by the *Athenians*, 28, c. Taken by the *Romans*, 117, b.

Epirots, their character, 798, b. Defeated at *Argos*, 818. Surrender themſelves, 819, f. Their commonwealth, 821, c, d.

Epirus, the kingdom of, deſcribed, 795, & ſeq. By whom peopled, 798, b, c. Its government, ibid. e, f.

Eraſiſtratus's ſtratagem in favour of *Antiochus*, 519, & ſeq.

Eraſtides, king of *Rhodes*, 134, a.

Eratoſthenes made library-keeper at *Alexandria*, 640, c. His works, ibid. G.

Ereſſus, a city in *Lesbos*, 203, e.

Eretria, a city in *Eubœa*, deſcribed, 248, c.

—— new, ditto, ibid. e. Taken by the *Romans*, 147, e. By *Philip*, 251, f.

Eretrian pillar, 248, d.

Erigon, a river in *Macedon*, 260, d.

Erigyus defeats the *Arians*, 367.

Erix, a city in *Sicily*, deſcribed, 7, d. 89, c.

—— king of the *Siculi*, 13, c.

Eros's fidelity to *Marc Antony*, 687, e.

Erxeron, where ſituate, 694, d.

Etearchus king of *Crete*, 169, e.

Evagoras king of *Rhodes*, 133, b.

—— I. king of *Cyprus*, his attachment to the *Perſians*, 178, & ſeq. Baniſhed, 179, b.

—— II. his noble character, 179, d, e. Subdues the whole iſland, 180, b, c. Invaded by the *Perſians*, ibid. & ſeq. Forced to a peace, 181, c. Murdered, ibid. d.
—— III. driven out by his uncle, 181, f. Put to death, 182, b.
Evander, a cowardly *Cretan*, 487. His unlucky advice to *Perſeus*, ibid.—hated by the *Macedonians*, 493, d. Takes refuge in *Samothrace*, 494. Put to death by *Perſeus*, ibid.
Eubœa, iſland, deſcribed, 246, & ſeq. By whom firſt inhabited, 249, f. Its government, 250, c, d. 251, b, c. Invaded by *Philip*, 299, b.
Eubœans great mariners, 250, c. Their tyrants, 251, c. By whom conquered, 252, b, c.
Eucratides I. king of *Bactria*, his character and death, 846, e.
—— II. murders his father, ibid.
Eudamas's ſucceſs againſt *Antiochus*, 150, e. Defeats the *Syrian* fleet, 151.
Evelthon, king of *Salamis*'s treatment of *Pheretima*, 177, b.
Evenus, the *Apollonian* ſhepherd, the ſtory of, 255, D.
Euergeta, whence ſo called, 367, a, b. Favoured by *Alexander*, ibid.
Eulæus, regent of *Egypt*, 573. Corrupts the young king, 576, b.
Eumelus, prince of *Boſporus*, wars with his two brothers, 842, b, c. His character and death, ibid. f.
Eumenes I. ſucceeds his brother in *Pergamus*, 769.
—— II. wars with *Antiochus*, 556, & ſeq. 770, & ſeq. His bravery at the battle of *Magneſia*, 564, 772. Rewarded by the *Romans*, ibid. d. Oppoſed by the *Rhodians*, ibid. & 151, & ſeq. Wars with *Pruſias*, ibid. & 772. Makes peace with him, 773, & ſeq. Defeated by *Hannibal*'s ſtratagem, ibid. f. Invaded by *Pharnaces*, 773, & ſeq. Makes peace with him, 774, b. Aſſiſts *Antiochus*, 571, f. 774, d. His ſpeech to the *Roman* ſenate, ibid. e. Wounded by *Perſeus*'s aſſaſſins, 484, & ſeq. 775, a. Allies with *Rome* againſt him, ibid. e. Repulſed from *Caſſandria*, 488. Becomes obnoxious to them, 776, d. Accuſed to the ſenate, 777, f, & ſeq. His death, 778, b. 494.
—— *Alexander*'s ſecretary, his moderation towards *Heph*eſtion, 407, c. 408, a, b. Declares for *Aridæus*, 415, e. His character, ibid. & ſeq. vid. & 419. His fidelity, 420, a, b. Sent againſt *Ptolemy*, 421. Defeats *Neoptolemus*, 422, a. Is proſcribed, 423, d. His defeat, and ſingular valour, 424, & ſeq. Loyalty, 425, & ſeq. Repulſes *Antigonus*, 427, b. Marches to *Perſepolis*, ibid. e. His ſpeech to his officers, 428, C. Defeats *Antigonus*, 428, & ſeq. Betrayed to him, 429. Put to death by him, ibid.
Euphrates, a river in *Armenia*, deſcribed, 694, a, c, d.
Eupolemus defeated by *Ptolemy*, 460.
Euripides honoured by *Archelaus*, 284, c.
Euripus, the ſtreights of, deſcribed, 246. note. The iſles of, 252, c, d.
Europa comes to *Crete*, 163, e. How and by whom carried off, 166, a.
Europus, a city in *Macedonia*, 256, a.
Euryalum taken by the *Romans*, 117, f.
Eurydice, king *Philip*'s wife, her precautions againſt *Olympias*, 456, & ſeq. Put to death, 457, b, c.
—— her ſpeech to the *Athenian* general, 286, d, e.
Eurymedon ſent into *Sicily*, 29, & ſeq. Killed by the *Syracuſans*, 32, a.
Euryſaces, king of *Salamis*, 245, c.
Eutycrates betrays *Olynthus* to *Philip*, 294, b.
Euthydemus, king of *Bactria*, invaded by *Antiochus*, 541, e. Makes peace with him, 542, b.
Euxine Sea, &c. how formed, 239, d, e.
Exipodras put to death by his father, 755, b.

F.

Fabius betrayed by the *Thracians*, 749, a, & P.
Fabricius ſent embaſſador to *Pyrrhus*, 811, b. His intrepid gallantry there, ibid. e, f. Sent againſt him, 813, e. His generous letter to him, 814, a, b.
Famageſta, metropolis of *Cyprus*, 173, c. How built, ibid. & M.
Fanegoria, a city in *Pontus*, 721, a.
Faro de Meſſina, vid. *Meſſina*, 2, a.
Favonius's accuſation againſt *Auletes*, 668, c.
Fauſtinopolis, from whom ſo called, 762, c.
Fimbria diſcarded by *Flaccus*, 735, c. His revenge and cruelties, ibid. d. & U. Succeſs againſt *Mithridates*, 736, a, b. Kills himſelf, 738, b.
Fire-ſhips invented by the *Rhodians*, 559, d, e.
Flaccus ſent againſt *Sylla*, 734. Falls out with *Fimbria*, ibid. & ſeq.
Flaminius's anſwer to *Antiochus*'s embaſſadors, 548, a, d.
Funerals, how performed by the *Thracians*, 788, d.
Funeral verſes, vid. *Nenia*, 217, b.

G.

Gabene, ſeized by *Eumenes*, 429, a. By *Antiochus*, ibid. & ſeq.
Gabinius's extortions in *Syria*, 670, b, c. Upon *Auletes*, ibid. e, f. Goes into *Egypt*, 671. Reſtores that monarch, ibid. d, e. Condemned to baniſhment, 672, d.
Gadroſi, ſubdued by *Alexander*, 402, d.
Galatia, whence ſo called, 522, d. Invaded by *Phraartes*, 725, f.
Galeagrea, the tower of, deſcribed, 116, U. Surpriſed by the *Romans*, 117, a.
Galilee invaded by *Antiochus*, 537. By *Demetrius*, 603, c, d.
Gallogracia, whence ſo called, 522, d.
Gallus, firſt governor of *Egypt*, 690, f.
—— *Sulpitius* ſent to receive complaints againſt *Eumenes*, 778, b.
Gangaridæ, where ſituate, 396, in fin. E.
Ganymedes ſupplants *Achillas*, 676. Diſtreſſes *Cæſar* in *Alexandria*, ibid. e, f.
Gauls firſt invaſion of *Macedon*, 470, a. Second, ibid. d. Third, 471, a. Rifle the royal tombs, ibid. f. Defeated by *Gonatus*, 472, f. Settled in *Aſia Minor* by *Nicomedes*, 522. Their treachery to *Hierax*, 528, c. Scared at a lunar eclipſe, 770. Their ſacrilegious covetouſneſs, 816, c.
Gaza taken by *Alexander*, 344, & ſeq. By *Antigonus*, 432, b. By *Antiochus*, 543, d.
—— in *Bactria*, taken by *Alexander*, 371.
—— metropolis of *Atropatene*, 844, d.
Gela, a city in *Sicily*, deſcribed, 5, d. By whom built, 11, f. Taken and inſlaved by *Gelon*, 15, a. Beſieged by the *Carthaginians*, 45, & ſeq. Taken, 46, a.
—— the river of, 5, d.
Gelean women, their bravery, 45, f.
Gellias burns himſelf in *Minerva*'s temple, 42, d. His character, ibid. X.
Gelon becomes tyrant of *Syracuſe*, 15, b. & ſeq. Defeats the *Carthaginians*, 17, b, c. His moderation towards them, 18, a, b. Towards his ſubjects, ibid. c, d. Made king, ibid. e. His ſtatue, how preſerved, ibid. note. Character, death, and honours, 20.
—— the ſon of *Hiero*'s treachery to his father, 100, a, b.
Gentius, king of *Illyria*, ill treated by the *Romans*, 485, d. Outwitted by *Perſius*, 489, c, d. Sent priſoner to *Rome*, 498, a, & E.
Genubius, *L.* beſieges *Rhegium*, 75, c.

Geraſtus, a promontory in *Eubœa*, 247, a, d.
—— a city in *Eubœa*, 248, a.
Geomari at *Samos*, their office, 189, a, d. Murdered, ibid. d.
Georgia, why ſo called, 837, a, b. Deſcribed, 839, d. The reſt, vid. ſub *Iberia*, 835.
Georgian women, famed for their beauty, 837, c. 839, d, e.
Getæ defeated by *Alexander*, 319, d, e.
Gibel, mount, vid. *Ætna*, 9, d.
Glabrio ſent againſt *Mithridates*, 750, c, d.
Glaphyra obtains *Cappadocia* for her ſon, 768, b.
Glaucias, king of *Illyrium*, defeated by *Alexander*, 320, b, c.—invaded by *Caſſander*, 460. Makes peace with him, ibid. Murders *Roxana* and her ſon, 462, a.
Glauſæ invaded by *Alexander*, 393, b.
Gnoſſians aſſiſt the beſieged *Rhodians*, 139, f. Subdue part of *Crete*, 170, d.
Gnoſſis, *Ariadne*, why ſo called, 160.
Gnoſſus, ancient metropolis of *Crete*, deſcribed, 160, b.
Goats, why painted on the *Macedonian* ſtandards, 271, c, d.
Gold mines ſeized by *Philip*, 290, f. & ſeq.
Golgi, a town in *Cyprus*, 174, b.
Gordian knot, the origin of, 333, b, c. Cut by *Alexander*, ibid. d, e.
Gordiæan mountains in *Armenia*, 695, b.
Gorgus king of *Salamis* expelled by his brother, 177, c. Recalled, 178, b.
Gortyna, a city in *Crete*, deſcribed, 160, d. Its ruins deſcribed, ibid. & ſeq.
—— the temple of, 161, a. By whom built, ibid.
Gortynians ſubdue part of *Crete*, 170, d.
Gracchus ſent to watch over *Antiochus*, 581, c.
Granicus, the battle of, 325, & ſeq.
Greece invaded by *Philip*, 306, & ſeq.
—— the democracy of, reſtored, 325, e.
—— the iſlands of, deſcribed, 240, & ſeq.
—— alarmed at *Alexander*'s ſucceſs, 353, d. Forced to ſubmit to *Antipater*, 358, c, d. 450, e.
Greek mercenaries, how uſed by *Alexander*, 360, b. 361, a, b. Revolt after his death, 419, a. Maſſacred, ibid. & 449, & ſeq.
Greeks come firſt into *Sicily*, 11, d, e. Invade *Africa* under *Agathocles*, 83. Make peace with the *Carthaginians*, 86, & ſeq. Their war with the *Perſians*, 275, & ſeq. Arm againſt *Philip*, 306, & ſeq. Defeated at *Charonea*, 307. Chuſe *Alexander* their general, 318, c. Revolt from him, 320.
Guagamela, the battle of, 350, & ſeq.
Guras ſurrenders *Niſibis* to the *Romans*, 705, e, f.
Gurges, *Q. Fab.* ſent embaſſador to *Ptolemy*, 634, c. His gallantry to him, ibid. d.
Gyarus, iſland, 227. Why uninhabited, ibid. c.
Gylippus ſent to relieve the *Syracuſans*, 23, f. Defeated, 29, a. Seizes ſome of the forts, ibid. e. Beaten out by *Demoſthenes*, 31, a.
Gymnic games inſtituted by *Alexander*, 342, a.
Gyrgenes, king of *Iberia*, turns chriſtian, 835.
Gyrtone, capital of the kingdom of *Oreſtes*, 255, a.

H.

Halicarnaſſus beſieged by *Alexander*, 328, & ſeq. Demoliſhed, 330, b.
Halonneſus, one of the *Cyclades* iſlands, 283. Taken from the pyrates by *Philip*, 302, b, c. By the *Perinthians*, ibid. d, e.
Halycus, a river in *Sicily*, 10, a.
Halys river deſcribed, 567, in fin. Q. Divides *Pontus* from *Paphlagonia*, 722. Runs through *Cappadocia* into the *Euxine*, 762, c.
Hamilcar, his fleet and army, 16, c. Defeated and killed by *Gelon*, 17. —— ſent into *Sicily*, 78, b. Defeated, ibid. d, e. Taken priſoner at *Syracuſe*, 85. Killed, ibid.
Hamilco ſent into *Sicily*, 113, f. Comes to relieve *Syracuſe*, 118, d. Dies of the plague, ibid. & ſeq.
Hammon, *Jupiter*, the temple of, 347, d, e.
Hannibal ſent into *Sicily*, 37, & ſeq. His army and fleet, 38, a. Takes and burns *Selinus*, ibid. e, f. And *Himera*, 39. His ſecond army, 40, d. Invades *Sicily*, ibid. & ſeq. Defeated at ſea by the *Rhodians*, 151. Shelters himſelf with *Antiochus*, 547. Sends *Ariſto* to *Carthage*, 549, & ſeq. Outwitted by the *Romans*, 551, c. His advice to *Antiochus*, 553, a. Untimely rejected, ibid. b. Forms the plan of *Artaxata*, 692. His ſtratagem againſt the *Pergamenians*, 772, & ſeq. Poiſons himſelf, 773. c. & B. His judgment of *Pyrrhus*, 818, P. Tomb at *Lybiſſa*, 825.
Hanno, general againſt *Agathocles*, 84, c. Killed, ibid. e.
—— governor of *Meſſana*, ſurrenders it to the *Romans*, 94, d. Crucified, ibid. f.
—— the ſon of *Hannibal*, beſieges *Meſſana*, 95, a. His ſucceſs in *Sicily*, 98, & ſeq. Defeated, 125, e. Envies *Mutines*, 127. Flees from *Sicily*, ibid. d.
Harmonia, where born, 239, f.
Harpalus, *Alexander*'s treaſurer, why favoured, 368, b. His treachery, 407, b. Puniſhed, ibid. d.
Hebrus, a river in *Thrace*, 787, e.
Hecataus, an account of him, 235, C.
Hegeſianax's ſpeech to the *Roman* commiſſaries, 548, e.
Hegeſiſtratus's ſpeech to *Leutichides*, 198, e.
Helena, the iſland of, deſcribed, 216.
—— queen of *Adiabene*, embraces judaiſm, 849, a, b. Journey to, and piety at *Jeruſalem*, 851, b, c. Turns chriſtian, ibid.
Helenus's fruitleſs attempt to ſuccour his father, 818, b. Taken priſoner, 819, f. Releaſed by *Antigonus*, ibid. & ſeq.
Helepolis, a warlike machine, deſcribed, 140, a. 742, B.
Heliades ſettle at *Rhodes*, 131, & ſeq. Admit *Phorbas*, 132, b.
Helicon foretels an eclipſe, 65, note.
Heliodorus's attempt on the temple, puniſhed, 569, & ſeq. Poiſons the king, 170, e.
Helius, king of *Colchis*, 834.
Heloris ſaves *Rhegium*, 56, a. Defeated by *Dionyſius*, 57, b.
Hepheſtias, metropolis of *Lemnos*, 234, a.
Hepheſtion wounded at *Guagamela*, 351, f. Made general of the horſe with *Clytus*, 367, a. Sent towards *Indus*, 386, a. Rewarded by *Alexander*, 405. Reproved for his treatment of *Eumenes*, 407. His death and obſequies, ibid. & ſeq.
Heptaſtadium, by whom built, 627, b.
Heraclea, *Herod*'s daughter's ſpeech to her murderers, 106, f. & ſeq.
—— a republic in *Bithynia*, deſcribed, 823, a, b. vid. *Heracleans* infra.
—— a city in *Sicily*, b, c. Why called *Minoa*, ibid. —Capital of the *Lynceſti*, 257, b.—In *Pontus*, betrayed to *Mithridates*, 744. Taken by the *Romans*, 747, a. Burnt, ibid. c. —— In *Crete*, deſcribed, 161, d.
Heracleans, their bravery, 823, b, c. Generoſity to *Lamachus*, ibid. e. Their government, tyrants, &c. 824. Recover their liberty, 825, d. Ally with *Rome*, ibid, f. Maſſacred by *Adiatorix*, 826, a, b. Subdued by the *Romans*, ibid. d.
Heraclides's character, 68, c. Cabals againſt *Dion*, ibid. & ſeq. Defeats *Dionyſius* at ſea, 69, a. —Baniſhed for oppreſſion, 591, e. Plots againſt the king of *Syria*, 593, & ſeq. His ſpeech to the *Roman* ſenate, 594, b.
Heraclitus, *Cimæus*, tyrant of *Heraclea*, 825. Impriſoned, ibid.
Heracon put to death for oppreſſion, 404, a.
Hercules the ſon of *Alexander* murdered by *Polyſperchon*, 413, a. 462, e.
—— the cave of, near *Heraclea*, 825, c.
Herean games at *Samos*, deſcribed, 187, f.

Hermias, firſt miniſter of *Syria*, his brutiſh character, 530, e, f. Treacherous advice to *Antiochus*, 531, paſſ. Treachery to *Epigenes*, 532. Tragical end, 534, & ſeq.
Hermocrates's ſucceſsful ſtratagem againſt the *Athenians*, 33, & ſeq. His moderation towards their priſoners, 35, e.
—— the ſophiſt, his advice to *Pauſanias*, 313, d. 314, note.
Hermolaus, why he conſpired againſt *Alexander*, 380, b. His ſpeech to the army, 381. Death, ibid. d.
Herod entertains *Cleopatra* at *Jeruſalem*, 682, e. His advice to *Marc Antony* concerning her, 685. Offers his ſervices to *Octavius*, ibid. f.
Hetruſcans defeated by *Hiero*, 21, b.
Hexapylum deſcribed, 115, note. Taken, 117, b.
Hiera, iſland, how increaſed, 215, e, f.
Hieraptyna, a city in *Crete*, deſcribed, 161, c.
Hierax, prime miniſter of *Phyſcon*, his character, 656, & ſeq.
Hiero, king of *Syracuſe*, 20, c. Wars with the *Argentines*, ibid. & ſeq. Defeats them, 21, c. His death, ibid. f. Character, 22.
—— general of *Syracuſe*, his character, 91, a, b. Rids himſelf of his auxiliaries, 92, b. Defeats the *Mamertines*, 93, d. Outwitted by *Hannibal*, ibid. f. Makes a treaty with *Carthage*, 94, f. Defeated by the *Romans*, 96, b. Allies with them, 97. His wiſe government, ibid. & ſeq. Generoſity to the *Romans*, &c. 98, & ſeq. Death, 100, d, e.
Hieronymus ſucceeds *Hiero* to the crown, 100, e, f. His wicked reign, 101, & ſeq. Breaks with the *Romans*, 102, c. Allies with *Carthage*, ibid. e, & ſeq. Aſſaſſinated, 103, d, e.
Himera, a city in *Sicily*, deſcribed, 8, c. When and by whom built, 12, b. Beſieged by *Hamilcar*, 17, a. Relieved by *Gelon*, ibid. c.
—— a river in *Sicily*, 8, G. & 10, a. vid. & 102, note.
Hipparchus, where born, 256, c.
Hipparinus ſeizes on *Syracuſe*, 73, d, e.
Hippias, tyrant of *Athens*, expelled, 275, d.
—— *Perſeus*'s general oppoſes the *Romans*, 487, f. Surrenders to them, 493, f.
Hippoclus, king of *Chios*, murdered, 109, a.
Hippocrates, tyrant of *Gela*, 15, a. His treachery to the *Zancleans*, 198, b.
—— the famous phyſician, where born, 212, f. T.
—— a nobleman of *Syracuſe*, 101, & ſeq. Diſſuades the young king from allying with *Carthage*, 102, c. Forms a plot againſt the republicans, 105. Choſen prætor, 107, f. Cabals againſt the *Romans*, 108. Choſen general of the *Leontines*, 109, d. His ſtratagem againſt thoſe of *Syracuſe*, 110, b. Enters the city, 111. Defeated by *Marcellus*, 114, b. Dies of the plague, 118, a.
Hippodamus builds the city of *Rhodes*, 130, B.
Hippon, tyrant of *Meſſana*, put to death, 79, c.
Hippoſtratus made general of *Media*, 431, b.
Hippus, a river in *Colchis*, 833, c.
Hiſtiæus's treachery to the *Chians*, 210, d, e. Partiality for *Darius*, 274, b, c.
Hœmus mount in *Macedon*, deſcribed, 257, e.
—— in *Thrace*, 787.
Holophernes's pretenſions to the *Cappadocian* crown, 592, d. Supported by *Demetrius*, 593, b.
Homer, where born, 108, d. His poems, why ſo eſteemed by *Alexander*, 317, c.
Honey of *Pontus*, its wonderful qualities, 722, f. Of *Hybla*, famed, 3, f.
Huns conquer *Bactria*, 846, f.
Hybla, a city in *Sicily*, deſcribed, 3, f. Several cities of that name, ibid. & ſeq.
Hyblea, *Megara*, by whom founded, 11, f.
Hyblean hony famed, 3, f.
Hycetas, tyrant of *Syracuſe*, 88, d, e.
Hydaſpes paſſed by *Alexander*, 390, & ſeq. Repaſſed, 395, b.
Hydraotes, river, paſſed by the ſame, 393, c. Repaſſed, 396, a.
Hydruſia, iſland, ſee *Tenos*, 225, d. And *Andros*, 226, e.
Hyperborean maidens, how worſhipped at *Delos*, 229, d.
Hyperion, the *Titan*, a great aſtronomer, 163, a.
Hyphaſis, river, the boundary of *Alexander*'s conqueſts, 394, & ſeq. & E.
Hyppius, a river in *Bithynia*, 827, b.
Hyrcania invaded by *Alexander*, 360, b, c.
Hyrcanus made governor of *Judæa* by *Seleucus*, 571, a. Succeeds his brother, 608. Makes peace with *Sidetes*, ibid. b. His feats in *Hyrcania*, ibid. c. Shakes off the foreign yoke, 610, f. Sides with *Zebina*, 611, d. His conqueſts, 614, & ſeq.

I.

Jaliſſus, an ancient city of *Rhodes*, deſcribed, 129, d.
Jamblicus I. king of *Emeſſa*, 848, b.—II. reſtored by *Octavianus*, ibid. d.
Jaſon, where born, 239, f. Marries *Cybele*, 240, a.
—— *al. Jeſus*, buys the *Jewiſh* high-prieſthood, 572, e, f. Supplanted by his brother, 573, & ſeq. Drives him out, 576, c.
Iberia, the kingdom of, deſcribed, 835. Origin, government, &c. ibid. & ſeq. Invaded by *Pompey*, 836, b, c. By the *Perſians*, 837.
Icaria, iſland, deſcribed, 211, e. Whence ſo called, ibid. f.
Icetas's inhumanity to *Dion*'s family, 73, d. Becomes tyrant of the *Leontines*, ibid. & ſeq. Attempts at *Syracuſe*, 74, a. Obſtructs *Timoleon*'s entering *Sicily*, 75, a. Defeated by him, ibid. d. Beſieges the citadel of *Syracuſe*, 76. Depoſed by *Timoleon*, 77, e. Put to death with his whole family, 79, b.
Icus, iſland, deſcribed, 233.
Ida, a mountain in *Crete*, deſcribed, 161, f, & ſeq.
Idæi, *Dactyli*, inhabit mount *Ida*, 162, d.
Idomæus, king of *Crete*, goes to the *Trojan* war, 169, c. Forced into *Calabria*, ibid. & note. Adored by the *Cretans*, ibid. d.
Idrieus ſent againſt *Cyprus*, 181, & ſeq.
Jemphorina, a city of *Thrace*, 787, c.
Jeruſalem gariſoned by *Scopas*, 543, b. Taken by *Antiochus*, 576, c, d, & T. Burnt and ſacked by *Apollonius*, 580, & ſeq.
Jews reſtored by *Cyrus*, 1, & ſeq. Planted in *Syria* by *Seleucus*, 518, a. In high favour with *Antiochus*, 544, a, b. Perſecuted by his ſon, 580, & ſeq. Burn and ſack *Antioch*, 602, d. Why they conſtantly ſided with the beſt bidder, 611, U. Perſecuted by *Philopator*, 644, d, & ſeq. Miraculouſly preſerved, 645, d.
Illyria invaded by the *Romans*, 487, d, 488, f.
Illyrians go over to the *Lynceſtbi*, 282, d. Subdued by *Philip*, 290, a, b. 298, b.
Imbrian feſtivals, deſcribed, 236, e.
Imbros, iſland, deſcribed, 236. By whom ſubdued, ibid. f.
Imilcar ſent with *Hannibal* into *Sicily*, 40, d. Beſieges *Agrigentum*, 41, b. Intercepts the *Syracuſian* fleet, ibid. e, f. Takes *Agrigentum*, 42. And *Gela*, 46. Makes peace with *Dionyſius*, ibid. Sent general againſt *Demetrius*, 50. Takes *Erix* and *Motya*, ibid. f. And *Meſſana*, 51. Beſieges *Syracuſe*, 52, & ſeq. Beat by ſea and land, 54. Kills himſelf, 55, d.
Indians defeated by *Alexander*, 387. Treacherouſly treated by him, 388, b.
Indus paſſed by *Alexander*, 390, a.
Inopus, a river in *Delos*, 231, b.
John Hyrcan, vid. *Hyrcanus*, 571, &c.
Ion's treachery to *Perſeus*, 495, c. Where born, 108, e, & note.
Jonathan ſucceeds *Judas Maccabæus*, 591, f. Courted by the kings of *Syria*, 595, b, c. His victories, 597.

597. Honours, ibid. d, & ſeq. & 601, e. Joins with *Antiochus Theus*, 603, b, c. Murdered by *Tryphon*, 604, e.
Ionian, Samos, why ſo called, 186, c.
Ionian gulf, deſcribed, 240, P.
Ionians ſettle at *Samos*, 188, e. Treachery to the *Chians*, 210, c.
Joppa taken by *Antigonus*, 432, b. Retaken by *Jonathan*, 597, b.
Ioria, the region of, where ſituate, 257, b.
Joſeph, a noble *Jewiſh* youth, ſaves his nation, 640, & ſeq. Farms the revenues of *Cœlo-Syria*, 641. How long he enjoyed the place, 642, a, b.
Iougous mountain, its poiſonous weed, 251, d.
Iphicrates's friendſhip to *Perdiccas* II. 286, d.
Iphimedia carried off by the *Naxians*, 220, d.
Iris, a river in *Pontus*, deſcribed, 720, d. 722, e.
Iron, the melting of, where firſt diſcovered, 162, b.
Iſanthus, a king of the *Cabyſi*, 794.
Iſaurians, their deſperate end, 420, c.
Iſocrates's orations to *Nicocles*, 181, e.
Iſſa, vid. *Antiſſa*, 2, c. 3, e.
Iſſus, the battle of, 335, & ſeq. 440, & ſeq.
Judæa, Syria, &c. ſeized on by *Antigonus*, 432, By *Ptolemy*, ibid. f, & ſeq. Recovered by the former, 433, e, f. By the latter, 440, d. By *Antiochus*, 537, f. By *Philopator*, 538, e, f. By *Antiochus*, 543, d, e. How it continued in the poſſeſſion of *Seleucus*, 571, c, d. Waſted by *Antiochus*, 576, 580, & ſeq.
Julis, the famous ruins of, 217, e. Its worthies, ibid. & U.
Juno, her famous temple at *Samos*, 187, c.
Jupiter, one of the *Titans*, 163, a. Where brought up, ibid. c. By whom nurſed, 165, b. vid. & note K. 165.
Juventius ſent againſt *Andriſcus*, 504, a. Defeated and ſlain, ibid. c.
Ixates, prince of *Adiabene*, preferred before his brothers, 849. Inclined to judaiſm, ibid. Is circumciſed, 850. Invaded by *Abias*, ibid. d. By the *Vologeſes*, ibid. e. His deliverance and death, ibid. f. Character, 851, a, b. Tomb at *Jeruſalem*, ibid. c.

K.

Krim, al. Crim, the peninſula of, 841, b.
Kur, a river of *Georgia*, 839, d.

L.

Lacedæmonians ſpeech to the *Athenians*, 278, c, d. Join forces with the *Macedonians*, 281. Aſſiſt *Amyntas* againſt the *Olynthians*, 285, b.
Laches finiſhes the *Coloſſus*, 130, C.
Laconic gulf, the iſles of, 242, e.
Lade, the ſea-fight of, 210, c. The iſles of, 212, c.
Lævinus comes into *Sicily*, 127, a. Takes *Agrigentum*, ibid. b. Completes the conqueſt of that iſland, 128.
Lævius attacks the *Epirots*, 809, b. Defeated by them, ibid. e.—anſwer to *Pyrrhus*'s letter, 808, e.
Lageion, the order of, whence, 625, a.
Lagides, the ſurname of the *Ptolemies*, ibid.
Lagus, his extract, 624, e. Whether the father of *Ptolemy*, ibid.
Lamachus ſent into *Sicily*, 26, b. Killed before *Syracuſe*, 28, d.
—— governor of *Heraclea*, betrays it to *Mithridates*, 744, a, & F.
Lamia, concubine of *Demetrius*, 447, e.
—— a city in *Theſſaly*, beſieged, 449, e.
Lampſacus, beſieged by *Antiochus*, 545, c.
Langarus's kindneſs to *Alexander*, 320, b.
Laodice married to *Perſeus*, 484, b.
—— wife of *Antiochus*, 529, e. Poiſons him, ibid. & ſeq.
—— —— of *Mithridates*, her lewdneſs puniſhed, 727, c.
—— —— of *Orophernes*, her cruelty puniſhed, 766, d.
Laodicea, by whom built, 515, a.
Laons, a river in *Macedon*, deſcribed, 260, c.
Lapathus, a city in *Cyprus*, deſcribed, 173, b.
Lapitas, king of *Crete*, 166, a.
Lappa in *Crete*, taken by *Metellus*, 172, a.
Lapythæ, one of the four parts of *Cyprus*, 175, a.
Laſer, al. Laſerpitium, ſhrub, deſcribed, 663, H.
Laſthenes, his character, 596, H. Cruelties, 601.
Latomiæ, the priſon of, deſcribed, 4, f, & ſeq.
Latona, where delivered, 227, f, & ſeq. 231, c.
Laudamia, vid. *Deidamia*, 810, e.
Laurandians ſeverely puniſhed by *Perdiccas*, 420, c.
Law-ſuits, how carried on in *Macedon*, 265, & ſeq.
Learning, how revived in *Greece*, 655, & ſeq.
Lemnian women turn *Amazons*, 236, c, d.
—— earth, why famed, 134, c. How digged, ibid. d.
Lemnians offered human ſacrifices to *Juno*, 234, a. Murdered by their wives, 135, c, d.
Lemnos, iſland, deſcribed, 233, & ſeq. The labyrinth of, 235, a. By whom firſt inhabited, ibid. b. Its government, 136, b.
Lenæus, regent of *Egypt*, challenges *Paleſtine*, 573, c.
Lentiſus, ſon of *Ptolemy*, taken priſoner by *Demetrius*, 184, a.
Lentulus's deſcent into *Egypt* oppoſed, 669.
Leomedon's government after *Alexander*'s death, 417, a. 423, c.
Leon ſurpriſes *Acradina*, 76, e.
—— a city in *Sicily*, deſcribed, 115, note.
Leonatus reſcues *Alexander* from the *Malli*, 398, d. His poſt after the king's death, 417, a. Succours *Antipater*, 449, c. Killed, ibid. f.
Leonidas, tutor of *Alexander*, 317, b.—appointed to command the turbulent battalion, 366, f.
Leontifera, an *Heraclean* ſhip, ſo called, 823.
Leontines come into *Sicily*, 11, e. Oppreſſed by the *Syracuſians*, 24, e. Make peace with them, 25, c. Break it, 109, d.
Leontini, a city in *Sicily*, deſcribed, 3, d. Taken by the *Romans*, 109, e.
—— the lake of, deſcribed, 3, e.
Leoſthenes's zeal for democracy, 449, a, b. Succeſs and death, ibid. d, e.
Lepidus made guardian of *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, 542, f, & B.
Leptines made admiral of *Dionyſius*'s fleet, 50, a. Sinks fifty *Carthaginian* gallies, ibid. f. Defeated by *Mago*, 51, f. Diſcharged for his generoſity, 56, f. Killed by the *Carthaginians*, 60, e. His character, ibid. f.
—— tyrant of *Engya*, depoſed by *Timoleon*, 77, e.
Leros, the iſland of, deſcribed, 212.
Lesbians, from whom deſcended, 205. Their government, kings, &c. ibid. & ſeq. Subdued by the *Mitylenians*, 206, a. By the *Perſians*, ibid. e, f. Defeated by *Polycrates*, 291, b. Treachery to the *Ionians*, 297, e. Various fates ſince, ibid. paſſ.
Lesbos, iſland, deſcribed, 203, b. By whom firſt inhabited, 205. Famed for its wine, 204.
Lesbus, the ſon of *Lapithos*, ſettles in *Lesbos*, 205, c. Becomes king of it, ibid. f.
Leucanor, king of *Boſporus*, killed, 843, a.
Leucus, iſland, deſcribed, 241.
Leuci, mountains in *Crete*, deſcribed, 162, c.
Leucippus, king of *Rhodes*, 105, e.
Leucon I. and II. kings of *Boſporus*, 841, d, e.
Leutychides drives off the *Perſian* fleet, 198, e, f.
Liba, where ſituate, 503, S.
Libyſſa, a city in *Bithynia*, deſcribed, 826, e.
Ligoras's ſtratagem at the ſiege of *Sardis*, 539, Y.
Lilybæum, the cape of, in *Sicily*, 1.
—— the city of, deſcribed, 7, b. 89, c.
—— the poetic well of, ibid. c.
Lindia, Minerva, her temple, 129, B.

Lindus, an ancient city of *Rhodes*, deſcribed, 129, c.
Lipari, iſland, deſcribed, 10, c.
Livius, the *Roman* admiral, defeats *Antiochus*, 555, d. His ſucceſs in the *Helleſpont*, 556, b, c. Succeeded by *Æmilius*, ibid. d.
Lochia, what, 116, W.
Locrians accuſed of ſacrilege, 205, f.
Lombai, what, 116, W.
Lucania laid waſte by the *Romans*, 808, d.
Lucanians hired by *Dionyſius* againſt the *Thurians*, 56, c.
Lucullea, games ſo called, 743, b.
Lucullus ſent by *Sylla* into *Egypt*, 664, b. His haughty meſſage to *Tigranes*, 701, f. Marches into *Armenia*, 702, b, c. His ſucceſs againſt *Tigranes*, 703. Againſt *Mithridates*, 705, c. Forſaken by his army, ibid. & ſeq. Recalled, 106, b, c. His treachery to *Fimbria*, 736, b. To *Mithridates*, 740. Succeſs againſt him, 741, & ſeq. Enters *Cyzicum*, 743, b. Diſtreſſes *Mithridates*, 745, & ſeq. Subdues *Pontus*, 746. Takes *Amiſus*, 747. *Sinope*, 748, c. O. Forſook by his army, 750. Succeeded by *Pompey*, ibid. Returns to *Rome*, 751, c.
Lycaſtes, king of *Crete*, 166, d.
Lychnides, a city in *Macedon*, 225, b, &c.
——— —— like, ibid. 260, e.
Lychnites, *Parian* marble, why ſo called, 222.
Lychus, a city in *Crete*, deſcribed, 161, c.
Lycians, whence ſo called, 166, c. Bitter complaints againſt the *Rhodians*, 152, c. Redreſſed, ibid. e. Reſtored to their freedom, 156, b.
Lycomedes, king of *Scyrus*, kills *Theſeus*, 232.
Lycophron wars with *Philip*, 292, b, c.
Lycus, a river in *Armenia*, 694, a. Deſcribed, 553, T.
Lynceſtbi, where ſituate, 257, b. Invaded by the *Macedonians*, 282, c.
Lyſias ſent againſt the *Jews*, 582, e. Defeated by them, 583, b. Seizes on the government of *Syria*, 585, b. Defeated by *Judas Maccabæus*, 586, f. 587, e. Cauſes *Octavius* to be aſſaſſinated, 588, & ſeq. Put to death, 591, c.
Lyſicles defeated by *Philip*, 307, d. Put to death, ibid. e.
Lyſimachia, by whom built, 868. Overturned, ibid. d. Rebuilt by *Antiochus*, 545, e. Forſaken by him, 560, b.
Lyſimachus, tutor to *Alexander*, 315, b. His poſt after the king's death, 417, b. Defends it againſt *Seuthes*, 419, d. Gets *Thrace* by the new treaty, 435, b. Marches againſt *Antigonus*, 439, & ſeq. His ſucceſs againſt *Demetrius*, 442, a, b. Seizes on *Macedon*, 468, d. Poiſons his eldeſt ſon, ibid. e, f. Defeated and killed by *Seleucus*, 469, a.
Lyzandra married to *Agathocles*, 468, d. Perſecuted by *Arſinoe*, ibid. e.
Lyzanias, king of *Chalcis*, aſſiſts the *Aſmoneans*, 854, c. Put to death by *Antony*, ibid. d.

M.

Macareus ſettles in *Lesbos*, 105, c. His reign and conqueſts, ibid. e, f.
Macaris, *Crete*, why ſo called, 160.
Maccabees, their victories over the *Syrians*, 581, b. 583, a. 586, & ſeq. Make peace with *Lyſias*, 587, a.
Macedo, who, 253, A.
Macedonia, whence ſo called, 253, a, & A. Its limits, &c. ibid. b, c, & B. Deſcribed, 257, & ſeq. Its ſeas, lakes, &c. 260. Rich mines, 261, b. Antiquity, laws, and kings, 262, & ſeq. Invaded by the *Athenians*, 297, a. By the *Illyrians*, 298, c. Subdued by the *Romans*, 493, f, & ſeq. Its new diviſion, government, &c. 496, c. & ſeq. Various changes ſince, 500, & ſeq.
Macedonians, originally *Argives*, 262. Their laws and cuſtoms, ibid. & ſeq. Religion, 264, & ſeq. Ignorance of ſea affairs, 265, d. Months, 266. Coin, 267, a. Language, military diſcipline, &c. ibid. & ſeq. Manner of encamping and fighting, 268, & ſeq. Kings, 271, & ſeq. Become dependent on the *Perſians*, 275. Their faithfulneſs to them, 276, & ſeq. Defeated by the *Lynceſtians*, 282, e. Rewarded by *Alexander*, 405. Mutiny, 406. Frighted at a lunar eclipſe, 492, b, c.
Macedonian empire, how divided after *Alexander's* death, 315, 417, 423.
Macron's treachery to the king of *Egypt*, 575, S.
Maandrus's generoſity to the *Samians*, 195, b, & ſeq. Invaded by *Syloſon*, 196, & ſeq. Retires to *Lacedæmon*, 197, b. Forced to retire to *Samos*, ibid. c, d.
Magas, king of *Lybia's* alliance with *Ptolemy*, 524, b. Broken by his widow, ibid. c.
——— brother of *Philadelphus*, revolts from him, 635.
Magneſia, the battle of, 564, & ſeq.
Mago ſent admiral againſt *Dionyſius*, 50, e. Defeated by him, 55, f. Makes peace with him, 56, b. Sent again into *Sicily*, 60, c. Defeated and killed, ibid. c. Succeeded by his valiant ſon, ibid. d.
Malli, confederates againſt *Alexander*, 393, c. Defeated, ibid. & ſeq. 397, & ſeq.
Malum, a city in *Cyprus*, 173, d.
Mamercus, tyrant of *Catana*, put to death, 97, c.
Mamertini, who, 88, b. Their treachery to the *Meſſenians*, ibid. c. Defeated by *Pyrrhus*, 90, e. By *Hiero*, 92, c.
Maracanda, by whom built, 845, d. Beſieged by the *Scythians*, 371, f. Relieved by *Alexander*, 373, c.
Marcelli, patrons of the *Sicilians*, 126, e.
Marcellus ſent into *Sicily*, 107, f. Takes *Leontini*, 109, e. Beſieges *Syracuſe*, 111, c, d. Invents a new machine, 112, a. Takes ſeveral cities, 113, f. Defeats *Hippocrates*, 114. His ſingular clemency, 117, & ſeq. A plague in his army, 118, e. Takes *Syracuſe*, 121, & ſeq. His ſignal clemency to it, ibid. Takes *Engyum*, 124, c. Defeats the *Carthaginians*, 125, e. Unjuſtly accuſed, 126, b, c. Cleared, ibid. d. How far blameable, ibid. note.
Mardi, ſubdued by *Alexander*, 360.
Mardonius's ſucceſsleſs expedition againſt *Athens*, 275, & ſeq. Againſt *Greece*, 276, & ſeq. Defeated and killed, 279, c.
Mariandyni, their origin, 827, d, e.
Marius put to death by *Lucullus*, 743, d.
Marlias outwits *Perſeus*, 485, f. Sent againſt him, 487, e. Gets into the vale of *Tempe*, 488. Ill ſucceſs in *Macedon*, ibid. d, e.
Marmarians, their deſperate defence againſt *Alexander*, 330, c.
Marmora, the ſea of, whence ſo called, 201, P.
Maronites plundered by *Onomaſtus*, 479, b.
Marpeſſus's mount, famed for marble, 222, e, f.
Maſius mount in *Armenia*, 695.
Maſſaga beſieged and taken by *Alexander*, 387, b, &c.
Maſſageta defeated by *Craterus*, 382.
Maſſana ſurpriſed, 88, b.
Maſtic of *Chios*, famed, 108, b.
Maſtiffs of *Adranum*, why famed, 8, e, & ſeq.
Mauſolus, king of *Caria*, oppreſſes the *Rhodians*, 136, b.
Mazaca, metropolis of *Cappadocia*, 762, a.
Mazaces ſurrenders to *Alexander*, 345.
Mazæus abandons his poſt to *Alexander*, 349, b, d. 353, a.
Mebarſapes, king of *Adiabene*, driven out, 851, f.
Media, *Atropatia*, vid. *Atropatene*, 844, & ſeq.
Medius feaſts *Alexander*, 410, d, e.
Megabiſus's hapleſs meſſage to *Amyntas*, 247.
Megacles killed inſtead of *Pyrrhus*, 809, d.
Megalopolitans beſieged by *Polyſperchon*, 455, & ſeq.
Megara taken and razed by the *Romans*, 118, f.
Megarean war with the *Samians*, 189, d.
Megaris, vid. *Hybla*, 3.

Megas put to death by his brother, 643, d.
Megaſthenes's character and writings, 522, a, & M.
Megeates made governor of *Syria*, 617, a. Recalled, 619, d.
Melanchrus, tyrant of *Lesbos*, 106, c.
Melas, a river of *Cappadocia*, 762, c.
Meleager declares for *Aridæus*, 415, b. His character, ibid. d. Supplanted by *Perdiccas*, 416, c.
—— brother of *Ceraunus*, choſen king of *Macedon*, 470, c.
Melians, whence, 218, d. Cruelly treated by the *Athenians*, ibid. e.
Meliſſa, one of *Jupiter*'s nurſes, 165, b.
Meliſſa, whence ſo called, ibid.
Meliſſeus introduces worſhip in *Crete*, 165, b.
Melos, iſland, deſcribed, 218. Invaded by the *Athenians*, ibid. d. Subdued by the *Romans*, ibid. f.
Memnon defeated by *Alexander*, 325.—defends *Halicarnaſſus*, 328, d, & ſeq.
Menander, king of *Bactria*, his conqueſts, 846, d.
Menelaus defeated by *Demetrius*, 183, b. Defends *Salamis*, ibid. c. Taken priſoner, 184, a.
—— the *Jew*, buys the high-prieſthood, 573. Apoſtatiſes, 574, a. Cauſes *Onias* to be murdered, ibid. c. Convicted of many crimes, 575, c.
Meneſarchus, tyrant of *Eubœa*, wars with the *Thebans*, 251, c.
Menidas wounded at *Guagamela*, 350, f.
Menippas's ſpeech to the *Romans*, 548, c.
Menithillus facilitates *Demetrius*'s eſcape, 590, a.—ſpeech to the *Roman* ſenate, 651, c.
Mericus ſurrenders *Acradina* to the *Romans*, 120, f, & ſeq.
Meriones king of *Crete*, 169, d. Adored by the *Cretans*, ibid.
Meros perſuades *Porus* to ſubmit to *Alexander*, 392, c.
Meronea taken by the *Macedonians*, 147, a.
Meſades, king of the *Odryſſæ*, 792, a.
Meſopotamia conquered by *Tigranes*, 701, b.
Meſſene beſieged by *Demetrius*, 441, f.
Meſſina, *al. Meſſana*, a city in *Sicily*, 2, d. Whence ſo called, 3, a. Taken by the *Carthaginians*, 51, b. Razed, ibid. c. Rebuilt by *Dionyſius*, 55, c. Attacked by the *Carthaginians*, 92, & ſeq. Relieved by the *Romans*, 94, b. Cloſely beſieged by *Hanno*, 95, a.
—— the ſtreights of, deſcribed, 2, a.
Meſtella, a city in *Iberia*, 835, c.
Metellus ſent into *Crete*, 171, c. Quarrels with *Pompey*, ibid. d, e. Subdues the iſland, 172, b.—defeats the *Pſeudo-Philip* in *Macedon*, 505. Reduces it into a *Roman* province, ibid. f.
Methone razed by *Philip*, 291, c.
Methymia, a city in *Lesbos*, deſcribed, 204, a.
Metrodorus, where born, &c. 108, & note.
—— ſent embaſſador to *Tigranes*, 700, d. His death, ibid. e.
Metrophanes ravages *Eubœa*, 733, c.
Micri Camini, the iſland of, 215, f.
Micythus, regent of *Rhegium*, retires into *Greece*, 21, c.
Migdonia conquered by *Tigranes*, 701, b.
Miletum beſieged by *Alexander*, 327, f.
Milinus, king of *Crete*, 165, b.
Milo ſurrenders *Tarentum*, 820, a.—puniſhed for his double parricide, 821, a.
Miltiades I. choſen king of the *Dolonci*, 789, a, b. Reſcued from the *Lampſacians*, ibid. c. His death, ibid. d.
—— II. ſeizes the kingdom of the *Dolonci*, ibid. d, e.
—— *Athenian* general's victory at *Marathon*, 223. Fruitleſs attempt on *Paros*, ibid. & ſeq.
Minio's haughty ſpeech to the *Roman* embaſſadors, 551, a, b.
Minoa, by whom built, 12, c.
Minos gives laws to *Crete*, 163. Whoſe ſon he was, ibid. f. His reign, 166, b. Fleet, wars, &c. ibid. & ſeq. Cruelty to the *Athenians*, 167, a. War with *Cocalus*, ibid. c. Murdered, ibid. d. His laws, ibid. & ſeq. Vid. & p. 12 and 13.
Minotaur, deſcribed, 167, b.
Mithridates I. third king of *Pontus*, 724, b. Goes over to *Alexander*, 330, b.
—— II. wars with *Antigonus*, ibid. & ſeq.
—— III. his reign, 725, a.
—— IV. invaded by the *Galatians*, ibid. b.
—— V. wars with the *Synopians*, ibid. c.
—— VI. a firm ally to the *Romans*, 726, d. Murdered, ibid. e.
—— VII. his glorious reign, ibid. & ſeq. Conqueſts, 727, & ſeq. Treachery, 728, c, d. Invades *Bithynia*, 729. Beats the *Romans*, 730. Cruelty to them, 131, & ſeq. Defeated by the *Rhodians*, 157, c. 733, a. Ominous prodigies againſt him, ibid. S. Defeated by *Sylla*, 734. By *Fimbria*, 736, a, b. Makes peace with *Sylla*, 737, & ſeq. His cruelty to his ſon, 739, a. Begins a new war, ibid. & ſeq. Ill ſucceſs before *Cyzicum*, 741, & ſeq. & C. Defeats the *Romans*, 745, a. Forſaken by his army, ibid. & ſeq. Murders all his wives, &c. 746, b. Renews the war againſt the *Romans*, 748. Defeated, 749, c. His letter to *Arſaces*, 704, K. Overthrows the *Romans*, 749, e, & ſeq. Beſieged by *Pompey*, 751, e, f. Defeated again, 752. Flees into *Scythia*, 753. Appears afreſh, 754. Forſaken by his army, 755. Betrayed by his ſon, ibid. & ſeq. Kills himſelf, 756. His character, ibid. & ſeq. Burial, 757, d, e.
—— *Iberus* crowned king of *Armenia* by *Tiberius*, 710, c. Invaded by *Artabanus*, ibid. d. Sent priſoner to *Rome*, ibid. e. Reſtored, ibid. Betrayed by *Pallio*, 711, c. Murdered by *Rhadamiſtus*, 712, a.
—— II. king of *Armenia*, joins with the king of *Pontus*, 726, c.
—— king of *Parthia*, takes *Demetrius* priſoner, 605, f, & ſeq.
—— king of *Pergamus*'s great ſervices to *Julius Cæſar*, 676, a. 678, b, c. Made king of *Boſporus*, 843, d. Killed, ibid. e.
—— I. and II. kings of *Iberia*, 836, e, & ſeq.
—— king of *Atropatene*, 844.
—— of *Comagene*, made ſo by the *Romans*, 853, d.
Mithridatic war, 727, & ſeq. Renewed, 739, & ſeq. The length of it, 756, ſub fin. not.
Mithrobazanes reſtored to his father's crown, 699, d.
Mitylene, metropolis of *Lesbos*, 204, b. Its worthies, ibid. The ſeat of learning, ibid. c. Taken by *Mnemon*, 107, c.
Mitylenians war with the *Athenians*, 106, a. Highly favoured by *Alexander*, 107, d.
Mnemon the *Rhodian*, invades *Lesbos*, 107, c.
Mnemoſyne, whence ſo called, 163, b.
Moawias ſells the *Coloſſus*, 131, c.
Mœdi plunder the *Delphic* temple, 749, d.
Molo, prince of *Syria*, revolts from *Antiochus*, 530, e, f. Defeats his generals, 531. Is defeated, 533, d. Kills himſelf, ibid. e. His body crucified, 534, a.
Moloſſis, a province of *Epirus*, deſcribed, 796, c. Famed for its maſtiffs, 798, b. Subdued by *Pyrrhus*, ibid. e.
Moloſſus, king of *Epirus* brought up by *Helenus*, 799, e, f.
Monima put to death, 746, b. L.
Monobaſus I. king of *Adiabene*, 849, a.
—— II. made regent, ibid. c, d. Mounts the throne, 851.
Mopſueſtians murder *Seleucus*, 615, d. Puniſhed by *Euſebes*, ibid. e.
Morgantia, vid. *Murgentium*, 3, c.
Morgeta, who, 3, d.
Morimena, *Jupiter*'s temple at, 763, d.
Morpeſſus, famed for its marble, 222.
Moſaic laws, whether copied by *Ariſtotle*, 330, F.

Moſchick mountains in *Armenia*, whence ſo called, 695, b.
Mother, a title given to the chief goddeſſes, 9, c. & H.
Motya, deſcribed, 49, e. Taken by *Dionyſius*, 50, b.
Mulolitum, where ſituate, 787.
Murena left prætor of *Aſia*, 738, e. Defeated by *Mithridates*, 739, d. His ſon more ſucceſsful againſt him, 740, e, & G.
Murgentium, a city in *Sicily*, deſcribed, 3, c. Surrendered to *Hamilco*, 114, e.
Muſa, princeſs of *Bithynia*, deprived of her ſucceſſion, 832, b.
Muſæum of *Alexandria*, deſcribed, 630, b, c.
Muſicanus's ſubmiſſion and preſents to *Alexander*, 400, a. Revolts, and is crucified, ibid. d, & H.
Mutines's valour maintains the *Carthaginians* in *Sicily*, 124, & ſeq. Envied by *Hanno*, &c. 125. Ravages the iſland, ibid. f. Betrays *Agrigentum* to the *Romans*, 127. Rewarded by them, 128, b.
Mycaberna taken by *Philip*, 294.
Myconians ſubject to baldneſs, 225, b. Their character, ibid.
Myconus, iſland, deſcribed, ibid.
Mygdonia, a province in *Macedon*, 253. Where ſituate, 256, c.
Myla, a city in *Sicily*, deſcribed, 92, & N.
Myndians repulſe *Alexander*, 329, a.
Mynians ſettle in *Lacedæmon*, 214, c. Their treachery, ibid. d. Eſcape, ibid. e. Settle at *Thera*, ibid. f. & ſeq.
Myrlea in *Bithynia*, by whom founded, 822, a.
Myrmidons, whence ſo called, 243, c, d.
Myron, a famed ſtatuary, 188, b.
Myrſilus, tyrant of *Lesbos*, 106, c.

N.

Nabatean Arabs invaded by *Antigonus*, 433, & ſeq. Make peace with his ſon, 434, c. Fall foul on his collector of the bitumen, ibid. f.
Nania, by whom invented, 217, b.
Namea, the ſame with *Diana*, 609, R. Her temple attempted by *Sidetes*, ibid. c, d.
Narteas, the temple of, 186, c.
Nauplius, king of *Eubœa*, wrecks the *Grecian* fleet, 247, c. His death, ibid. d.
Naxians, whence, 220, d. Their government, ibid. & ſeq. Treachery to the *Perſians*, 221, d.
Naxos, iſland, deſcribed, 219, f. Its excellent wines, 220, b. Taken by *Dionyſius*, 48, d. By the *Theſſalians*, 220, e. *Curians*, ibid. f. Invaded by *Ariſtagoras*, 221, b. Subdued by the *Perſians*, ibid. d. By the *Athenians*, ibid. e.
Naxus, the ſon of *Palemon*, reigns in *Naxos*, 220, f.
—— metropolis of that iſland, 221, a.
Nazianzum, a city in *Cappadocia*, 762, b.
Neapaphos, in *Cyprus*, deſcribed, 174, a.
Neapolis, one of the four quarters of *Syracuſe*, 4, b, d. When added to it, 5, b.
—— a city in *Thrace*, 786, c.
Nearchus made admiral to *Alexander*, 397, b. Sails down the *Indus*, 401, & ſeq. & I. Rejoins *Alexander*, 404, b.
Negropont, *Eubœa* why ſo called, 246, d.
Neleus, a river in *Eubœa*, 247, c.
Neocæſarea, a city in *Pontus*, 721, b.
Neolaus, his tragical end, 533, e.
Neoptolemus I. king of *Epirus*, 801, a.
—— II. ſet up againſt *Pyrrhus*, 804, b, c. Put to death by him, ibid. e.
—— a flattering poet to *Philip*, 310, L.
—— the ſon of *Amyntas*, killed at *Halicarnaſſus*, 329, c.
—— governor of *Armenia*, defeated by *Eumenes*, 421, f. & ſeq. Killed, 422, c.
Neptune, why worſhipped at *Tenos*, 226, a, b.
Nerirus mount, where ſituate, 241, f.
Neronia, new *Artaxata*, ſo called, 692, f.
Neſtus, a river in *Macedon*, 260, e.
Nicæa built by *Alexander*, 393, a. —Taken by *Triarius*, 744, a.
—— in *Bithynia*, by whom built, 826, f. Deſcribed, 827, a, b.
Nicander king of *Cos*, 105, e.
Nicanor's lot after *Alexander*'s death, 423, f. Defeated by *Seleucus*, 433, c. Refuſes to obey *Polyſperchon*'s edict, 455, a. Defeated by *Clytus*, 456, c. Defeats him, ibid. d. Slain by *Caſſander*, ibid.
Nicaria, vide *Icaria*, 211, e.
Nicolaus the *Syracuſian*'s brave ſpeech in favour of the *Athenian* priſoners, 35, & ſeq.
—— officer to *Ptolemy*, his fidelity to him, 537, c, d. Made his generaliſſimo, 538, b. Defeated by *Nearchus*, ibid. d, e.
Nicias ſent into *Sicily*, 26, a, b. Surpriſes *Olympicum*, 27, f. And *Epipolæ*, 28, c. Driven out by *Gylippus*, 29, e. Defeated at ſea, 30, b, c. Frighted by a lunar eclipſe, 31, e. Defeated again, 32, & ſeq. Outwitted by *Hermocrates*, 33, & ſeq. Greatly diſtreſſed, 34, & ſeq. Surrenders to *Gylippus*, 35, b. Condemned to death, 36.
—— *Perſeus*'s general, condemned to death, 488, b, c.
—— *Pyrrhus*'s phyſician's treacherous offer, 814, a. Rejected by the *Romans*, ibid. b. His puniſhment, 816, a.
—— a wit, his untimely pleaſantry, 124, c.
Nicocles I. king of *Cyprus* dethroned, 179, c.
—— II. his reign, 181, d.
—— king of *Paphos* and his family kill themſelves, 182, d, e.
Nicocrates king of *Salamis*, his noble library, 178.
Nicocreon I. king of *Salamis*, 177, a.
—— II. his cruelty, 179, c.
Nicomedes prince of *Bithynia* eſcapes his father's treachery, 779, & ſeq. Takes up arms againſt him, 780, & ſeq. Puts him to death, 781, b. Calls in the *Gauls*, 522, 828. Gives them part of *Aſia Minor*, ibid. Builds *Nicomedia*, 829.
—— II. his obſcure reign, 831.
—— III. allies with *Mithridates*, 727, 831. Driven out of *Cappadocia*, ibid. Wars againſt *Pontus*, 729, 831. Reduced to a private life, ibid. f. Reſtored and dies, ibid.
—— lampooned for his familiarity with *Julius Cæſar*, 831, & ſeq. & T. The laſt *Bithynian* king, 832, a, b.
Nicomedia metropolis of *Bithynia*, 822, 829. Made *Conſtantine*'s reſidence, ibid. Where ſituate, 827, a.
Nicopolis in *Armenia Minor*, by whom built, 718, d.
—— in *Thrace*, by whom founded, 787, d.
Niphates mount in *Armenia*, 695, b.
Niſibis taken by *Tigranes*, 701. By *Lucullus*, 705, f. 747, f.
Niſyra, iſland, how parted from that of *Cos*, 213, d.
Noah worſhipped by the ancient *Armenians*, 697, e. Some remains of his ark at *Caron*, 849, b.
Nubium, a city in *Iberia*, 835, c.
Nypſius ſurprizes *Syracuſe*, 70, b. Puts all to the ſword, ibid. c, d.
Nyſa, a city in *Cappadocia*, 762, b.
—— taken by *Alexander*, 390, D.

O.

Oaſis in *Egypt*, inhabited by *Samians*, 189, a.
Oaths how taken and given by the *Romans*, 567, a.
Ochus invades *Cyprus*, 181, f, & ſeq. Makes peace with it, 182.
—— a river in *Bactria*, 845, c.
Octavia married to *Marc Antony*, 681, d. Supplanted by *Cleopatra*, 682, b, c. Divorced and turned out, 684, b.
Octavianus gives his ſiſter to *Marc Antony*, 681. Marches againſt him, 684, b, c. Defeats him at ſea, ibid. e, f. Invades *Egypt*, 685, f, & ſeq. Takes *Cleopatra*

Cleopatra priſoner, 688, d. Enters *Alexandria*, ibid. f. His behaviour to *Cleopatra*, 689, & ſeq. Outwitted by her, 690. Returns to *Rome*, 691, a.
Octavius oppoſes *Metellus* in *Crete*, 171. Driven out of the iſland, 172, b.
——— *Roman* admiral, 490, f. Brings *Perſeus* priſoner to the conſul, 495, c.
——— Sent to be guardian to young *Eupator*, 588, d. Murdered by *Lyſias*, 588, & ſeq.
Odomantes a people of *Thrace*, 790.
Odryſa a people of *Thrace*, 791. Their kings, ibid. & ſeq. Country made a *Roman* province, 793, f.
Oeſyma, a city of *Thrace*, 786, c.
Olanus, a city in *Leſbos*, by whom built, 105, c.
Olbia not the ſame with *Nicomedia*, 822, c.
Olbus, the temple and prieſthood of, 176, f.
Oleares iſland deſcribed, 219.
Olophernes I. king of *Cappadocia*, 764.
—— *al. Orophernes*, dethrones *Ariarethes* VII. 592, c. 765, a. Slain, ibid. d.
Olthaces king of *Colchis*, 835, a.
Olympias, *Philip*'s queen, her character, 300, a, b. Divorce, ibid. c. Meſſage to *Alexander*, 348, a. 358, d. Forced to retire into *Epirus*, 425, d. Inſtances of her pride and cruelty, 453, B. Recalled by *Polyſperchon*, ibid. & ſeq. Her cruel behaviour at her return, 457. Shuts herſelf up in *Pydna*, ibid. f. Beſieged by *Caſſander*, 458. Put to death, ibid. d.
——— queen of *Acarnania*, allies with *Demetrius* II. 475, a.
—— the caſtle of, 5, b.
Olympics inſtituted by *Philip*, 294, d.
Olympus mount, deſcribed, 259, a, H.
—— *Jupiter*, his famed temple at *Agrigentum*, deſcribed, 6, b.
Olynthians invaded by the *Macedonians*, 285, b. Defeated by the *Spartans*, ibid. d. Subdued by *Amyntas*, ibid. e. Invaded by *Philip*, 293, & ſeq.
Olynthus taken by the *Perſians*, 277, a, b. By *Philip*, 294, b.
Omar deſtroys the *Alexandrian* library, 630, a.
Oneſicritus, his character as an author, 395, ſub fin. not. Made captain of a galley by *Alexander*, 397, b.
Oneſilus king of *Salamis*, 177, c. Revolts from the *Perſians*, ibid. d, e. Killed in battle, 178, b.
Onias, the worthy *Jewiſh* high-prieſt, falls out with *Simon*, 569. Oppoſes *Heliodorus*, ibid. & ſeq. Depoſed by *Antiochus*, 572, e. Murdered in *Egypt* by *Andronicus*, 574, d.
——— a ſordid high-prieſt, endangers the *Jewiſh* nation, 640, c, d.
——— builds a *Jewiſh* temple in *Egypt*, 654, c.
Onomarchus defeats *Philip*, 292, b. Killed by him, ib. d.
Ophellas betrayed and murdered by *Agathocles*, 86, a, b.
Ophiuſa, *Tenos* iſland, why ſo called, 225, d.
Opis, why honoured by the *Delians*, 229, e.
Opius Q. ſent againſt *Mithridates*, 730, c. Delivered up to him in chains, 731, b.
Ora a city in *India*, taken by *Alexander*, 388, d.
Orbelia, the country of, where ſituate, 257, b.
Orbelus mount in *Thrace*, 787, d.
Orchemus rebuilt by *Alexander*, 321, d.
Oreos in *Eubœa* deſcribed, 249, b. Taken by the *Rhodians*, 147, e. By the *Athenians*, 249, c. By *Philip*, 299, b.
Oricum, a city in *Epirus*, 795, f.
Orita ſubdued by *Alexander*, 402, c.
Oroandes's treachery to *Perſeus*, 495, b.
Orobia, a city in *Eubœa*, drowned, 249, f.
Orobius reſcues *Delos* from *Mithridates*, 733, c.
Oroeſes king of *Albania* defeated by *Pompey*, 838, e. f.
Oroetes murders the tyrant *Polycrates*, 193, d, & ſeq.
—— the kingdom of, 255, E.
—— king of *Macedon*, 284.
Orgomenes, a river in *Bactria*, 845, e.
Ornes king of *Armenia* depoſed by *Germanicus*, 710, b.
Orontes's treachery to *Tiribazus*, 181, b, c.
Orontobates made governor of *Media*, 431, b.
Orophernes, vid. *Olophernes*, 592, & 765, a.
Oroſanges, who, 199.
Orphitus Pactius defeated, 714, b. Puniſhed, ibid.
Orſines put to death for his cruelty, 404, M.
Ortygia, *Delos*, why ſo called, 227.
——— one of the four quarters of *Syracuſe*, 4, b, c. Taken by the *Romans*, 121, b, c.
Otacilius, *M.* ſent into *Sicily*, 96, c.
Otanes ſent to invade *Samos*, 196, c. His cruelty to the *Samians*, 197. Re-peoples that iſland, ibid. c.
Oxathres ſaves *Darius*'s life, 336, I. Put to death, 405, b.
—— the ſon of *Dionyſius*, his parricide and death, 825, b.
Oxicanus ſubmits to *Alexander*, 400, c, & H.
Oxius, river in *Bactria*, 845. How paſſed by *Alexander*, 369.
Oxyartes king of *Bactria*, 846, b. Surrenders to *Alexander*, 384, d. Prevails on *Charienes* to do the ſame, 385, a. Receives marks of the conqueror's favour, ibid. & ſeq. His lot after that monarch's death, 399, d.
Oxydraca confederate againſt *Alexander*, 393, c. Defeated, ibid. & ſeq.

P.

Pachynum, a cape in *Sicily*, 1.
Pactyas delivered up to the *Perſians*, 210, a, b.
Patus ſent into *Armenia*, 715, d. Driven out of it, ibid. & ſeq.
Palæna, a city in *Macedonia*, 256, d.
Palæpaphos, a city in *Cyprus*, 173, e.
Palermo, al. *Panormus*, capital of *Sicily*, 8, b.
Palici, twin gods worſhipped by the *Siculi*, 13, note.
Palicon, the city of, whence ſo called, 13, c. The temple of, ibid. L.
Palladium found at *Troy*, 737, not.
Palus Mœotis deſcribed, 841.
Pancratis raviſhed by the *Naxians*, 220, d.
Pangeas mount in *Macedonia*, 257, e. — the mines of, 261, a.
——— in *Thrace*, 787, d.
Pantalia a city, ibid. c.
Pantauclus defeated by *Pyrrhus*, 466, f.
Panticapæum, by whom built, 841, b.
Panyaſus, a river in *Macedonia*, deſcribed, 260, b.
Paphia, one of the four parts of *Cyprus*, 175, a.
Paphlagonia ſubmits to *Alexander*, 333, f. Invaded by *Mithridates*, 727.
Paphus, whoſe ſon he was, 175, f.
Paradiſe, ſome conjectures about its ſituation, 695, a, & E.
Paraxis, the region of, where ſituate, 256, d.
Parian marble deſcribed, 222, d, e.
Pariſades I. and II. kings of *Boſporus*, 841.
—— III. reſigns his kingdom to *Mithridates*, 893, a, b.
Parmenio's character, 209, c, d. Seizes on *Darius*'s treaſure, 336, a, b. 338, & ſeq. Surrounded by *Perſians* at *Guagamela*, 350, e. Succoured by *Alexander*, ibid. & 352, O. Accuſed by his ſon, 365, a. Put to death, 366, b.
Paropamiſus, the country of, deſcribed, 368, & not.
——— the mountain of, 345, f.
Paros iſland deſcribed, 222, & ſeq. By whom firſt inhabited, 223, b. Attempted by *Miltiades*, ibid. & ſeq.
——— the city of, deſcribed, 222, d. Beſieged by the *Athenians*, 223, & ſeq. Subdued, 224, c.
Parthenia, *Samos* why ſo called, 186, d.
Parthia, the kingdom of, when and by whom founded, 525, b.
Paryadre, mountains in *Armenia*, 695, b.
Paſiphae, the wife of *Minos*, her incontinency, 167, b.
Paſſaron, the grand council of *Epirus* held at, 822, c.
Patmos iſland deſcribed, 212, a.
Patrocles forced to abandon *Babylon*, 435, a. Defeated and killed by the *Bithynians*, 522, c.
Pattala, the king of, ſubmits to *Alexander*, 401, a.

Pauſanias king of *Macedon*, 284, f.
—— murderer of *Philip*, his motive, 313, & ſeq.
Pauſiſtratus invades *Caria*, 147, f, & ſeq. Sent againſt *Antiochus*, 149, c. Periſhes through the treachery of *Polyxenidas*, ibid. & ſeq.
Pelagonia where ſituate, 257, b.
Pelamides an excellent fiſh, 822, f.
Pelaſgians ſettle in *Crete*, 163, d. Firſt inhabiters of *Lesbos*, 105, b. Why driven out of *Attica*, 235, b. Settle at *Lemnos*, ibid. d. Murder the *Athenian* breed, ibid. & ſeq.
Pelaſgias and *Peleia*, the etymon of, 796, not.
Pelignus, *Julius*, an infamous free-booter, 712, d.
Pelion, the mountain of, its heighth, 259, H.
Pella, a city in *Macedon*, 356, a. Its vaſt ſtud of horſes, 261, a. Taken by the *Romans*, 493.
Pelopidas's ſucceſs in *Theſſaly*, 286, b, c.
Pelorum, a cape in *Sicily*, whence ſo called, 1.
Peltaſta in *Macedon*, their office, 268, b.
Peluſium taken by *Antiochus*, 575, c. 578, e. Surrendered to *Alexander*, 345, d.
Peneus river, deſcribed, 259, H.
Peparethus, iſland, deſcribed, 233. Its wine famed, ibid. b.
Perdiccas I. fourth king of *Macedon*, 272.
—— II. ſon of *Alexander*, his reign, 279, & ſeq. Wars with *Athens*, 280. Joins with *Braſidas* againſt the *Lynceſtbei*, 282, c. His death and character, 283, c, d.
—— III. ſet on the throne by *Pelopidas*, 287, a.
—— *Alexander*'s general, his advice after his death 415, a. Character, ibid. & ſeq. Supplants and puts *Meleager* to death, 416. His great power, ibid. & ſeq. Subdues *Cappadocia*, 420, a, b. Marries *Nicæa*, ibid. e. Wars with *Ptolemy*, 421, d, e. Murdered by his men, 423.
—— a traitor to *Eumenes*, hanged, 424, a, b.
Perea recovered by the *Rhodians*, 147, f.
Perga delivered up to the *Romans*, 566, b, P.
Pergamenian library, deſcribed, 629, d.
Pergamus, the kingdom of, 769, & ſeq. Invaded and waſted by the *Bithynians*, 778. Bequeathed to the *Romans*, 782. Becomes a *Roman* province, 784, & ſeq.
Periander's revenge on the *Corcyreans*, 190, a, b.
Pericles invades *Samos*, 199. Takes the capital of it, 200, b, c.
Perillus preſents his braſen bull to *Phalaris*, 128, e.
Perinthus, *al. Perynthus*, by whom founded, 787, c. Beſieged by *Philip*, 299, & ſeq. 304, f. Relieved by *Phocion*, 305, b.
Perperna ſent againſt *Ariſtonicus*, 784.
Perſepolis deſtroyed by *Alexander*, 366, & ſeq.
Perſes's preparations for war, 151, & ſeq.
Perſeus, the natural ſon of *Philip*, cabals againſt his brother, 478, & ſeq. 481, c, d. Diſcovered, and diſinherited, 482. Mounts the throne by main force, ibid. f, & ſeq. His character, &c. 483. Falls out with the *Romans*, ibid. d, e. Goes to *Delphi*, ibid. f. Undermined by *Eumenes*, 484. Accuſed to the *Romans*, 485. Makes war with them, ibid. & ſeq. Defeats them, 486, & ſeq. His puſillanimity, 487, & ſeq. Mad actions, 488, a, b. Covetouſneſs, 489. Defeated by the *Romans*, 492, & ſeq. His miſerable flight, 493. Takes ſanctuary in *Samothrace*, 494. Surrenders to *Octavius*, 495, b. How treated by the *Roman* conſul, ibid. & ſeq. Vindicated againſt the *Roman* writers, 497, D. His miſerable end, 499. Character and progeny, ibid. & ſeq.
Perſian embaſſadors, how treated by the *Macedonians*, 274, & ſeq.
Perſians oppreſs the *Cypriots*, 176, & ſeq. Make peace with them, 179, a. Defeat the *Grecian* fleet, 197, e. The cauſes of that war, 275, & ſeq. Defeated by *Mardonius*, ibid. Put to flight by *Leutychides*, 198, e, f. Worſhip *Alexander*, 379, c, & X.
Peſſuthnes aſſiſts the *Samians*, 199, e, f.
Petaliſm at *Syracuſe*, what, 24, a, b.
Petilia, by whom built, 169, b.
Petra plundered by *Antigonus*, 434, a.
Peuceſtas's lot after *Alexander*'s death, 423, e. Outwitted by *Eumenes*, 427, & ſeq. His treachery to him, 430, a. Puniſhed, 431, b.
Phœdra's incontinency, 169, a.
Phalanx, *Macedonian*, how diſpoſed, 269, c. By whom invented, 289, a, B.
Phalaris, tyrant of *Agrigentum*, 128, d. His braſen bull, 42, & Y. His death, 128, e.
Phanagora, metropolis of *Boſporus*, 840, b.
Phanagorium betrayed by *Caſtor*, 755, d, e.
Pharaimanes, king of *Choraſmene*, 381, f. His embaſſy to *Alexander*, ibid.
Pharaſmenes, king of *Iberia*, recovers *Armenia*, 710. Supplants his brother *Mithridates*, 711, a, b. His cruelty to him, 712, a. vid. & 836, & ſeq.
—— king of *Albania*, favoured by the *Romans*, 839, b.
Pharisatis married to *Alexander*, 405.
Pharmacuſa, iſland, deſcribed, 212, b.
Pharnaces I. king of *Pontus*, wars with *Eumenes*, 725, & ſeq. Makes peace with him, 726, b.
—— II. revolts againſt his father, 755, & ſeq. Made king of *Boſporus*, 757. Recovers part of *Pontus*, 758, c, d. Defeats the *Romans*, ibid. f. Defeated by *Julius Cæſar*, 759, & ſeq. Killed, 760, b.
—— king of *Cappadocia*, 763, a. 764, a.
Pharos, the famous tower of, deſcribed, 626, & ſeq. & A.
Phaſelus, the tower of, deſcribed, 627, A.
Phaſis, a river in *Armenia*, 694, a. 833, c.
—— city in *Colchis*, 833, b.
Pheaſants, whence brought, 833, c.
Pherecydes, firſt proſe-writer, where born, 224, & ſeq. His doctrines, ibid. & X.
Pherenice, princeſs of *Rhodes*, carries her ſon to the *Olympic* games, 134, d.
Pheretima driven into *Cyprus*, 177, a.
Phernephorus, *Ptolem. Phil.* why ſo called, 525, e.
Phidon, the firſt coiner of money, 244, a.
Philadelphian works, whence ſo called, 693, a.
Philæus, king of *Salamis*, yields that iſland to the *Athenians*, 245, d.
Philammon murders *Arſinoe*, 646, c. Aſſaſſinated by her women, 647, d.
Philip of *Macedon* wars with *Rhodes*, 146, & ſeq. Accuſed to the *Romans*, 147, b. Makes peace with them, 149, b.
Philip I. ſixth king of *Macedon*, 273.
—— II. where brought up, 287, c. Comes into *Macedonia*, ibid. & ſeq. His policy, 288, & A. Defeats *Argeus*, 289, a. Makes peace with *Athens*, ibid. b, c. His conqueſts, 290, & ſeq. Loſes an eye, 291, c, & D. His ſucceſs in *Theſſaly*, 292, & ſeq. Againſt the *Olynthians*, 293, & ſeq. Makes peace with *Athens*, 294, & ſeq. Puts an end to the ſacred war, 295, & ſeq. Invades part of *Thrace*, 797, & ſeq. & F. *Eubœa*, 299. *Propontis*, ibid. & ſeq. His letter to the *Athenians*, 300, & ſeq. Driven by *Phocion*, 305. Defeats the *Treballi*, ibid. c. Choſen general by the *Amphyctions*, 306, b, c. Beats the confederates, 307. Makes peace with *Athens*, 308, b. Arms againſt *Xerxes*, ibid. & ſeq. Marries *Cleopatra*, 310, b. Murdered, 314, b. His character, ibid. & ſeq.
—— *Caſſander*'s general's ſucceſs in *Ætolia*, 461, a.
—— the ſon of *Demetrius* II. left an infant, 475, b. Proſpers under his uncle *Doſon*, ibid. & ſeq. Mounts the *Macedonian* throne, 477, c. His treachery to *Aratus* and his ſon, ibid. f. Overpowered by the *Romans*, 478. Vain ſtruggles againſt them, 479, & ſeq. Family broils, 480, c. Puts his ſon to death, 481, e. Runs mad, 482. His death, ibid. f.
—— the ſuppoſed ſon of *Perſeus*, vid. *Andriſcus*, 501.
—— another pretender to the *Macedonian* crown, defeated, 506, a, b.
—— a *Phry-*

—— a *Phrygian* and cruel governor of *Judæa*, 577, a.
—— regent of *Syria*, 585. Defeated and killed by *Lyſias*, 588, b.
—— the ſon of *Grypus*, defeats the *Mopſueſtians*, 615, c. And *Eucheres*, 616, a. Invaded by *Euſebes* and *Dionyſius*, ibid. b, c.
—— the *Acarnanian*, his faithfulneſs to *Alexander*, 334, d. His lot after his death, 423, e.
Philippi, by whom built, 257.
Philippopolis in *Thrace*, by whom built, 787, d.
Philiſtides, tyrant of *Oreus*, 252, a. Made ſo by *Philip*, 299, note.
Philiſtus the hiſtorian, his character, 64, b. Treachery to *Dion*, ibid. d, e. Defeated at ſea, 69, a. Kills himſelf, ibid. b.
Philla married to *Craterus*, 451, c.
Philo choſen chief of the rebels, 419.
Philocles betrays young *Demetrius*, 481, c. Put to death, 482, b.
Philotærus, firſt king of *Pergamus*, 520, K. Buys the body of *Seleucus*, 521, d. Seizes the caſtle of *Pergamus*, 769, c.
Philotas ſuſpected of treaſon, 364, c, d. Tortured, and put to death, 365. His character, ibid. & ſeq.
Philoxenus's lot after *Alexander*'s death, 423, e.
Philon plots againſt *Perdiccas*, 419, b.
Phocians war with *Philip*, 292, & ſeq.
Phocis entered by *Philip*, 295, & ſeq.
Phocrites made chief magiſtrate of *Heraclea*, 825, d.
Phœbus, why fabled in love with *Rhodes*, 129, b. 131, c, & ſeq.
Phœnice conquered by *Tigranes*, 71, c.
Phœnix, one ſeen in *Egypt*, 643, a.
Phorbas, why admitted into *Rhodes*, 132, b.
Phraartes defeated by *Sidetes*, 608, c, d. Deſtroys all the *Syrians*, ibid. f. & ſeq.
Phronima, princeſs of *Crete*, how ſaved from death, 170, a.
Phrygians, why ſubmit to *Midas*, 333, c.
Phrymon overcome by *Pittacus*, 106, d.
Phylace, a city in *Macedonia*, 256, b.
Phyto defends *Rhegium* againſt *Dionyſius*, 58, b. Barbarouſly murdered by him, ibid. d, e.
Pielus, king of *Epirus*, 799, f, & ſeq.
Pieres, a people of *Thrace*, 791.
Pieria, the region of, 256, b. Its mines, 261, a.
Pierian hills, deſcribed, 251, d.
Pimplia hill, deſcribed, 251, d. Its poiſonous fountain, ibid.
Pinarius ſaves *Enna* from being betrayed, 114, e.
Pindus, the famous mount of, 798, a.
Pins, why conſecrated by the *Argives*, 244, in fin. not.
Pithon choſen protector of *Macedon*, 423, b. Put to death by *Antiochus*, 431, a.
Pithon's attempt againſt *Eumenes*, 426, d.
Pittacus, where born, 204, b.
—— king of *Lesbos*, his character, 106, c. His laws and writings, ibid. e.
Pityus, metropolis of *Colchis*, 832, f.
Plane tree in *Crete*, deſcribed, 161, b.
Platæa rebuilt by *Alexander*, 321, d.
Plato invited into *Sicily* by *Dionyſius* I. 63, note. Puniſhed for his freedom of ſpeech, ibid. Invited thither by his ſon, ibid. Poliſhes him, 64, c, d. Comes a third time to *Syracuſe*, 65, e. Goes back into *Greece*, 66.
Plotinopolis, a city in *Thrace*, 787, d.
Plutarchus, tyrant of *Eubœa*, expelled, 251, e, f.
Polemo made king of *Pontus*, 760, d.—II. turns *Jew*, ibid. e. Exchanges his kingdom, 844, b. —— taken priſoner, 708.
Polemonium, a city in *Pontus*, 721, c.
Polyænus's ſpeech to the *Syracuſians*, 104, c, d.
Polybius's advice to young *Demetrius*, 589, & ſeq. & E.
Polycrates enſlaves the *Samians*, 190, c, d. Allies *Egypt*, ibid. f. Subdues his neighbours, 191, a. The adventure of his ſeal, ibid. d. Sends a fleet to *Cambyſes*, ibid. f. Outwits the *Lacedæmonians*, 192, e. Outwitted by *Oroetes*, 193, e, f. Crucified, 194, a. His character, ibid.
—— prime miniſter of *Epiphanes*, his character, 649, c.
Polydamas ſent to kill *Parmenio*, 366, b.
Polydectes, king of *Seriphus*, 218, a.
Polymeſtor, king of the *Thracian Cherſoneſus*, 795, b. Murders *Polydor*, ibid.
Polyſperchon choſen governor of *Alexander*'s ſons, 425, b. Left with the care of *Macedon*, &c. 451, d. Appointed *Antipater*'s ſucceſſor, 453, & B. His character, and wrong meaſures, 454, a. Firſt edict confuſes all *Greece*, ibid. f. Cruelty to the *Peloponneſians*, 455, e. Defeated by *Callas*, 457, & ſeq. Forced to flee into *Greece*, 449, a. Murders *Hercules* and his mother, 462.
Polyxenidas's treachery to the *Rhodians*, 149, & ſeq. —— defeated by the *Romans*, 555, c, d. His ſecond defeat, 559, d.
Polyzelus, prince of *Syracuſe*, envied by his brother, 20, d. Reconciled to him, 21.
Pompey oppoſes *Metellus* in *Crete*, 171. His haughty anſwer to *Aſiaticus*, ibid. e, f. Seizes on *Syria*, 619. Friendſhip to *Auletes*, 668, b. Sent into *Armenia*, 706, b, c. Reſtores *Tigranes* to his crown, 707, c. Succeeds *Lucullus* in *Pontus*, 750. Defeats *Mithridates*, 751, & ſeq. Purſues him into *Scythia*, 753. Subdues *Pontus*, 758, a. His generoſity at his triumph, ibid. b, c. Expedition againſt *Iberia*, 836, b, c. Againſt *Albania*, 838, c.
Pomponius taken priſoner, 745, a, H.
Pontus, the kingdom of, whence ſo called, 720, a. Its deſcription and diviſion, ibid. & ſeq.
—— *Polemaicus*, whence ſo called, 721, a, b.
—— *Cappadocius* deſcribed, ibid. f. Its honey deſcribed, 722, f. Origin and government, 723. Kings, 724, & ſeq. Reduced by *Lucullus*, 746. Made a *Roman* province, 748. Its various changes ſince, 760, & ſeq.
Popilius, his ſpeech to *Antiochus*, 580, a, b.
Porthmos in *Eubœa*, taken by *Philip*, 299, b.
Porus oppoſes *Alexander*, 390, & ſeq. Loſes his ſon, 391, f. Is defeated, 392. How honoured by the conqueror, ibid. f.
—— another of that name abandons his kingdom to *Alexander*, 393, c.
Potidea in *Macedon*, by whom founded, 257, a. Declares againſt the *Perſians*, 277. Surrenders to the *Athenians*, 280, c, d. Taken by *Philip*, 290, d.
Potinus's treachery to *Cleopatra*, 673, a, & ſeq. To *Cæſar*, 675, c. Put to death, 676, c.
Praxo diſcovers *Perſeus*'s treachery, 485, a.
Preconneſian marble famed, 201, b.
Preconneſus, iſland, deſcribed, ibid. Whether the ſame with *Elaphonneſus*, ibid. Q.
Prepeſinthus, iſland, deſcribed, 219.
Prometheus, a *Titan*, firſt ſtriker of fire, 163, b.
Pronectus, a city in *Bithynia*, 822, d.
Propontis deſcribed, 201, P. Invaded by *Philip*, 299, & ſeq.
Proſerpine, where raviſhed, 9, b.
Protagoras I. king of *Cyprus*, 179, b.
—— II. an uſurper of it, 181, f. Makes peace with the *Perſians*, 182, b.
Protogenes, the famed painter, protected by *Demetrius*, 144, b. His maſter-piece deſcribed, ibid. E.
Pruſa, a city in *Bithynia*, deſcribed, 825, d, e. Taken by *Triarius*, 743, e.
Pruſias, king of *Bithynia*, aſſiſts the *Rhodians*, 145, b. Joins with them in the peace, ibid. f. Rejects the offers of *Antiochus*, 558, c, d. Defeats the *Pergamenian* fleet, 772, & ſeq. Makes peace with *Eumenes*, 773. Invades *Pergamus*, 778, d, e. His treachery to *Attalus*, ibid. f, & ſeq. Forced to a peace by the *Romans*, 779, b, c. His treachery to his ſon, ibid. & ſeq. To *Hannibal*, 830. Journey to *Rome*, ibid. d. Mean behaviour there, ibid. e, f.

Taken

Taken by *Triarius*, 744, a. Depoſed by his ſon, 780. Aſſaſſinated, 781, b. His character, 831, a, b.
Prytanes of *Rhodes*, their office, 153, b, & F.
Prytanis, king of *Boſporus*, killed by his brother, 842, d.
Pſillis, a river in *Bithynia*, 827, b.
Pterium, a city in *Cappadocia*, 762, c.
Ptolemais deſcribed, 663, a. Betrayed to *Antiochus*, 636, c. Beſieged by *Alexander Janneus*, 660, a. Taken by *Cleopatra*, ibid. c.
Ptolemies of *Egypt*, a liſt of them, 633, & ſeq.
Ptolemy Soter, his origin, 624, & ſeq. His character, and miraculous cure, 625, b. Sent to ſeize *Beſſus*, 369, & ſeq. Defeats the *Aſpii*, 386, d. His advice after *Alexander*'s death, 417. Poſt and government, 418, a. 423, e. 625, c. Flouriſhing kingdom, 421, b. 626, a, b. Invaded by *Perdiccas*, 422, e. Allies with *Seleucus*, 432, a. Takes *Syria* from *Antigonus*, ibid. & ſeq. Beaten out of it, 433. Succours the *Rhodians*, 141. Whence ſurnamed *Soter*, 143, f. 625, c, d. Defeated by *Demetrius*, 436, & ſeq. Takes the title of king, 437, b. 626, b. Allies with *Antigonus*, 439, & ſeq. Invades *Judæa*, &c. 440, d. Takes his ſon partner of the kingdom, 626, c. Builds the tower of *Pharos*, ibid. & ſeq. Procures the *Sinopian Serapis*, 627, & ſeq. Founds the *Alexandrian* library, 629, & ſeq. The *Muſæum*, 630. His death and character, 631, c, d. Iſſue, 632, b.
—— *Ceraunus* diſinherited, 626, d, e. 632, c. Perſecuted by *Lyſimachus*, 468, e, f. His treachery to *Seleucus*, 469, b. 521, c. 632, d. Seizes the *Macedonian* crown, 521, c. 632, e. Treachery to *Arſinoe*, 469, f. 632, & ſeq. Slain by the *Gauls*, 470, a, b. 633, a.
—— *Philadelphus* ſucceeds his father, 633. Enmity to *Demetrius Phalereus*, ibid. e. Marries his ſiſter *Arſinoe*, ibid. & ſeq. Sends an embaſſy to *Rome*, 634. Invades *Magas*, 635. Improves the *Egyptian* trade, &c. ibid. & ſeq. His kindneſs to the *Sicyonians*, 636, e. Love to *Arſinoe*, 637. Death and character, ibid. & ſeq. Works, 639, & ſeq.
—— *Euergetes*, whence ſo called, 527, b. 639, c. His conqueſts, ibid. d, e. Sacrifices to the God of *Iſrael*, 640, a. Improves his father's library, ibid. b. His kindneſs to *Joſeph* the *Jew*, 641, paſſ. His conqueſts, 642, b, c. Aſſiſts *Cleomenes*, ibid. c, d. His death and character, ibid. e, f.
—— *Philopator*, why ſo called, 643, a. Cruel character, ibid. b, c. Makes peace with *Antiochus*, 644, e. Perſecutes the *Jews*, ibid. & ſeq. Takes them into favour, 645, d, e. Receives a *Roman* embaſſy, ibid. & ſeq. Murders his wife, 646, c. His death, ibid. f, & ſeq. Character, 647, f.
—— *Epiphanes* born, 646, b. Succeeds his father, 647, & ſeq. Invaded by *Philip* and *Antiochus*, 542, & ſeq. Protected by the *Romans*, ibid. & ſeq. 648, d. Degenerates into a tyrant, 647, b. Allies with *Rome*, and the *Achæans*, ibid. e, f. Poiſoned, 650, a.
—— *Philometor* ſucceeds his father, 650, b. Invaded by *Antiochus*, ibid. c, & 575. Taken by him, 576, a. Reſtored to his crown, 578, d. 650, c. Divides his kingdom with *Phyſcon*, ibid. d. & 579, a. Goes to *Rome*, 580, e. 650, f, & ſeq. His ſpeech to the ſenate, 651, b, c. Oppoſed by *Phyſcon*, ibid. d, e. Rejects the *Roman* decree in his favour, 652, e. Defeats him, 653, d. Marches into *Judæa*, 597, & ſeq. Allies with *Demetrius*, 598, b, c. Reinthrones him, ibid. e, f. Falls out with him, 653, e. His death and character, 599, & ſeq. 653, & ſeq. Favour to the *Jews*, 654, c.
—— *Phyſcon* diſputes the crown with his brother, 577, b. 650. Divides it with him, ibid. Drives him out, ibid. & ſeq. Goes to *Rome*, 577, b. 651. Attempts on *Cyprus*, 652, d. Repulſed and wounded by the *Cyrenians*, ibid. e, f. 653, b. Defeated, and careſſed by *Philometor*, ibid. d. Cruelty to his ſon and widow, 654, d, e. To the *Jews* and *Egyptians*, ibid. & ſeq. Aukward reception of the *Roman* embaſſador, 656, b, c. Driven out for his cruelties, 657, c. Returns, 658, a. Sets up *Zebina* againſt *Demetrius*, 611, a, b. Defeats him, 613, a. 658, b. His death, character, and learning, ibid. & ſeq.
—— *Lathyrus*, why ſo called, 658, f, & ſeq. Oppreſſed by his mother, ibid. Dethroned, 659, f. Defeats the king of the *Jews*, 660. A cruel action of his, ibid. f. Driven out of *Judæa*, 661, a. Reſtored to his kingdom, 662, b, c. Takes *Thebes*, 663, c. His death, 664, c.
—— *Auletes*, an effeminate prince, 666, d, e. Driven out of his kingdom, 667, a, b. His interview with *Cato*, ibid. c, d. Goes to *Rome*, ibid. e. Obtains a decree in his favour, 668, f. Retires into the *Epheſian* aſylum, 669, c. Bargains with *Gabinius*, 670, c, d. Reſtored to his crown, 671, d. His cruelties, ibid. & ſeq. Death, 672, e.
—— the ſon of *Auletes*, drives his ſiſter from the crown, 673, & ſeq. Stirs up the *Alexandrians* againſt *Cæſar*, 675. His treachery to him, 677, & ſeq. Defeated, 668, c, d. Drowned, ibid. e.
—— the ſon of *Pyrrhus*, left regent of *Epirus*, 806, e. Subdues *Theſſalonica*, 816, d. Killed, 817.
—— the ſon of *Alexander*, his ſhort reign, 820, e.
—— prince of *Chalcis*, 854, a. Puts his ſon to death, ibid. c.
—— the ſon of *Seleucus*, killed at *Iſſus*, 335, e.
—— —— of *Lathyrus*, his wealth and ſordidneſs, 184, e, f. Stripped of *Cyprus* by the *Romans*, 185. Kills himſelf, ibid. f.
—— a natural ſon of *Amyntas*, 285, f. His treaſons, 286, b, f.
—— general of *Antigonus*, his treachery, 462, b. Poiſoned by the king of *Egypt*, 440, d.
Ptychia, iſland, where ſituate, 241, b.
Pullio's, treachery to *Mithridates Iberius*, 711, e.
Pumice ſtones caſt up by the ſea, 215, f. 216, a.
Puniſhments among the *Macedonians*, 266, a.
Purple worn by the *Macedonian* nobles, 264, b.
Pydna, a city in *Macedon*, 256. Subdued by *Archelaus*, 284, a, b. By *Philip*, 290, d. Beſieged by *Caſſander*, 478.
Pygmalion, the ſtory of, 175, f, & ſeq.
Pyrachmes, king of *Eubœa*, killed by *Hercules*, 250, e.
Pyrrha, a city in *Lesbos*, overturned, 203, e.
Pyrrhic dance, what, 168, a.
Pyrrhus I. king of *Epirus*, his deſcent, 799, a. Killed before *Troy* by *Oreſtes*, ibid, b, c.
—— II. his deſcent, 803, f. Brought up by *Glaucias*, 464, b. 804, a, b. Allies with *Demetrius*, ibid. c. 443, b. With *Ptolemy*, ibid. e, f. Drives *Demetrius* out of *Macedon*, 467, d. Made king of it, 468, b. Driven out by *Lyſimachus*, ibid. c. Recovers it from *Gonatus*, 471, d. Succours the *Tarentines*, 805. His projects merrily checked by *Cyneas*, ibid. e, f, & ſeq. Sails for *Italy*, 806, e. His wives and children, ibid. L. In danger by a ſtorm, 807, a. Reforms the *Tarentines*, ibid. d, e. Outwitted by *Ariſtarchus*, 808, b, c. His haughty letter to the *Roman* conſul, ibid. d. Defeats the *Romans*, 809, & ſeq. Forced to retire from *Rome*, 810, e. Receives an embaſſy from thence, 811. His offers rejected by the ſenate, 812. Meſſage to *Decius*, ibid. e. Wounded and defeated by *Sulpitius*, 813. In danger of poiſon, 814. Invited into *Italy*, 88, & ſeq. Oppreſſes the *Sicilians*, 89. Forced away, 90, c. Defeated at ſea, ibid. e. & 814. Cruel revenge on the *Locrians*, ibid. His ſacrilege puniſhed, ibid. & ſeq. Defeated by *Curius*, 815, c, d. Returns to *Epirus*, ibid. & ſeq. Takes *Macedon*, 816. His unſucceſsful attempt againſt *Greece*, ibid. d, e. Againſt *Argos*, ibid. & ſeq. Defeats the *Lacedæmonians*, 817. Enters *Argos*, ibid. e. Killed by a woman, 818, d. His character, ibid. & ſeq. & P.
—— III. murdered, 820, e.
Pythagoras, ſome account of him, 194, O.

Python ſent to reduce *Muſicanus*, 400, d. His lot after *Alexander*'s death, 423, e. Slain by *Ptolemy*, 433.

Q.

Quadratus Numid. governor of *Syria*, 711, d. His meſſage to *Vologeſes*, 730, d.
Quince-tree, whence brought, 160, d.
Quinctius L. ravages *Caryſtia*, 147, e.
Quinda, the treaſure of, plundered by *Demetrius*, 441, d.

R.

Rabbath Ammon taken by *Antiochus*, 538, a.
Rabbirus, *Auletes*'s uſurer, 670, & ſeq. Requited by him, 672, a. Proſecuted by the ſenate, ibid. b.
Rammius diſcloſes *Perſeus*'s treachery to the *Romans*, 485, a, b.
Raphia, where ſituate, 550, G. The battle of, 538, d.
Retimo, a city in *Crete*, deſcribed, 161, d.
Rhadamantus, whoſe ſon he was, 163, f. His colonies, 164, a. Gives laws to the *Cretans*, 165, b.
Rhadamiſtus, king of *Iberia*, 836.
—— the ſon of *Pharaſmenes*, cunningly ſent into *Armenia*, 711, b, c. Treachery to his uncle, ibid. & ſeq. Seizes on that kingdom, 712, b, c. Driven out, ibid. Put to death by his father, 714, c.
Rhea, a *Titaneſs*, 163, a.
Rhegians defeated by *Dionyſius*, 55, e, f. Their contemptuous anſwer to him, 57, d, & not.
Rhegium beſieged by *Dionyſius*, 55, & ſeq. 57, e. Forced through famine to ſurrender, 58, c.
Rhenea, iſland, deſcribed, 231, & ſeq. The burying-place of the *Delians*, 232.
Rhodes, iſland, deſcribed, 139, & ſeq. Whence ſo called, ibid. & Z. By whom peopled, 131, e.
—— knights of, ſettle in *Malta*, 131, d.
—— city of, by whom built, 129, d, & note. Deſcribed, 130, a, & B. 131, d. Taken by *Artemiſia*, 136, d. In danger of being drowned, 137, d, e. Beſieged by *Demetrius*, 138, & ſeq. The ſiege raiſed, 143, e. Damaged by an earthquake, 146, a. Beſieged by *Mithridates*, 157, c. Taken and plundered by *Caſſius*, 158, & ſeq.
Rhodian writers, an account of, 133, D.
Rhodians out-wit the *Grecian* ſtates, 131, b. 146, a, b. Great mariners, 132, f, & ſeq. Their government, kings, &c. 133, & ſeq. Become a commonwealth, 134, f. Join in the ſocial war, 135, b. Make peace with *Athens*, 136, a. Oppreſſed by the *Carians*, ibid. b. Outwitted and ſubdued by *Artemiſia*, ibid. c, d. Recover their liberty, 137, b, c. Surrender to *Alexander*, ibid. d. War with *Antigonus*, 138, & ſeq. Make peace with him, 143, e. Their gratitude to *Ptolemy*, ibid. War with the *Byzantines*, 144, & ſeq. Make peace with them, 145, f. War with *Philip* of *Macedon*, 146, & ſeq. Defeat him in *Caria*, 148, b. Meſſage to *Antiochus*, ibid. d, e. Defeated at ſea by ſtratagem, 149, & ſeq. Send *Eudamus* with a new fleet, 150, c. Defeat that of *Syria*, 151. Rewarded by the *Romans*, 152, b. Complained againſt by the *Lycians*, ibid. c. Join with *Rome* againſt *Perſes*, 153, c. Their haughty embaſſy to the ſenate, 154, a, b. Diſpleaſes the *Romans*, ibid. & ſeq. Who humble them, 155, & ſeq. Readmitted to ally with them, 156, d. Invaded by *Mithridates*, 157, c. Defeated at ſea by *Caſſius*, 158, c. Subdued by him, ibid. & ſeq. Ally with *Perſeus*, 484, b. Their haughty meſſage to *Antiochus*, 544, f. Great ſervices to *Cæſar*, 676, & ſeq.
Rhodobartes, ſecond king of *Pontus*, 724, a.
Rhodope, a mountain in *Thrace*, 787, d.
Romans called into *Sicily*, 93, a. Their ſucceſs there, 96, & ſeq. Make a treaty with *Hiero*, 97, a. Ill ſucceſs in *Sicily*, 98, c. 100, a. Embaſſy ill received at *Syracuſe*, 102, b, c. Proclaim war againſt *Philip*, 147, d. Ally with *Rhodes* and *Pergamus*, ibid. e, f. Defeat the *Macedonians*, 148, b. Make peace with him, 149, b. Join againſt *Antiochus*, 148, & ſeq. Their gratitude to *Eumenes*, and the *Rhodians*, 152, b. War with *Perſes*, 153, & ſeq. Anſwer to the *Rhodian* embaſſadors, 154, b, f. 155, b, c. Make a freſh alliance with them, 156, d. War with the *Cretans*, 170, & ſeq. Conquer them, 171, & ſeq. Take *Cyprus* by treachery, 184, d. Protect young *Ptolemy*, 542, f. And the free cities of *Aſia*, 545. Their firſt embaſſy to *Antiochus*, ibid. & ſeq. The ſecond, 551, a. Defeat him by ſea and land, 554, & ſeq. And at *Magneſia*, 564, & ſeq. Make peace with him, 565, & ſeq. The treaty at length, 566, Q. Their degeneracy from that time, 567, b, c. Partiality to *Phyſcon*, 652, a, b. 653, a, b. Embaſſy to him, 656, a, b. Seizes on the iſland of *Cyprus*, 666, f. War with *Mithridates*, 730, & ſeq. 150,000 maſſacred by his order, 731. Their cruel revenge, 734, & ſeq. Defeated by him, 749. e. Their joy at his death, 757, a, b.
Roxana taken priſoner by *Alexander*, 384. Captivates him, ibid. Her cruelty, 418, d. Impriſoned by *Caſſander*, 461, f. Murdered by him, 462, a.
Ruſſians ſubdued by *Mithridates*, 733, d.
Rutilius, whether the adviſer of *Mithridates*'s cruelty to the *Romans*, 731, R.

S.

Sabylinthus, a faithful guardian of *Epirus*, 806, e.
Salaminia, one of the four parts of *Cyprus*, 175, a.
Salamis, the kingdom of, by whom founded, 176, e. the kings of, ibid. & ſeq. The end of, 182.
—— the iſland of, deſcribed, 245, a, b. Yielded to the *Athenians*, ibid. d. By whom ſubdued, 146, a.
—— the city of, by whom built, 173, c. 176, b. Beſieged by the *Perſians*, 180, f. By *Demetrius*, 183. Retaken by *Ptolemy*, 184, c.
Salii among the *Romans*, their office, 560, M.
Salt of *Jupiter Hammon*, a royal preſent, 347, e.
Samaria taken by *Hyrcanus*, 614, f.
Samaritans apply to *Alexander*, 344, a. Murder *Andromachus*, 348, e. Severely puniſhed, ibid. f.
Sambuca, a warlike machine, deſcribed, 112, b.
Sambus ſubmits to *Alexander*, 400, c. & H.
Same, the metropolis of *Cephalonia*, 242, a.
Samian worthies, enumerated, 195, ſub fin. not.
—— war, whence began, 449.
—— exiles aſſiſted by the *Lacedæmonians*, 192. Their ſucceſs, ibid. & ſeq.
—— earthen-ware, famed, 188, d.
Samians, great navigators, 187, c. Worſhippers of *Juno*, why, ibid. & ſeq. Firſt builders of tranſport ſhips, 188, d. Their government, laws, &c. ibid. & ſeq. Plant a colony in *Egypt*, 189. a. War with the *Ægyptians*, ibid. c. And *Megareans*, ibid. d. Inſlaved by *Syloſon*, ibid. f. By *Æaces*, 190, b. By *Polycrates*, ibid. c. By *Meandrus*, 195, a. By *Syloſon* II. 196. & ſeq. Forſake their country, 197, d. Enſlaved by *Æaces*, ibid. & ſeq. Treachery to the *Ionians*, 197, e. Subjected to the *Perſians*, 198, d. Revolt to the *Greeks*, ibid. f. Ally with *Athens*, 199, a. Revolt, ibid. b. Subdued by *Pericles*, ibid. d, & ſeq. Their various changes ſince, 200, & ſeq.
Samos, iſland, deſcribed, 186, & ſeq.
—— metropolis of that iſland, deſcribed, ibid. f. by whom built, 187, a. Its rarities, ibid. b. Taken by *Pericles*, 200, b, c.
Samothrace, whence ſo called, 237, d. Deſcribed, 238, a. The gods of, dreaded by all nations, 239, b. The deluge of, ibid. c. Government, 240, a.
Samothracia, *Samos*, why ſo called, 186, c.

Samſirenus, founder of *Emeſſa*'s kingdom, 848.—II. ibid. d.
Sandrocottus drives the *Macedonians* out of *India*, 513, f.
Sangarius, a river in *Bithynia*. 827, b.
Sangata razed by *Alexander*, 393, & ſeq.
Santorin, iſland, vid. *Thera*, 214, & ſeq.
Saon poliſhes the *Samothracians*, 239, c.
Sapeans, firſt inhabiters of *Lemnos*, 235, a.
Sapei in *Thrace*, their kings, &c. 794.
Sappho, where born, 204.
Sapteſyle, the rich mines of, 786, e.
Saracens burn the *Alexandrian* library, 629, & ſeq.
Sardis ſurrendered to *Alexander*, 327, a.
Saron, the gulph of, deſcribed, 243, G.
Sarpedon I. and II. kings of *Crete*, 166, c.
Saſales king of the *Odryſæ*, 793.
Saſon, an iſland of *Greece*, 240, b.
Satibarzanes murders *Darius*, 359, e. Revolts from *Alexander*, 361, c. Killed by *Erigus*, 367, d.
Saturn civilizes the *Cretans*, 168, a.
Satyrus I. king of *Boſporus*, 841, f. His tribute to *Demoſthenes*, 842, a.—II. killed, ibid. b, c.—tyrant of *Heraclea*, 824, d.
—— his requeſt to *Philip*, 294.
Scandea, the temple of *Venus* at, deſcribed, 242, f.
Scapteſyle, the rich mines of, 786, e.
Scardian monntains in *Macedon*, 257, c.
Scipio Naſica ſent into *Macedon*, 503.
—— *L. Cornel.* ſent againſt *Antiochus*, 555, f. Comes to *Troy*, 560. Defeats *Antiochus*, 564, & ſeq. Makes peace with him, 565, & ſeq.
—— *Africanus* ſerves under his brother, 555, f. His anſwer to *Antiochus*, 561, d. Advice to him, 562, a.—ſpeech to his embaſſadors, 565, d.
Scopas's ſervices to *Egypt*, 543, a, b, C. Taken priſoner, ibid. Treaſonable attempt againſt *Ptolemy*, 546, f. Puniſhed, 547, a.
Scribonius driven out of *Boſporus*, 843, f.
Scuthes mediates a peace for *Perdiccas*, 280, f. Mounts the *Odryſian* throne, 281, 791, & ſeq. II. III. and IV. their wars with the *Macedonians*, ibid. & ſeq.
Scydrotheus ſends the *Serapis* into *Egypt*, 628, a, b.
Scytha, a fabulous founder of *Armenia*, 696, c.
Scythes, king of *Zancle*, baniſhed, 198, b.
Scythians driven out of *Bactria* by the *Huns*, 846, f. Defeated by *Alexander*, 351, c, d. Reduced by him, 370, f, & ſeq. Make peace with him, 372, e.
Scythopolis betrayed to *Hyrcanus* 614, f.
Seal royal, ſacred among the *Macedonians*, 264, c.
Sebaſtia, ſecond city in *Armenia*, 693, b.—In *Pontus*, 721, b.
Segeſta, a city in *Sicily*, deſcribed, 7, f, & ſeq.
Selene, wife of *Antiochus Euſebes*, keeps *Ptolemais*, 617. Put to death by *Tigranes*, 619, b.
Seleucia, by whom built, 515, a, & F. Recovered from the *Egypcians*, 535, f.
—— *Trachiotis*, by whom built, 546, f, & E.
—— on the *Tigris*, deſcribed, 515, & ſeq.
Seleucidæ, whence ſo called, 509, d. A liſt of them, ibid. e. Their reigns and hiſtory, ibid. & ſeq.
—— the era of, how and whence computed, 512, c, d. 513, c.
Seleucus Nicator, founder of the *Syro-Macedonian* empire, 509, f. His ſeveral attempts againſt *Eumenes*, 426, d. 510, paſſ. Attachment to *Antiochus*, 431, d. Falls out with him, 432, a. 510, & ſeq. His reception at the *Egyptian* court, 511. Invades *Babylon*, ibid. Defeats *Nicanor*, 512, e. Gains *Suſiana*, *Media*, &c. ibid. His great ſtrength, ibid. d, e. Recovers *Babylon* from *Demetrius*, 513. Aſſumes the royal title, ibid. e. Goes into *India*, ibid. & ſeq. Defeats and kills *Antigonus*, 441, 514, c, d. Builds *Antioch*, ibid. e. Allies with *Demetrius*, 516, a, b. Strips him of *Sicily*, & ſeq. 516, e. Impriſons him, 444, & ſeq. 518, d. (Yields his wife and part of his empire to his ſon, 519, & ſeq.) His kindneſs to *Ptolemy Ceraunus*, 468. Defeats and kills *Lyſimachus*, 469, a. 520, d. Takes the name of *Nicator*, 521, a. Treacherouſly murdered by *Ceraunus*, 469, b. 521, c. His character, ibid. & ſeq. Coin, 620, W.
—— *Callinicus* mounts the *Syrian* throne by parricide, 525, f, & ſeq. Invaded by *Ptolemy*, 527, a, b. Defeated by him, ibid. c, d. By his own brother, 528, c. Drives him off, 529. Taken priſoner by *Arſaces*, ibid. d. His death, ibid. e. Why called *Callinicus*, ibid. f. Coins, 620, W.
—— *Ceraunus*, his character, 530, a. Death, ibid. b.
—— *Philopator*, the ſon of *Antiochus*'s ſucceſs in *Aſia*, 556, b. Driven out of *Pergamus*, 557, c, d. Succeeds his father, 569, a. His generoſity to the temple of *Jeruſalem*, ibid. b. Poiſoned by *Heliodorus*, 570, e. His coin, 521, note.
—— the ſon of *Demetrius Nicator*, murdered by his own mother, 612, a.
—— the ſon of *Gryphus*, defeats his uncle, 615, c. His defeat and death, ibid. d, e.
—— king of *Boſporus*, 841, e.
—— *Cybioſactes*, why ſo called, 667, e. Sent to *Rome*, 617, b, c. Made king of *Egypt*, 620. His death, ibid. & W. & 667, f.
Selga, where ſituate, 550, H.
Selinuntines firſt war againſt the *Egeſtines*, 25, & ſeq. Second war, 37, & ſeq.
Selinus, the city of, deſcribed, 6, & ſeq. Beſieged by *Hannibal*, 38, b. Taken and razed, ibid. e, f.
—— the river of, 6.
Selli, who, 798, d.
Serapeum, deſcribed, 628, d. The library of, 629, d.
Serapion murdered by *Achilles*, 675, e.
Serapis, the ſtatue of, brought to *Egypt*, 627, & ſeq. Whence ſo called, 628, B.
Seriphian frogs dumb, 218, h.
Seriphians, their origin, government, &c. 218, a.
Seriphus, iſland, deſcribed, 217, & ſeq.
Sibyrtius promoted by *Antiochus*, 431.
Sicani, who, 10, f, & ſeq. vid. inf. *Siculi*.
Sicania, the ancient name of *Sicily*, ibid.
Sicily, deſcribed, 1, & ſeq. Whether anciently joined to the continent, 2, b. Famed for learning, 10, b. By whom firſt inhabited, 11, & ſeq. Invaded the *Athenians*, 256, c. By the *Carthaginians*, 40, & ſeq. 50, & ſeq. 86, & ſeq. Invite *Pyrrhus*, 88, & ſeq. Oppreſſed by him, ibid. f, & ſeq. Force him away, 89, & ſeq.
Siculi, who they were, 11, c, & ſeq. Their kings and government, 13, c, & ſeq. Various changes, 14. Aſſiſt *Hannibal* before *Agrigentum*, 39, b. Diſmiſſed by him, 40, a.
Sidon taken by *Antiochus*, 543, d.
Sigæum taken by the *Athenians*, 106, b.
Simon, a *Benjamite*, plots againſt the *Jews*, 569, & ſeq.
—— the *Maccabee*, his exploits againſt *Demetrius*, 603, c, d. Succeeds his brother *Jonathan*, 604, c. Allies with *Demetrius*, 605, d. With *Sidetes*, 606, d, e.
Simonides's wife inſtructions to *Hiero*, 22, c, d. Two worthies of that name at *Ceos*, 217, a, & U.
Singillic bay in *Macedon*, 260, a.
Sinope taken by *Phraartes*, 725, c. By *Lucullus*, 748, c, & O.
Siphnians, their character, 219, b.
Siphnus, iſland, its riches, 192, e. Plundered by the *Samian* exiles, 193, a. vid. & 219.
Siromus, king of *Salamis*, 177, c.
Siſygambis, how treated by *Alexander*, 336, & ſeq. 355, c. Her death, 419, a.
Sitalces put to death for oppreſſion, 403.
—— I. king of the *Odryſæ*, 791.
—— II. a warlike prince, ibid, e, f.
Sitas, king of the *Denſeletæ*, wars againſt the *Baſtarna*, 790.
Smerdis, king of *Cappadocia*, 764.
Smyrna confederates with *Seleucus*, 528, a. Beſieged by *Antiochus*, 545.

Socrates courted by *Archelaus*, 284, b. Vindicated from cynœdeiſm, 635, E.
Sogdia invaded by *Alexander*, 369, & ſeq.
Sogdian rock taken by him, 383, & ſeq. Deſcribed, ibid. & B.
Sogdians revolt againſt *Alexander*, 382, & ſeq.
Sola, *al. Soli*, a city of *Cyprus*, why ſo called, 173, a.
Soſibius, *Philopator*'s wicked miniſter, 643, & ſeq. Murders the queen, 646, c. Turned out, ibid. c. Made guardian of *Epiphanes*, 647, d. His character, ibid. e, f.
Soſipater's ſpeech to the *Syracuſians*, 106, c.
Soſis, head of a faction at *Syracuſe*, 103, f, & ſeq.
Soſiſtratus, tyrant of *Syracuſe*, depoſed, 80, e. Oppoſes *Tenion*, 88, c. Revolts from *Pyrrhus*, 90, b.
Soſthenes choſen general of *Macedon*, 470, c. Slain by the *Gauls*, ibid. e.
Soſtratus builds the tower of *Pharos*, 626, f. Outwits *Ptolemy* in the inſcription, ibid. & ſeq.
Sotades, the *cynedic* poet, put to death, 635, a.
Sothymus, king of the *Odryſæ*, 793, a.
Souldiery, how regulated among the *Macedonians*, 267, & ſeq.
Spartacus I. king of *Boſporus*, 841, d.
—— II. ibid. e.—III. 842, f.
Sphactiria, iſlands, where ſituate, 242.
Spitamenes offers to deliver up *Beſſus* to *Alexander*, 369, c, & ſeq. Beſieges *Maracanda*, 371, f, & ſeq. Defeats *Pharnaces*, 372, f. Driven off by *Alexander*, 373, c. Heads the revolted *Sogdians*, 382, b. Defeated by *Cœnus*, 383, b. Murdered by the *Scythians*, ibid. c, & A.
Sporades, iſlands, whence ſo called, 203, b. Deſcribed, ibid.
Stagira, a city in *Macedon*, 256, c.
Statianus defeated and killed, 708, a.
Statira's death and burial, 349.
—— daughter of *Darius*, married to *Alexander*, 405, c. Murdered by *Roxana*, 418, d.
Stella, a mountain in *Pontus*, 721, b.
Steſagoras, king of the *Dolonci*, 789.
Steſanor's lot after *Alexander*'s death, 423, c.
Steſenor, king of *Curium*'s treachery to the *Salaminians*, 178, b.
Steſichorus, the poet, where born, 8, c.
Steſimbrotus, an account of him, 237, D.
Stones, their growth, ſeen at *Olearos*, 219, e.
Strato, king of *Arados*, ſubmits to *Alexander*, 337, d.
Stratonice married to *Seleucus*, 441, c, d. Yielded by him to his ſon *Antiochus*, 519, & ſeq.
Stratonice, three cities of that name, 784, F.
Stratonix delivers up the caſtle of *Symphori* to *Pompey*, 153, c.
Strombolo, the iſland of, deſcribed, 10, d.
Strophades, iſlands, deſcribed, 242, c.
Strymon, a river in *Macedon*, 260, d. In *Thrace*, 787.
Strymonic bay, 260, a.
Suffes at *Carthage*, what, 547, d.
Sulpitius P. ſent againſt *Macedon*, 147, c. Relieves *Athens*, ibid. d.——ſent to *Antiochus*, 551, & ſeq.
Sura, a city in *Iberia*, 835, c.
Suſa delivered up to *Alexander*, 354, b, c.
Sybota, iſland, where ſituate, 241, b.
Sylla, dictator of *Rome*, 665, e. Sends *Alexander* II. into *Egypt*, ibid. c. Sent againſt *Mithridates*, 733, f. Defeats him at *Chæronea*, 734. Makes peace with him, 737. Returns to *Rome*, 838.
Syllanus Jun. accuſed by the *Macedonians*, 506, e. Condemned by his own father, 507, a. Hangs himſelf, ibid.
Syloſon I. inſlaves the *Samians*, 189, f.
—— II. invades *Samos*, 196, b, & ſeq. His cruelty to them, 197, c.
Syracuſe, metropolis of *Sicily*, deſcribed, 4, & ſeq. Its harbour deſcribed, 5, & 6. By whom founded, 11, e. Adorned, 17, c. Beſieged by the *Athenians*, 28, c. By the *Carthaginians*, 52. Surpriſed and plundered by *Nypſius*, 70, & ſeq. Put to fire and ſword, 71, c. Beſieged by *Marcellus*, 111, & ſeq. Viſited with a grievous peſtilence, 118, e. Forced to capitulate, 119, & ſeq. Taken, 121, & ſeq.
Syracuſians, their government, kings, &c. 14, & ſeq. Chuſe *Gelon* their king, 18, e. Defeat the *Carthaginians*, ibid. & ſeq. Set up a popular government, 23, & ſeq. The law of petaliſm repealed, 24, b, c. Tyranniſe in *Sicily*, ibid. d, e. Invaded by the *Athenians*, 25, & ſeq. The cauſe of that war, ibid. Outwitted by *Nicias*, 27, f. Streightly beſieged by him, 28, e, f. Defeat the *Athenians* by land, 29, e. Beaten by them at ſea, ibid. f. Beat them before *Syracuſe*, 31, a, b. And at ſea, 32, & ſeq. Force them to ſurrender, 33, & ſeq. Their cruelty to their priſoners, 36, e, f. Inſlaved by *Dionyſius*, 45, & ſeq. Revolt from him, 46, c. 47, b. Reduced by him, 48, & ſeq. Defeat the *Carthaginians* at ſea, 52, f. Crown *Dionyſius* II. 63, c. Their joyful reception of *Dion*, 67, b. Declare him their general, ibid. c, d. Raiſe new mutinies againſt him, 68, & ſeq. Surpriſed and butchered by *Dionyſius*, 70, c. 71, c, d. Inſlaved by *Calippus*, 73, d. By *Hipparinus*, ibid. Reſtored by *Timoleon*, 77. Repeopled by the *Corinthians*, 79, d, e. Their gratitude to *Timoleon*, ibid. d, e, f. Inſlaved by *Soſiſtratus*, 80, d. Maſſacred by *Agathocles*, 81, & ſeq. Groan under ſundry tyrants, 88, d, e, & ſeq. Under new diſturbances, 103, & ſeq. Recover their liberty, 105, b. Put the royal family to death, 106, e.
Syria, the kingdom of, deſcribed, 509, & ſeq. Its boundaries after *Alexander*'s death, ibid. c, d, & 515, b. Kings, 509, e.—why called *Tetrapolis*, 515, a. Invaded by *Eumenes* and *Attalus*, 528, e. The reſt ſee under its reſpective kings.
Syrian coins, deſcribed, 620, & ſeq. W.
Syros, iſland, deſcribed, 224.
Sitalces invades *Macedonia*, 280, d, e. Makes peace with it, ibid. f, & ſeq.

T.

Taba, where ſituate, 583, c, & Z.
Tabellæ votivæ deſcribed, 212, T.
Talaura, the great riches of, 757, f.
Tallutius defeated by the *Olynthians*, 285, c, d.
Talus reigns in *Crete*, 165, a.
Tanais worſhipped by the *Armenians*, 697, b. Her ſtately temple at *Acileſina*, ibid. c.
Taphia, iſlands, deſcribed, 241, d.
Taulantii, where ſituate, 254, a, & C.
Tauri, where ſeated, 840, f, & ſeq.
Taurominium, a city in *Sicily*, deſcribed, 3, c.
Tauromitius, the river of, ibid. c.
Tauropolium, *Diana*'s temple, why ſo called, 212, a.
Taxila, a city in *India*, deſcribed, 390, D.
Taxiles's ſubmiſſion and preſents to *Alexander*, 385, & ſeq. 390, a. Speech to him, ibid. D. Sent back to his dominions, 393, b.
Teios taken by *Leocritus*, 725, f.
Telamon, king of *Salamis*, 245, b.
Telchinæ, firſt inhabitants of *Rhodes*, 131, c.
Telchines, an account of them, 238, in fin. E.
Telinus made high-prieſt of the *Ieleans*, 15, note.
Telmiſſians great ſoothſayers, 333, b.
Telmiſſus taken by *Alexander*, 332, b.
Temenus, the fabulous ſtory of, 272, A.
Tempyrium, a city in *Thrace*, 787, d.
Tenos, iſland, deſcribed, 225. Famed for its wines, 226, a. Subdued by the *Perſians*, ibid. c, d.—metropolis of that iſland, 226, a.
Tents, *Macedonian*, how made, 269, f.
Teos, the city of, deſcribed, 559, c.
Teres, a warlike king of the *Odryſæ*, 791.
Tereus, a long-lived king of *Characene*, 853, a.

Terra Sigillata of *Lemnos*, 234, c.
Teucer founds the kingdom of *Salamis*, 176, d. Introduces human ſacrifices, ibid. e.
Thamyris, a boaſting muſician, puniſhed, 790, f.
Tharymbas, a wiſe king of *Epirus*, 800.
Thaſians war with the *Athenians*, 237, b, c.
Thaſos, iſland, deſcribed, 236, & ſeq. By whom inhabited, 237, a. Conquered, ibid. &c.
Thearides made admiral by *Dionyſius*, 65, f. His deſcent on *Lippari*, 57, a.
Thebans join with *Philip* againſt the *Spartans*, 298, d. Join the *Greeks* againſt him, 307, a. Defeated, ibid. d, e. Revolt from *Alexander*, 320, c. Defeated by him, 321.
Thebes deſtroyed by *Alexander*, 321, & ſeq. By *Caſſander*, 459, b. Beſieged and taken by *Demetrius*, 466.
——— in *Egypt*, taken and deſtroyed by *Lathyrus*, 663, f. Different from that in *Bœotia*, 664.
Themis, the firſt diviner, 163, b.
Themiſcyra in *Pontus*, deſcribed, 720, d, & ſeq. Surrendered to the *Romans*, 746, c.
Themiſon, tyrant of *Oropus*, 251, e.
Themiſtas plots againſt the republicans, 105, f. Put to death, 106, b.
Theocritus, where born, 108, & note.
Theodorus's noble ſpeech againſt *Dionyſius*, 53, c.
——— revolts from *Syria*, 615, b.
Theodoſiopolis burnt by the *Turks*, 693, A.
Theodotus's conſtancy on the rack, 101, a. Becomes head of a faction, 103, f, & ſeq.
——— I. founder of the *Bactrian* kingdom, 525, b. 846, c. Invades *Syria*, 528, c.
——— II. allies with *Arſaces* againſt *Seleucus*, ibid. Defeated by *Eutydemus*, 541, c. vid. & 846, c.
——— *Ptolemy*'s general, goes over to *Antiochus*, 536, a, b. Made governor under him, ibid. c. Attempts on *Ptolemy*'s life, 538, b, c.
——— *Egyptian* rhetorician, adviſes the murdering of *Pompey*, 673, d.
Theomeſtor, tyrant of *Samos*, 198.
Theopompus, where born, &c. 108, & note.
Theoris, the name of the *Delian* ſhip, 230, c.
Thera, the iſland of, deſcribed, 214, & ſeq. The ruins of, 216, b.
——— the ſon of *Auteſion*, the ſtory of, 214, b.
Thereans, their wars, 215, d.
Thermeſſa, the hot waters of, 10, d.
Thermeus bay, deſcribed, 260, b.
Thermodon, a river in *Pontus*, 722, c.
Theſprotia, the cities of, 796, b.
Theſſalians over-reached by the king of *Macedon*, 286.
Theſſalonica, by whom founded, 256, c, F. Taken by the *Romans*, 493, f.
Theſta's noble anſwer to *Dionyſius*, 53, f.
Thia, a new iſland, 215, e.
Thimbrio defeated and crucified, 421, b.
Thoas, king of *Lemnos*, 236, b.
——— *Ætolian* embaſſador's ſpeech to *Antiochus*, 553, f.
Thrace, the kingdom of, deſcribed, 786. Its ſoil, cuſtoms, and government, 788. Invaded by *Philip*, 298, a, & note. Subdued by the *Romans*, 791, f.
Thracians greatly ſkilled in muſic, 795, b. In eloquence, ibid. c.
Thraſians, where ſituate, 261, a.
Thraſo unjuſtly put to death, 101.
Thraſybulus, king of *Syracuſe*, his cruel reign, 22, f. &c. Baniſhment, 23, b.
Thraſydæus, tyrant of *Agrigentum*, defeated by *Hiero*, 21, c. Kills himſelf, ibid.
——— the murderer of the king of *Cyprus*, 181, d.
——— made king of *Theſſaly* for his flattery, 310, L.
Thronium, a city and promontory of *Cyprus*, 173, d.
——— in *Abantis*, built by the *Eubœans*, 251, a.
Thucydides deſcended from the *Sapean* kings, 794, c.
Thurimus, third king of *Macedon*, 272, b.
Thyni, vid. *Bithynians*, 729, & ſeq.
Thyras, the ſon of *Japhet*, gives name to *Thrace*, 786, b.
Thyrrea, iſland, given to the *Samian* fugitives, 193, a.
Tibites ſent to diſturb the *Bithynians*, 145, c. Dies in his journey, ibid.
——— king of *Bithynia*, depoſed by his brother, 829.
Tigranes I. king of *Armenia*, invades *Cappadocia*, 699, f. Choſen king of *Syria*, 617, a. 700, a. Driven out by *Pompey*, 619, c. 700, b. His conqueſts, ibid. c. Allies with *Mithridates*, 699, f. 700, e, f. His cold reception of him, ibid. & ſeq. vid. & 748, a, N. New conqueſts, 701, b, c. Exceſſive pride, ibid. c, d. Anſwer to *Lucullus*, ibid. & ſeq. Invaded by him, 702, b. Defeated by *Sextilius*, ibid. c, d. By *Lucullus*, 703. Jointly with *Mithridates*, 705, c. Defeats his rebellious ſon, 706, e, f. Goes and ſubmits himſelf to *Pompey*, 707, a, b. His great attachment to the *Romans*, ibid. d, e. Death, ibid. f.
——— the ſon of the former, rebels againſt his father, 706, f. Leads *Pompey* to *Armenia*, 707, a. Sent in chains to *Rome*, ibid. d, e.
——— II. crowned by *Tiberius*, 709, b. Put to death, ibid.
——— III. defeated by *Caius*, ibid. e.
Tigranocerta, by whom built, 693, b. 700, d. Beſieged by *Lucullus*, 703, b, c. Betrayed to him, 704, d, L.
Tigris, a river in *Armenia*, 694, a. Deſcribed, ibid, d, e.
Timarchus, king of *Atropatene*, 844, f.
——— a creature of *Antiochus*, put to death for oppreſſion, 591, e.
Timo, prieſteſs of *Ceres*, her advice to *Miltiades*, 223, Cleared by the oracle, 224, a.
Timoleon's averſion to tyranny, 73, & ſeq. Kills his brother, 74, c, & not. Sent general into *Sicily*, ibid. e. Goes to *Syracuſe*, ibid. & ſeq. Takes it, 77, b. Repeoples it, ibid. d, e. Eſtabliſhes democracy in it, ibid. Defeats the *Carthaginians*, 78. Makes peace with them, 79, a. Clears the iſland of all its tyrants, ibid. b, c. His death, and honours, ibid. e.
Timotheus defeated by the *Maccabees*, 587, b.
——— a tyrant of *Heraclea*, 824, e.
Tinda the metropolis of the *Biſtones*, 790, d.
Tiribaſus's expedition againſt *Cyprus*, 180, & ſeq. Betrayed by *Orontes*, 181, b.
Tiridates oppoſed by *Corbulo*, 713, & ſeq. Driven out of *Armenia*, 714, & ſeq. Sues to the *Romans* for the crown, 716, b. Interview with *Corbulo*, ibid. & ſeq. Crowned at *Rome* by *Nero*, 717, b, c. His ſucceſſors, ibid. d, e.
Titans in *Crete* deſcribed, 162, & ſeq.
Tlepolemus ſettles in *Rhodes*, 132, d. Made king of it, 133, a.
——— *Alexander*'s general, his lot after that prince's death, 423, e.
——— prime miniſter of *Philopator*, 646, e. f. Falſly accuſed, 647, b, c. Cleared, ibid. e.
Tænion tyrant of *Syracuſe*, 88, e.
Togarmah peoples *Cappadocia*, 761, e.
Topiris a city of *Thrace*, 786, a.
Torone a city in *Macedonia*, 257, a. Its bay, 260, b. Taken by *Braſidas*, 282, a.
Torquatus, *Tit. Man.* an inſtance of his great juſtice, 507, a.
Tralles razed by *Alexander*, 329, f.
Trapeſus, a city in *Pontus*, 722, a. The reſidence of the *Comneni*, ibid. b, c.
Treballi defeated by *Philip*, 305, b. Make peace with *Alexander*, 319, & ſeq.

Tremitus, a city in *Cyprus*, deſcribed, 173, b.
Triarius's ſucceſs againſt *Mithridates*, 743, c. 746, c. Takes *Heraclea*, 747. Defeats *Mithridates*, 749, c. Defeated by him, ibid. e.
Trinacrea, *Sicily* why ſo called, 1.—Deſtroyed by the *Syracuſans*, 14, a, b.
Tripoli, whence ſo called, 588, D.
—— a city in *Pontus*, 722, a.
Triquetra, *Sicily* why ſo called, 1.
Troas taken by the *Mitylenians*, 106, a.
Trocmi, a people in *Pontus*, &c. 762, e.
Trogilorum portus deſcribed, 116, U.
Trogilus, a port in *Sicily*, 5, b.
Troy, its great poverty at the coming of *Scipio*, 560, N. Taken by *Fimbria*, 736, f. And burnt, ibid.
Tryphœna married to *Gryphus*, 613, a. Her cruelty to her ſiſter, 614, c, d. Puniſhed, ibid. e.
Tryphon's character, 601. Sets up the ſon of *Balas*, 602, b, L. His treachery to *Jonathan*, 604, b, c. To *Simon*, ibid. d, e. To *Antiochus*, 605, a. Seizes the crown, ibid. b. Rejected by the *Romans*, ibid. d. Forſaken by his forces, 606, c. Forced to fly, 607, c. His death, ibid, e. Coin, 622, W.
Tubal, firſt inhabiter of *Iberia*, 835, f.
Tunis taken and razed by *Agathocles*, 84, b.
Tuta ſucceeds her husband in *Illyria*, 474, d.
Tyche, one of the four parts of *Syracuſe*, 46, c. Taken by the *Romans*, 117, c.
Tyre beſieged by *Alexander*, 339, & ſeq. Taken and reſettled, 341, & ſeq. Taken by *Antigonus*, 432, c. By *Ptolemy*, 433, b, c. Betrayed to *Antiochus*, 537, d. Why made independent, 611, T.
Tyrians refuſe to admit *Alexander*, 339. Their brave defence, 340, & ſeq. Cruelly butchered by him, 342. Murder king *Demetrius*, 611, c, & T.

V.

Valerius ſent into *Sicily*, 96, e.
Varica, a city in *Iberia*, 835, c.
Uchanias king of *Edeſſa*, 847, c.
Venus, her temple at *Erix*, 7, d, e. At *Soli* in *Cyprus*, 173, b. At *Amathus*. 173, e. How worſhipped at *Paphos*, ibid. & ſeq. In *Cythera*, 174, f. At *Cyprus*, 176, b. Her feſtival at *Delos*, 231, a. —— Temple at *Scandia*, 243, a.
—— *Apatura*, her temple near *Phanagoria*, 840, b, c.
Verres's villainy to *Antiochus*, 617, & ſeq.
Vertabiets in *Armenia*, their office, 698, a, & F.
Veſta, the firſt builder, 163, c.
Vologeſes king of *Parthia*, aſſiſts his brother *Tiridates*, 713, d, e. Wars againſt the *Romans*, 715, c, d. Drives them out of *Armenia*, ibid. & ſeq. Sends an embaſſy to *Rome*, 716, b.
—— a *Thracian* prieſt, ſeizes on *Cherſoneſus*, 790, c.
Vonones king of *Armenia*, driven out, 710, b.
Urania in *Cyprus*, taken by *Demetrius*, 183.
Uſcudama, capital of the *Beſſi*, 790, b.
Vulcan, whence the feaſt of him, 9, d.
—— reigns in *Crete*, 165, a. Why worſhipped at *Lemnos*, 234, b.
Uxians defeated by *Alexander*, 355, a.

W.

War, *Athenian*, in *Sicily*, 25, ad 36.
—— *Carthaginian*, 37, & ſeq.
—— *Mithridatic*, 727, & ſeq. Renewed, 639. The length of it, 756, ſub fin. not.

X.

Xanthus, prince of the *Pelaſgians*, comes to *Leſbos*, 105, c.
Xenagoras meaſures the height of *Olympus*, 259, a.
Xenocrates's character, writings and death, 450, A.
Xenoetas, general of *Antiochus*, defeated and killed, 531, c.
Xerxes ſucceeds his father *Darius*, 276, b. Diſjoins *Athos* from the land, 258, G. & 276, c.
Xeuxes's ſalutary advice to *Antiochus*, 533, b.
Xiphares put to death by his father, 754, c.

Y.

Year, how calculated among the *Macedonians*, 266.
Youth, how cultivated by the ſame nation, 265.

Z.

Zabdiel murders *Alexander Balas*, 599, a.
Zadriades, one of the founders of the *Armenian* monarchy, 698, & ſeq. 718, e.
Zaliſſa, a city in *Iberia*, 833, c.
Zancle, *Meſſina* anciently ſo called, 2, d. When and by whom built, 12, a.
Zancleans defeated by *Anaxilas*, 3, a. Invite the *Samians* to ſettle among them, 197, f. Expelled by them, 198, a.
Zarbienus, king of the *Gordians*, put to death 702, b. His funeral obſequies, 705, a.
Zarraſpa, whether the ſame with *Bactra*, 845, c. Surrendered to *Alexander*, 373, d.
—— a river in *Bactria*, 845.
Zebina, *Alexander*, vid. *Alexander*, 611.
Zeira taken by *Philip*, 294, a.
Zela, a city in *Pontus*, 721, c.
—— king of *Bithynia*, killed by the *Galatians*, 829, c.
Zeno, where born, 174, c.
—— general of *Antiochus*, defeated, 531, c.
—— king of *Armenia*, vid. *Artaxias* III, 710, b.
Zenobia's adventure, 712, f.
Zenobius oppreſſes the *Chians*, 211, d.
—— library-keeper to *Ptolemy Soter*, 630, & ſeq.
Zenodotus, the firſt perſon who corrected *Homer*'s works, 638, b.
Zephyrian Venus, her temple, 639, e.
Zephyrium and other cities ſubmit to *Antiochus* 544, e.
Zeuda Carta ſurrendered to *Alexander*, 361, b.
Zia, iſland, vid. *Cea*, 216.
Zipetes I. king of *Bithynia*, his wars with the *Heracleans*, 228. Dies for joy, ibid. & 522, c.
—— II. defeated by his brother, 522, d. Dies in baniſhment, 829, a.
Zobores king of *Albania*, defeated by *Marc Antony*, 839, a.
Zoilus revolts from *Syria*, 615, b.
—— the critic, writes againſt *Homer*, 638, b. His miſerable end, ibid. d.
Zonobarzes king of *Iberia*, baptized, 837, a.
Zoroaſter king of *Bactria*, 846.

FINIS.